









# STANDARD HISTORY OF PITTSBURG PENNSYLVANIA

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Of all the things which man can do or make here below, by far the most momentous,  
wonderful and worthy are the things we call books.—*Thomas Carlyle.*

EDITED BY  
ERASMUS WILSON.

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ILLUSTRATED

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## PREFACE.

This volume, after nearly two years of conscientious labor, is at length finished and is herewith handed to the public. It will be found full of interesting data concerning Pittsburg and environs, much of which has not appeared in print for more than half a century, and has long since been forgotten. Special attention is called to the elaboration of the subject-matter of the chapters, to the introduction of much new material usually overlooked by historians; to the large fund of interesting events crowded into the pages and to the fresh light thrown upon every subject. Too many persons unconsciously entertain the idea that a local history, in order to possess any value, must contain little else than some new and extraordinary discovery or philosophy calculated to surprise and dazzle the reader, apotheosize the inhabitants and glorify the city, county and State. On the contrary, the value of current historical works lies almost wholly in the rich and varied fund, bearing upon every phase of American life, that is being saved from destruction by commercial companies organized for the purpose. Such works must necessarily be chiefly statistical, and therefore be without high and distinctive literary features. American civilization is yet in its infancy, and time is required to present the true perspective of the swiftly changing panorama of events. It was therefore thought best to devote the principal efforts and the greater space to the preservation of the vast stores of rapidly perishing material, rather than to unsound conclusions drawn from meager, distorted and imperfect records.

The design of this work was to bring all continuous subjects, with as much detail as space would allow, down to the time of the Rebellion, and to sketch the most important recent events only. So many requests were made for the insertion of individual, business and family sketches that a few of a representative character were accepted and will be found grouped in one chapter at the close of the book. Owing to lack of space it was found impracticable to publish special sketches of many prominent persons and institutions; and accordingly a selection was made covering the entire range of the city's history and embracing those that would well represent many classes and pursuits. After mature deliberation, it was the unanimous opinion of the management to spell the word Pittsburgh throughout the entire work without the superfluous h. In a work of this nature, more or less hurriedly prepared, and filled, as it is, with proper names and statistics, it has been found impossible to avoid mistakes, though it is hoped that they are few. The publishers stand ready, as is their custom, to correct all errors, after being notified of the same, by a special errata sheet, to be sent to every subscriber, to be pasted in the book. Among those who contributed to the history, either as authors or editors, were: Erasmus Wilson, Rev. A. A. Lambing, Hon. J. W. F. White, Colonel Thomas P. Roberts, William Roseburg, Dr. Charles S. Shaw and Weston A. Goodspeed. Upon examination, this volume will be found to exceed the promises of the management and as the years pass away will be accepted as a standard contribution to the history of the State.

THE MANAGEMENT.

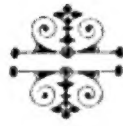


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# STANDARD HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

## CHAPTER I.

THE PREHISTORIC BORDER LINE—INDIAN TRIBES AND POPULATION—DERIVATION  
AND SIGNIFICATION OF NAMES OF RIVERS, ETC., AT THE HEAD OF THE OHIO—  
CONRAD WEISER—LOUIS CÉLORON—BEGINNING OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH  
STRUGGLE FOR THE MASTERY—ENCROACHMENT OF SETTLERS—  
CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC—BATTLE OF BUSHY RUN—INDIANS  
RAISE SIEGE OF FORT PITT—A PERIOD OF REPOSE FOR  
THE SETTLERS—RENEWAL OF INDIAN RAIDS—PUR-  
CHASE OF 1768—DUNMORE'S WAR—LAST AT-  
TEMPT OF THE INDIANS TO GAIN POSSESSION—  
FINAL DEPARTURE OF THE SAVAGES.

The history of every nation or people must begin on the boundary line between the prehistoric and the historic, between the mythical and the real. The bards, who were usually the first historians, were forced from necessity to interweave mythical persons and events with those that actually played a part on the stage of the nation's history. We see this exemplified in the annals of all the nations of antiquity, and we naturally expect to find it in those of our own country; and in this we are not doomed to disappointment, as will presently be seen. There is a peculiar charm in the effort to penetrate the veil that hides the prehistoric from our view. But while it is largely mythical, there is a substratum of fact upon which fancy bases its speculations. The early history of the spot upon which Pittsburg now stands, and of the tribes which inhabited it, forms no exception to this general rule. But the later historian is at a disadvantage for two reasons. The early history of India, Egypt, Greece and Rome is so remote, and the people of those nations were so imaginative, that their bards could readily compose a mythological history and present it to later ages without fear of contradiction. The early history of the aborigines of North America, on the contrary, is so recent and the people so unimaginative, that only a few crude and disjointed traditions can be collected. These we are forced from sheer necessity to accept, conscious that they must have some foundation in fact, however slender that foundation may be; and with these we must rest content.

The first inhabitants of the valley of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers of whom tradition affords reliable information were the Allegewi or Talligewi. Our knowledge of this people is vague in the extreme, but that they inhabited the basin of these rivers is beyond doubt; but when or whence they came, how long they maintained the ascendancy, and when they retired in the conflict of hostile tribes, it were futile to inquire. They succeeded, however, in leaving a name as imperishable as a range of mountains or a flowing river. It is disputed whether there ever was such a people as the mound builders; but be this as it may, there was an aboriginal people who built mounds, and the fact that works of this kind are found in the vicinity of Pittsburg is sufficient evidence that at one time they inhabited the territory around the headwaters of the Ohio. It is impossible to fix the date of their occupation of this part of the country. In

time the Lenni Lenappi, one of the most powerful tribes or family of tribes on the continent, succeeded in gaining the mastery, only to yield it in time to the Iroquois, the terror of all the savages between the Mississippi and the Atlantic at the time of the first appearance of the white man.

Great diversity of opinion existed with regard to the population of Eastern North America at the time of the discovery. The territory extending from the "Debatable Ground"—now the State of Kentucky—north to Hudson Bay, and from the Mississippi east to the Atlantic Ocean was occupied by the Algonquins in their numerous subdivisions; but in the midst of these was found the Iroquois, or Five Nations. The number of these two families has been greatly, and it may be said generally, exaggerated, especially by English writers, one at the beginning of the present century gravely asserting that they numbered twenty millions. The most reliable authorities, however, assert that the Algonquins never exceeded 90,000, and perhaps not 50,000; and the Iroquois not more than 17,000.

At the time the first traders appeared at the head of the Ohio the territory was claimed by the Iroquois, although they permitted the Delawares, whom they had conquered, and "made women of," the remnant of the Lenni Lenappi, and the Shawnese, a wandering tribe from the south, with members of other tribes, to occupy it. The Five Nations—later known as the Six Nations, after they had conquered the Tuscaroras and incorporated them into the confederacy in 1712—were more commonly known as the Iroquois; and the important part they played in the affairs of this section of country entitles them to a brief notice. They were known to the Dutch as the Magua, to the English as the Mingoes, to the French as the Iroquois, and to the other savages as the Mengwe. The name Iroquois was given them by the French because they were accustomed to close their speeches with the word "hiro," equivalent to the phrase "I have said, or finished," which was followed by a plaintive cry best expressed by the word "koue." They called themselves Hodenaumee, signifying "they form a cabin." They inhabited the country south of Lake Ontario; and possessed a form of government, and had better constructed cabins and villages than were their neighbors. But it was in war that they excelled, and they have with some degree of justice been named "the Romans of America." It may be remarked that great diversity is found in the spelling of Indian names; and this is due both to the fact that they had to be spelled from sound, and that we have the names written by the Dutch of New York, the English of the rest of the Atlantic coast and the French of Canada, each of which gave its own peculiar sound to certain letters.

It will be of advantage to the reader to give here an explanation of the meaning of certain names that will occur in the course of this history. And first of the names of the streams that are within the limits of Pittsburg. There is no authority for the statement made by certain writers that the French called the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers "Three Rivers." The term "Allegheny" is derived, as we have seen, from the name of a prehistoric race that inhabited the valley of that stream; but it was known to the Indians and the French, and at first to the English, also, as the Ohio, being regarded as the upper portion of the present river of that name. The name Ohio is derived from the Seneca word Ho-he-yu, which was literally translated by the French *La Belle Rivière*—the beautiful river. Who would not wish to have seen it as it appeared in June or October wending its course through unbroken forests in the long ago, as the Indian paddled his frail canoe down its limpid waters, when even the rude son of the forest recognized its beauty and called by excellence *The Beautiful River*? The word Monongahela signifies in the Delaware language "falling-in-banks; or, high banks or bluffs, breaking off and falling down in places." The point at the confluence of the two rivers was called by the Indians "Da-un-daga,"



which simply means the forks; but there was no Indian village located there. Shannopinstown, a Seneca village, called after a chief of that name, was situated on the eastern bank of the Allegheny River about two miles above its confluence with the Monongahela; but no mention is made of it after the year 1749. Céloron, in the journal of his expedition, says that it is the prettiest place he saw on the Beautiful River. Occasion will be presented later of speaking of the topography of Pittsburg, and the changes that have been made in it in the lapse of time.

It would be impossible to estimate the Indian population of the territory immediately surrounding the headwaters of the Ohio; indeed, the roving habits of the savages make it impossible to say that there was any permanent population at all. When Conrad Weiser visited the Indians at Logstown, on the north bank of the Ohio some eighteen miles below the confluence of the rivers, in 1748, it was reported that there were at that time 789 warriors of various tribes in the western part of Pennsylvania, whose representatives attended the council. But this is too indefinite to base any estimate upon. Indians were always in and around the forks, but their numbers varied with the hunting and fighting seasons, and they were never many.

Owing to the equitable treatment of the Indians by the Penns, they were long on friendly terms with the whites, and traders penetrated as far as Sandusky before the middle of the last century. Principal among these was George Croghan, who emigrated from Ireland sometime before 1746, in which year he opened a trading house on the Susquehanna, opposite Harrisburg. A few years later he established himself at the mouth of the Beaver River, where he was found by Conrad Weiser on his trip west, already referred to. From that time he was intimately connected with Indian and pioneer affairs, and exercised great influence, being for a time Deputy Indian Agent under Sir William Johnston. Others soon followed the example of Croghan, and soon the Indian trade was very extensive. But the advantage was with the traders; for, although they supplied the Indians with many useful articles, especially firearms, of which at least the Eastern Iroquois were in possession as early as 1620, the savages soon lost a measure of their former independence, and were forced to depend, to a great extent, on the whites for many things that were now thought necessary. And the possession of firearms by the Indians was not so great an advantage as might at first sight appear, because they had to depend on the whites for ammunition and the repair of their guns, and their report frightened away the game they sought and gave notice of their presence to prowling enemies. On the other hand, the whites learned lessons from the Indians, especially in hunting, traveling through the forests, canoe-making and navigation, and especially in frontier warfare.

Gradually the whites encroached on the hunting grounds of the red man, and, though purchases were made from time to time, and it was the intention of the proprietary government not to occupy their lands until after they had been purchased, this purchase was little more than a formality, so trifling was the amount received by the Indians. Nor was this their only grievance; pioneers did not respect the terms of the purchases when it was to their interest to disregard them, but settled wherever they saw fit or felt themselves strong enough to hold possession. The Indians soon became convinced of the painful truth that the whites were bent upon taking possession of their lands, willingly or unwillingly, and they first complained, then offered resistance, and it was this that led to the first Indian wars. But these complaints and this resistance generally led to further purchases, and the Indians were gradually forced to retire before the advance of civilization, if indeed it merited, in many cases, the name of civilization. The remark of Mr. Francis Parkman that: "Spanish civiliza-

Indian outbreak until a short time before it took place, when all the Indians withdrew from the vicinity of the fort, taking their possessions with them, and without giving any reason for their action or affording any clue to their future designs. This naturally aroused the suspicion of the commander and his men, and the fort was immediately put in the best condition for defense, and every precaution was taken to guard against a surprise. Soon it became evident that an attack was contemplated and might be expected at any moment; bands of prowling savages were seen in the woods near the fort, acting in a very suspicious manner; and at length, on the afternoon of June 22, 1763, the siege was begun in earnest. To render the position of the garrison well nigh hopeless, all communication was cut off between it and the east of the mountains, although the commander-in-chief of the English forces soon became aware of the danger in which the fort was placed. But the characteristic tardiness of the Quaker government would have proved fatal had it not been that General Amherst sent forward Colonel Henry Bouquet, with all haste, with a force of a little less than 500 men and a train of provisions, from Bedford, where he then was. In the meantime the attack was kept up, with little intermission, on the fort; and, although the greatest precautions were taken to protect the men, the garrison suffered some loss. But the greatest danger arose from the consumption of ammunition and provisions, which were daily growing less, and threatened soon to be entirely exhausted, if relief did not arrive. Still Ecuyer maintained a defiant manner toward the Indians, who, on several occasions, asked him to surrender, and offered to spare the garrison. He knew they were not to be trusted, and, besides, he was not the man to surrender as long as there was a shadow of hope to maintain his position.

In the meantime Bouquet, who was pushing forward with that energy and dispatch which characterized all his movements, soon passed Fort Ligonier, which had also been threatened, and was proceeding west, when he was attacked by a large force of Indians who had been carefully watching his movements. The garrison was ignorant of his near approach, when suddenly the Indians raised the siege, and set out in a manner that convinced the commander that relief must be near, and that the Indians were bent upon attacking the advancing forces, and, if possible, cutting them off. At this time Bouquet had reached a point about twenty-five miles east of the fort, known since as Bushy Run, where, about one o'clock on the afternoon of August 5th, he was suddenly attacked by a large force of savages with great determination. But he soon placed himself on the defensive, and fought, though at a great disadvantage and with serious losses, till night put a stop to the combat. Scarcely, however, had the morning dawned, when the Indians renewed the attack with even greater determination, and for hours the issue was uncertain, till Bouquet made a strategic movement, by which he succeeded in entrapping and cutting a large part of the savage forces to pieces, whereupon they withdrew from the field, carrying their dead and wounded with them. Bouquet's loss in killed and wounded was large, but that of the enemy was much larger, although the number could not be ascertained with certainty. Their principal loss was in their chiefs, quite a number of whom were killed. It was the bloodiest and most decisive battle in all Indian warfare up to that time, and the most crushing blow the savages had ever sustained at the hands of the English. Bouquet was permitted to advance without further molestation than a few random shots from prowling savages. When he reached the fort the siege had been raised, but he found the gallant Ecuyer and his brave band in the last extremity from exhaustion and want of provisions and ammunition.

Bouquet was not, however, satisfied with his successes. The woods were alive with bands of prowling savages, ready to attack supply trains or fall upon

the unprotected settlements. So threatening had they become that Governor John Penn issued a proclamation in 1764, offering rewards for their capture or their scalps; for every male above ten years of age captured, \$150, or his scalp, being killed, \$134; for every female, or male under ten years, captured, \$130, or for the scalp of such female, killed, \$50. The only safety for the settlements, however, was the striking of such a blow against the tribes west of Pittsburg as would strike terror into them and teach them to respect the power of the whites. No person was better fitted for this undertaking than Colonel Bouquet, who had shown himself so capable of coping with the Indians under the most unfavorable circumstances. General Gage, who had succeeded to the command of the English forces in America, resolved to attack them at two different points; on the north, near the shores of Lake Erie, and in Central and Southern Ohio. The forces for the latter were placed in command of Bouquet, who set out for the Indian country on October 3, 1764. Following the north bank of the Ohio to the mouth of the Beaver River, he continued his march to the Muskingum, where a number of Indian villages were located, which it was his intention to destroy. He was soon in the heart of the Indian country, and his firmness struck terror into the breasts of the savages, who could neither deceive him with promises, intimidate him with threats, nor meet him on the field of battle. Holding on his course he refused to treat with them till he had reached the term of his journey and not then till they had delivered up all the prisoners they had taken in their raids on the frontier. To convince them that he was not to be deceived or deluded, he detained a number of their principal men as hostages till they had complied with his demands. After some delays he succeeded in the object of his expedition without striking a blow, yet for the Indians it was a crushing defeat, and, worst of all, it occurred in the very heart of the country where they felt themselves beyond the reach of molestation.

The frontier was now permitted to enjoy a season of comparative security, and the garrison at Fort Pitt had little to do beyond occupying the place. But settlers continued to take up lands west of the mountains, especially in South-western Pennsylvania, the Indian claim to which had not yet been extinguished by purchase, although both the king and the proprietary government had forbidden them to do so. In compliance with these prohibitions, General Gage instructed Alexander Mackay, who commanded a detachment at Red Stone, now Brownsville, to require the settlers to withdraw from the lands they were occupying. He accordingly issued an order, dated June 22, 1766, to all those who had settled west of the mountains, as he tells them, "to collect you together and inform you of the lawless manner in which you behave, and to order you all to return to your several provinces without delay, which I am to do in the presence of some Indian chiefs now along with me." But the settlers cared little for such orders, and the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia tended to complicate matters. Both General Gage and Governor Penn complained to the home government of their inability to apply an effectual remedy to the evil. The result was a renewal of Indian raids on the frontier, small bands falling on the defenseless settlers, murdering and scalping or taking prisoners, such as they could succeed in surprising, stealing whatever was worth carrying off, and burning their rustic homes. Greater activity now prevailed at Fort Pitt, and small bands of soldiers were kept out scouring the country; but they were only partially successful, owing to the secret and rapid movements of the savages and their knowledge of the territory. The only effectual remedy was to extinguish the Indian claim to the lands; for despite the continual dangers to which the settlers were exposed, they still persisted in occupying the Indian lands. A treaty was accordingly arranged to be held at Fort Stanwix—the present Rome, New York—in October, 1768, and on the 24th of that month the



Government ratified the purchase from the Indians of all the territory in Pennsylvania east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, from Kittanning to the southern and western boundaries of the colony, and extending east to the last purchase. This embraced the lands upon which the incipient city of Pittsburg was beginning to rise.

Settlements began to increase, although the savages committed occasional depredations. So secure was the country thought to be that orders were given in the fall of 1772 for the dismantling of Fort Pitt, although the settlers protested against it on the ground that it would embolden the Indians and increase their depredations. No sooner was the fort abandoned than a new trouble arose. The boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, which had excited but little attention up to this time, and which we shall have occasion to treat at length in a subsequent chapter, now suddenly broke out with great violence, and destroyed the peace of the entire western part of the colony till the beginning of the Revolution. Early in 1774, Dr. John Connolly, a strong partisan of Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, took possession of Fort Pitt in the name of his master, and changed its name to Fort Dunmore. The details of this disturbance belong to another part of this history, and it is here referred to merely as a connecting link in the history of the Indians.

The outrages perpetrated during Dunmore's war so exasperated the Indians that they began to harass the settlements, and the English at Detroit, and the successor of Sir William Johnston among the Iroquois, exerted all their influence in stirring them up against the Americans and the cause of freedom. During all these years the entire frontier, from the northern limits of Westmoreland County to the southern boundary of the State, was the scene of incessant raids and massacres. No settlement was secure for a moment; numerous forts and blockhouses were built to defend the settlers or afford a place of retreat for their families, and both the national forces and the local volunteers united—not always harmoniously—for the common defense. The whole period till the year 1783 was one continued series of horrors and bloodshed, and it forms the darkest page in our early history, worse in Western Pennsylvania than during the French occupation. The last serious raid was that which culminated in the burning of Hannahstown, near Greensburg, July 13, 1782. During all these troubled times Fort Pitt was the center of supplies and operations, maintaining more than ever its claim to be regarded as the key of the West.

But the time had come for the final extinction of the Indian title to the remaining portion of the State, and their withdrawal forever from the soil of Pennsylvania. A treaty was accordingly held at Fort Stanwix, in October, 1784, when the territory north and west of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers was made over by the Six Nations to Pennsylvania. This purchase was confirmed by the Wyandots and Delawares at Fort McIntosh, which was located at the mouth of the Beaver River, by a deed dated January 21, 1785. This sixth and last purchase was added to Westmoreland County, which at that time comprised all the western part of the State with the exception of Washington and Fayette counties. But though their legal title was extinguished, the Indians continued to make occasional raids, the settlers west of the Allegheny could not feel themselves entirely secure, and a small garrison had still to be maintained at Fort Pitt.

Piece by piece the red man saw himself forced to relinquish his ancestral hunting grounds; and though it was ceded by purchase, his heart still clung to it, and a feeling possessed him—and that feeling was very often based on justice—that he had been cheated out of it. Beneath a stolid appearance, a feeling of hatred and a desire of revenge slumbered in his savage bosom, calmly awaiting a favorable opportunity of manifesting itself. The Indians determined



*James Hume*

to make a last effort to regain their lost possessions, and, in 1789, stimulated by the English, who still held Detroit, they began to menace the frontier settlements. Fears were entertained of a general outbreak of hostilities, and the Secretary of War, General Knox, wrote to Major Isaac Craig, who commanded at Fort Pitt, which was then only a ruin, to throw up a fortification to defend the town in case of an attack. Fort Lafayette, of which we shall have occasion to speak in a subsequent chapter, was accordingly built in view of the impending danger. The defeat of General Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwestern Territory, by the Indians, November 4, 1791, for which he was unjustly censured, even by Washington, emboldened the savages, and filled the settlers, who had counted so much on his expedition, with consternation. A second expedition was fitted out and placed in command of General Anthony Wayne. A better selection than that of "Mad Anthony," as he was deservedly called, could not have been made. He was the Phil. Sheridan of those days. He proceeded to Pittsburg to collect and drill his forces, arriving June 15, 1792. There and at Legionville, about eighteen miles below Pittsburg, on the north bank of the Ohio, he put his men through so careful a training that the success of his expedition was, as it were, assured, before he set out for the western country. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of his march; suffice it to say that he came upon the enemy on the Maumee River in Northwestern Ohio, August 20, 1794, and, in an engagement of but one hour's duration, completely routed the Indians, and broke their power in the East forever. This and the battle of Bushy Run, both of which were so intimately connected with the vital interests of Pittsburg, were the two greatest victories secured over the Indians in the eighteenth century. From that day Pittsburg was free from all further alarm from the red man.

In closing this chapter, and bidding a last farewell to the aborigines, we cannot but pause and reflect sadly upon their melancholy fate. While in the nature of things the savage must fall back before the advance of colonization, we are moved to pity at the thought of the wrongs he was made to suffer from the intrigues and injustice of the civilized and Christianized whites, as well as from his own misguided conduct. It was not until the palefaces took possession of his ancestral domain, often without the formality of a treaty, that he raised his tomahawk against them. At first the Indian welcomed the white man as a superior being; later he judged him by the standard which he himself had given him. With a sad and vengeful heart he was forced to quit the hunting grounds of his fathers forever, and with feelings of commiseration our thoughts accompany him to his home in the far West.



## CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE ALWAYS WRITTEN WITH AN ENGLISH BIAS—EARLY DISCOVERERS—EARLY TREATIES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—INDICATIONS OF A COMING APPEAL TO ARMS—CONRAD WEISER'S MISSION, 1748—LOUIS CÉLORON'S, 1749—EFFORTS OF BOTH TO GAIN THE INDIANS—FRENCH FORTS IN NORTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA—WASHINGTON'S MISSION TO THEIR COMMANDER—CAPTAIN TRENT AT THE FORKS—FIRST PERMANENT OCCUPATION—FRENCH CAPTURE THE PLACE AND BUILD FORT DUQUESNE—FIRST BATTLE, WASHINGTON AND JUMONVILLE—BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION, BATTLE, DEFEAT AND DEATH—COUNTRY AT THE MERCY OF THE FRENCH AND INDIANS—DESTRUCTION OF KITTANNING—WEAKNESS AND DEMORALIZATION OF THE FRENCH AT FORT DUQUESNE—FORBES' MARCH—GRANT'S DEFEAT—FALL OF FORT DUQUESNE—LITTLE FORT PITT—TRIUMPH OF THE SAXON RACE.

The history of the French in North America has generally been written from an English point of view; and, while the more painstaking and reliable authors have been at the trouble of investigating the matter carefully, they have almost invariably done so with an English bias. The less weighty authorities have as a rule taken it for granted that the English were right and the French wrong, and have written accordingly. French histories have indeed been written; but few of them have been translated into English, and these have commonly been read with an English bias. Writers have been led to this way of thinking from the hereditary unfriendly feeling that has for centuries existed between the two nations, with an additional religious animosity in the case of America, which has frequently showed itself, even in Western Pennsylvania. But it is the duty of the historian to seek the truth with diligence, and to state it with impartiality.

It is a fact which has escaped the attention of the vast majority of historians, that, although North America came to be divided between the Spanish, the English and the French, each of these nations was indebted to an Italian for the discovery, and consequently for its claim. Spain had Columbus, a Genoese; England, Cabot, a Venetian, and France, Verazanno, a Florentine. To come, however, to the claims of the English and the French to the territory now under consideration, with its strategic point, the forks of the Ohio, the importance of which both nations realized, they were based in part on priority of discovery and occupation, in part on royal charters, and in part on treaties entered into by the mother countries. But the actual possession and occupation of the country depended in the end on force; this, and this only, was finally to constitute right. Both nations felt this, but neither was willing to declare it openly.

In tracing the claims of the two nations it will be necessary to remark very briefly on the first discoveries. Sebastian Cabot, under Henry VII of England, discovered and explored the eastern coast of the greater part of North America in 1597; and Verazanno, under the auspices of Francis I of France, passed along a considerable part of the same coast twenty-eight years later. But while in the early settlements the English confined themselves

to a narrow strip on the Atlantic coast, the French immediately penetrated to the extremity of the great lakes and the shores of the Mississippi. It is said that Colonel Henry Ward, who lived on the James River, sent one Mr. Needham, in 1654, across the "Alleghany Hills" on an exploring expedition, and that he penetrated to the Ohio River, and spent ten years traversing the country. But it is certain that John Nicolet, a Frenchman, traveled as far west as the present State of Wisconsin at least twenty years earlier; and the French missionaries and traders were in the Wabash and Illinois countries before the middle of the seventeenth century. Whether La Salle passed down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers in the winter of 1669-70 or not is disputed between the best authorities, with the weight of probability against it, although Mr. Francis Parkman, one of the highest authorities, states distinctly that he did. Without attaching any importance to this unsettled point—although so long as it is unsettled it makes for the French claims—it is certain that La Salle discovered the mouth of the Mississippi on the 8th of April, 1682, and formally took possession in the name of the French king the following day. This action, according to the interpretation of international law recognized at that time, gave the French a claim to all the territory drained by that mighty stream and all its countless tributaries, which was co-extensive with all the territory between the summit of the Alleghany Mountains on the east and the Rocky Mountains on the west. If this claim be regarded as little short of preposterous, it must be said that it is no more preposterous than it was for the English to claim the entire continent "from sea to sea," as some of the royal charters expressed it, because Cabot passed along the east coast for a few hundred miles, without perhaps penetrating one mile into the interior.

The mother countries made several treaties which affected their foreign possessions, but these were as favorable to the French as they were to the English, as far as they related to the Valley of the Ohio, and they always failed to settle the matter of the boundary line, upon which so much depended. By the Peace or Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, both parties retained the colonial possessions they had before the war; but at that time the French were in actual possession of the Valley of the Mississippi, and of a considerable part of that of the Ohio, while the English had not made any settlements nor occupied any post west of the mountains. By the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, by which another war was nominally terminated, the French were forced to relinquish a considerable portion of their territory, but it did not affect their possessions west of the mountains. Finally, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in October, 1748, concluded another war, but left the boundary question still far from settled, while it tended, as did the others, to embitter the contending parties more and more, and forced the conviction home to the minds of all thinking men that the only final settlement must come in the triumph of the stronger party. As regards the royal charters or grants, they depended on the possession of the territory by the government that executed the grant or charter. We need not pause to discuss them in this connection, although reference will be made to some of them in a subsequent chapter. The way is now paved for an intelligent treatment of the proper subject of this chapter.

Up to about the middle of the last century neither the English nor the French had explored the country around the headwaters of the Ohio, although it was imperfectly known to the former through its traders and the Indians who came east from time to time. To the French it was wholly unknown, although they had received some vague ideas of it from the Indians. But it was not long to remain unknown; circumstances were fast drawing attention to it as the future battleground west of the mountains between the representatives of the two nations.

The French, the better to restrain the encroachments of the English, whose settlements were constantly extending westward, resolved upon building a line of fortifications by way of the St. Lawrence, the lakes, and the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, to connect the mouth of the St. Lawrence with that of the Mississippi. To counteract this movement the English depended to a considerable extent on maintaining friendly relations with the Indians of those regions, and inspiring them with a feeling of hostility to the French. To cement the bond of union more closely the Governor of Pennsylvania promised a delegation that visited Philadelphia in 1747, that a messenger would be sent to them with large presents the coming spring. It was his intention to have the governors of Maryland and Virginia unite with him and send presents also; but they declined, and Pennsylvania alone was represented. It was not, however, till the middle of August, 1748, that all things were in readiness; and the messenger selected was Conrad Weiser, a very competent person, who had long acted as colonial interpreter, and who was highly esteemed by the savages. During the previous June he had been dispatched to the Indians of Central New York to ascertain the designs of the French on the frontier. The Governor furnished him with very precise instructions for the regulation of his conduct in his intercourse with the Indians, in which he was directed to make himself as agreeable to them as possible, to ascertain as far as he might be able the strength and disposition of the various tribes of that region, to distribute the presents with discretion, and in all things to study to attach the Indians more closely to the cause of the English. As yet the forks of the Ohio had not assumed any importance, the Indian village of Logstown, about eighteen miles further down the Ohio, on the north bank, being the center of trade and communication. He reached this village on the 27th of August, and remained about three weeks, holding councils and private conferences with the Indians, making observations, and securing all the information possible, and returned September 19th, having met with entire success. He reported 789 warriors of the several tribes, the Senecas, the Shawanese and the Delawares having the largest numbers. The journal of the expedition, which he kept and which has come down to us, is one of the most valuable documents relating to our early frontier history. This expedition may be regarded as the beginning of that long struggle which was to cause the French the loss of nearly all their possessions in three-quarters of the globe; leave the Saxon race triumphant over the Latin in North America; train a leader in the service of the English who would eventually lead the colonies to victory in their efforts to throw off the galling yoke of the mother country, and found the Great Republic of the West. In the meantime the Ohio Land Company had secured from the British crown the grant of a very extensive tract of land, as we have seen, on the south side of the Ohio; and, although the company exercised but little influence over the destinies of the territory now under consideration, it tended, in the explorations of its efficient agent, Christopher Gist, in making the Ohio country better known to the governments and people of both Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The French did not remain idle spectators of what was going on in the territory which they claimed as belonging to their royal master; and early in the following year the Marquis de la Gallissonière, Governor-General of New France, as the French possessions in North America were then called, sent a strong detachment composed of French and Canadian soldiers and Indians in command of Captain Louis Céloron, accompanied by the Jesuit Father Joseph Bonneamps, as chaplain and astronomer, to explore the country and learn the temper of its inhabitants. Fortunately, both of them kept journals, which have come down to us. The expedition set out from La Chine,



near Montreal, June 15, 1749, passed up the St. Lawrence, along Lake Ontario, up the Niagara River, along the shores of Lake Erie to the mouth of Chautauqua Creek, up that stream to the lake of the same name and down Conewango Creek to the Allegheny River. Here the first of the series of the leaden plates bearing inscriptions, asserting that the country was officially taken possession of in the name of the French sovereign, was buried. This inscription, to which those on the other plates conformed more or less closely, was couched in these terms: "In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV, King of France, we, Céloron, commander of the detachment sent by M. the Marquis de la Gallissonière, Governor-General of New France, to reestablish peace in some villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaaiagon, the 29th of July, for a testimony of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those which fall into it, and of all the territories on both sides as far as the source of the said rivers, as the former kings of France have possessed or should have possessed them, and as they are maintained therein by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht and of Aix-la-Chapelle; we have moreover affixed to a tree the arms of the king. In testimony whereof we have drawn up and signed this written record. Done at the entrance of the Beautiful River, the 29th of July, 1749. All the officers affixed their signatures."

Continuing his course, he arrived at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers August 7th, and took dinner with Queen Alliquippa at Shannopinstown, already referred to as being in his opinion the prettiest place he had seen on the Beautiful River. Neither he nor his chaplain makes any reference in his journal to the forks nor of their advantages from a military point of view, although, as is evident from subsequent events, he must have noted them, and recommended them to his superiors.

The statement made by some writers that he buried a leaden plate at the forks August 3d, when he gives us a detailed account of having buried one on the same date at what has long been known as "The Indian God Rock," 115 miles further up the river, is, of course, without the slightest foundation. His journal is careful to record the date and place of all the plates buried; but there is no reference to any having been buried at the confluence of the rivers; on the contrary, he does not even mention the forks, but states that he passed directly from Shannopinstown to Chiningué—the Indian village known to the English and the savages as Logstown. The expedition continued down the Ohio to the mouth of the Miami, up that stream to a portage, thence to the headwaters of the Maumee, down that river to Lake Erie, and back to the place of starting.

The Indians were generally found by Céloron to be unfriendly to the French, and either fled at their approach or treated them with extreme coldness, showing that they refrained from open hostilities only through fear.

The flames of war were now kindled between the French and the English in the Valley of the Ohio, and all that was required for them to burst forth was time; and that time was destined to be very short. During the next three years the agents of both the French and the English were actively engaged in securing the coöperation, or at least the neutrality, of the Indians; for it was plain that they were to be a very important factor in the struggle, although victory for either contestant meant nothing more nor less for them than the permanent loss of their ancestral hunting grounds. The French were the first to begin active operations. Acting on the plan they had formed of connecting the mouth of the St. Lawrence with that of the Mississippi, they landed a force, in April, 1753, at a place on the southern shores of Lake

Erie, from that time known as Presqu' Isle but now as Erie City, where they built their first fort on Pennsylvania soil. On the completion of this fort, they cut a road to the head of canoe navigation on French Creek, or La Bœuf River, as they named it, on the site of the present Watertown, which they called Fort La Bœuf. Failing to get the consent of the Indians to build a third at the mouth of French Creek, they left a small garrison in the forts already built, with trusty agents to work on the minds of the Indians during the winter, and brought the rest of their forces back to winter in Canada, hoping to return in the spring, and with the consent of the Indians build the third fort.

In the meantime the English kept themselves informed of the operations of their enemies, but adopted no active measures to resist them. The Quaker authorities of Pennsylvania, with their unreasonable sympathy for the murderers of the colonists whom they had induced to settle on their lands, were willing to let things take their course, rather than do what everyone regarded as the only sensible course to be pursued under the circumstances; and this stubborn indifference for the lives and interests of their colonists was characteristic of them during all the struggles through which the colony had to pass before it finally attained its independence. Not so the sturdy Scotchman, Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, who took the matter in hand early in the fall of 1753, and sent George Washington, with dispatches to the commander of the French posts near Lake Erie, to ascertain the intentions of the French and their ability to realize them, and to make such other observations and secure such other information as might be useful to the colonies in the event of attempting armed resistance. On his way he stopped at the confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers, November 22d, and it is a remarkable fact that he is the first person who drew attention to its natural advantages. He says, in his journal of the expedition, that he made a careful examination of the place, and considers it well situated for a fort, and much superior to the point, about two miles down the river on the south side, where the Indians wanted the Ohio Company to build one. We shall have occasion to return to this matter later on. Washington continued with his small band to Logstown, where he held conferences with the Indians, and procured guides to the French posts. This done, he set out with as little delay as possible and soon reached the mouth of French Creek, from whence he was directed to Fort La Bœuf, where the commander of the French forces then was. Here his troubles began, for the French supplied the Indians liberally with rum, tried to detain them, and threw all manner of obstacles in his way. At length, however, he reached La Bœuf, and delivered his letters to the commander. While awaiting a reply, he busied himself secretly in taking notes of the strength of the French forces and their intentions, and succeeded in learning that they were determined to descend the river in the spring and take possession of the forks; and it was clear to him that with the army they had, and the reinforcements they expected, it would be comparatively easy for them to do so. The difficulty Washington found in keeping his Indians sober and frustrating the designs of the French to detain them caused him no little anxiety; but the tact he displayed enabled him to set out on the 16th of December. He soon reached Williamsburg, the seat of government of the Colony of Virginia, and delivered the reply from the French commander, with the information he had been able to secure, to Dinwiddie. No time was to be lost if a successful resistance was to be made, and accordingly Captain William Trent was ordered to proceed with all possible dispatch to the forts with one hundred men, and the necessary supplies and tools, and throw up a fortification to command the rivers. John Fraser, a

Scotch trader and gunsmith, whom Céloron had expelled from the mouth of French Creek in 1749, and who had settled at the mouth of Turtle Creek, ten miles above the forks on the Monongahela, was made lieutenant, and Edward Ward was ensign. Captain Trent arrived at the forks, the site of the future city of Pittsburg, on Sunday, February 17, 1754,—a memorable date in the history of Pittsburg, as it marks the beginning of the permanent occupation of the site of our now flourishing city. The day of the week, which it is sometimes difficult to fix in early history, is arrived at from data furnished by Washington, where he states in his journal: "Tuesday, the first of January, we left Fraser's house," etc., which makes February 17th Sunday. The somber forests soon awakened to a new life, and resounded with the echo of many axes and the crash of falling trees. The fort was soon under way, and rude huts were constructed to protect the men against the inclemency of the weather.

While these operations were going on at the forks, the French, who had gained the consent of the Indians, were building Fort Machault at the mouth of French Creek, and assembling their forces and the Indians who, seeing their strength, had espoused their cause. The stronghold was soon completed, and with the opening of the river they were prepared for active operations; and about the middle of April they embarked for the forks in canoes and bateaux with an army consisting of French, Canadians and Indians, variously estimated at about one thousand, with eighteen pieces of cannon, in command of Captain Contrecoeur. It would appear that the English had not carefully watched their movements, because they came unobserved, and landed about half a mile above the point in the evening of April 16th. The date generally given is the 17th, because that was the day upon which the English forces left the place; but the discovery of the summons sent by Contrecoeur leaves no doubt that it was on the 16th the French arrived and demanded a surrender of the unfinished works. In this important document Contrecoeur expresses his surprise that the English should have dared to fortify a place within the dominions of the king, his master, and demands by what authority they have done a thing so contrary to the treaties between the two powers. He complains, also, that the English have for some time past been instigating the Indians against the French. Only one hour was given for deliberation. Both Captain Trent and Lieutenant Fraser were absent, and Ensign Ward was in command of the little band of thirty-three men. No officer was present with whom he could consult, but the Indian chief Tanacharison accompanied him to the French camp, where he represented that, as he was not an officer invested with authority to reply to the demand, the French should await the arrival of Trent, who was at Turtle Creek. This Contrecoeur refused, and insisted on an immediate surrender; but with characteristic French politeness he invited Ward to supper. Nothing was left for the latter but to obey the summons; but whether he accepted the invitation to supper or not is not certain. Very probably he had but little appetite, and had Contrecoeur foreseen the consequences of that day's doings, his happiness would also have been greatly clouded, as an old chronicler very properly remarks. On the following morning the English forces were permitted to march out, and they proceeded to Red Stone, on the Monongahela, the site of the present Brownsville. A French account says they had four cannon, and were permitted to take one with them. Contrecoeur's demand on Ward to surrender his unfinished fort was practically the declaration of that memorable war whose operations extended over a great part of the globe, and in the end forced the French to relinquish nearly all their possessions outside of Europe. Indirectly it exercised great influence on the achievement of American independence.



Washington was at this time at Wills Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, on his way with additional forces and supplies to join Trent at the forks, when he received intelligence of the surrender; and he pushed forward with all possible speed in the hope of joining Trent and recapturing the place before the French had time to fortify themselves. But the difficulty of opening a road in an unbroken mountain forest delayed him, and it was near the end of May when he reached the Great Meadows, in the present Fayette County, Pennsylvania. On the 27th the scouts, whom he prudently kept in advance, brought word that the French were advancing with considerable force to meet him, and that just then they lay in ambush in a place a few miles distant admirably suited by nature for concealment. Washington resolved to take the initiative and attack them, and he accordingly set out on the evening of the 28th, in a heavy rain and pitchy darkness, but did not succeed in reaching the vicinity of the enemy's camp till sunrise. Having reconnoitered the place, he made an attack in which the commander, Jumonville, and nine of his men were killed, and twenty-one taken prisoners. The prisoners were sent to Virginia, and Washington continued his march, cutting his way as best he could through the forests.

This skirmish is deserving of more than a passing notice for several reasons: Because it was the first act of open hostilities in which blood was shed; because it was Washington's first victory; because it demonstrated the fact that the rupture between the French and the English could now be settled only by an appeal to arms; and because it was made to cast a blot on the character of Washington, by which he was extremely distressed when he learned of it later on, as we shall see. American writers have labored with success to clear the Father of their Country of the imputation; but to this day the French refuse to admit it.

It is the purpose of this history to be as impartial as it is possible to make it; and while this important question cannot be treated at length, it is necessary to refer to it briefly, and in doing so equal favor will be shown to both contestants. We have seen that both commanders claimed the territory west of the mountains and that neither believed he was invading the territory of a sovereign with whom his own nation was at peace. The conduct of the English was open and honorable. Conrad Weiser was sent to treat with the Indians on the Ohio in 1748; Washington went openly to the commander of the French near Lake Erie; Trent came to the forks to fortify it as to a place that belonged to the English colonies and was threatened with invasion; and Washington followed to reinforce him and to enable him the more surely to hold the possession of his Britannic Majesty. So, too, the French. They claimed the territory in virtue of discovery, and of the treaties between the two nations; sent Céloron to explore it and take formal possession of it; built forts to repel the invading English, and prepared to hold by force of arms what they believed to be the rightful possessions of their royal master. So far the two nations appear to have acted in good faith; and their claims seem to have been based on about an equal footing. The skirmish in which Jumonville, the commander of the French forces, lost his life, brought the important matter to a crisis. But here, also, both parties were in good faith, because each was on lands which he believed belonged to his sovereign; but the conduct of the two nations now became different. Washington, in command of the forces intrusted to him, proceeded to cut a road to the forks, prudently keeping scouts in advance, knowing that he was in a country claimed by the enemy. The French sent out a force, claiming that it was an embassy to the Governor of Virginia; but it was not such an embassy as that upon which Washington had gone the previous winter to the French at La Beauf.



*H. H. Clark*

and delivered his message with a conscious sense of right. On the contrary, the French came with a considerable force, since thirty-two were either killed, wounded or taken prisoners. They inquired carefully regarding Washington's forces, movements, etc., before they reached him, and then concealed themselves in one of the best places prepared by nature for an ambush. With all due allowance for their claims of friendship, everything shows their design to have been aggressive; and when it is compared with Washington's and Dinwiddie's action a few months before, it appears to the greatest disadvantage.

The routed French retired, having first sent runners to announce the result of the engagement at Fort Duquesne, and receive further orders. The forces under Washington returned to the work of opening the road, and prosecuted their labors with as much dispatch as circumstances would permit, till toward the latter part of June, when they were informed that the French were advancing in force to attack them. At first it was resolved to fortify themselves where they were, thirteen miles west of the Great Meadows, but a council of war being held it was judged most prudent to retire to Wills Creek. They set out on their return, but at the end of two days the forces were so fatigued, the supplies so scarce, and the horses able to carry burdens so few, that no alternative was left but to halt at the Great Meadows, fortify themselves and await the approach of the enemy. The rude defensive work was named Fort Necessity. Scouts were kept out who reported the movements and strength of the enemy, who appeared on the 3d of July and commenced the attack. The details of the engagement need not be given; suffice it to say that Washington was forced to surrender to superior numbers, and terms of capitulation as honorable as could have been expected were agreed upon. In these terms it was that Washington was ensnared into the acknowledgment of having murdered Jumonville, either through the ignorance of the French language of Jacob Van Bram, who acted as interpreter for Washington, who was not acquainted with French, or through his malice. The Colonial forces now retired to Wills Creek, and little was done for the defense of the frontier till the arrival of General Braddock a year later.

The French were now masters of the whole country west of the mountains, and for more than four years they overran the entire province, extending their raids beyond the Susquehanna. Wherever they and their savage allies appeared their path was marked with bloodshed, desolation and ruin. The settlers that were so fortunate as to escape the tomahawk and the scalping-knife fled in consternation to the more thickly settled districts, leaving all behind them that had not already fallen into the hands of the cruel victors, except the little they were able to carry with them in their hasty flight. All seemed lost between the tardiness of the home government, the want of concerted action among the Colonial authorities and the mistaken proverbial apathy of Pennsylvania Quakers.

The French had now won the Indians to their side, and had established communication between Canada and the Mississippi; but knowing well that they must maintain by force of arms what they had secured in the same manner, they strengthened Fort Duquesne till, though small, it was one of the most formidable strongholds on the continent, as it was beyond question the most important. But it had several disadvantages. It was far from the source of supplies and reinforcements, and had no ready communication; it was situated on low ground, surrounded by hills from which it could be bombarded with impunity, and it was on a river that flowed directly from the enemy's country, and from the nearest and best point of communication with that country. The savages, too, upon whom they relied to a great extent, were, if left to themselves, more favorable to the English than to them; and these



had to be held by constant presents, or by raids on the frontier where plentiful booty would reward them for their coöperation.

The home governments, though professedly at peace—for war was not declared till May, 1756—were both preparing to send forces to America. General Edward Braddock, who was given the command of the English army, landed in February, 1755, and began his slow preparations to advance into the enemy's country. Though skilled and brave, he was self-willed and imperious, and had a supreme contempt for the Colonial soldiers and their method of fighting, which he made no efforts to conceal. After many delays his army, consisting of a little more than two thousand men, besides non-combatants and a varying contingent of Indians, arrived at Wills Creek, and prepared to cross the mountains. Washington was one of the General's aids, and the most valuable one; but had it not been for his prudent self-control he could not long have brooked the insolence of the deluded commander. We need not follow the army in its necessarily slow march across the mountains; suffice it to say that when it reached a place on the summit of the Chestnut Ridge, since known as Dunbar's Camp, it was thought well to leave the heavier artillery and much of the supplies there with a subordinate officer, and push forward more rapidly; for the idea of meeting with serious resistance was not entertained by the sanguine commander. And, considered in itself, the movement was a prudent one. Accordingly, taking twelve hundred English and Colonial soldiers, with sufficient artillery and supplies, Braddock pushed forward, arriving on the eastern bank of the Monongahela, a short distance below the mouth of the Youghiogheny, early in the forenoon of July 9th. Washington, who had been forced to remain behind on account of sickness, now joined his leader. Crossing the river at this point, Braddock passed down the west side to avoid the hills that rose precipitously from the water on the east, and recrossed just below the mouth of Turtle Creek. Confident that the French and Indians were watching his movements, he displayed his army to the best advantage while making the ford. It was a little past noon when the rear of the army reached the eastern bank and began its march across the bottom land.

Turning to the French, it is disputed whether Contrecoeur or Beaujeu was commander of Fort Duquesne at this time. Contrecoeur had asked to be relieved, and Beaujeu had been sent to take his place; both were at the fort, but whether the latter had assumed command or not is not certain, although it would appear that he had not. The near approach of Braddock's army filled the French and Indians with consternation; and, though the fort had been strengthened as much as possible, and forces had been concentrated from Lake Erie and the Illinois country, there was but slender hope of a successful resistance. Beaujeu, however, determined to sally out and meet the enemy, and not yield without making some show of resistance. When his design was made known the previous evening, it was opposed both by the French and Indians as rash, and few, if any, were willing to join him. The next morning he again expressed his determination, and so worked on the minds of the Indians and French that he succeeded in rallying around his standard a force variously estimated, but which consisted, according to the most reliable account, of 637 savages, 146 Canadians and 72 regular troops. Subordinate in command were MM. Dumas and De Ligneris, both captains in the regular army, with other inferior officers. He had carefully reconnoitered the ground, and the place where he resolved to meet the enemy was carefully selected. His intention was to dispute the second fording, and then to fall back upon the ravines; but so much time was spent in getting his forces together that he arrived too late, and nothing was left but to lay an ambush

in the two ravines between which the army under Braddock must pass. The English commander had obstinately refused to keep scouts in advance to prevent a surprise, although Washington and others had frequently urged him to do so, deeming his forces superior to any the enemy could oppose to them. The story of the battle has been frequently told both in French and English, and need not be repeated in detail; suffice it to say, that, about one o'clock, July 9th, the advance guard of the English army was suddenly fired upon by an unseen enemy, thrown into confusion and forced back upon the main body. It is sad to have to relate that the courageous Beaujeu was killed at the first fire. The English were panic-stricken, having to fight an unseen enemy, and the Colonial troops were not permitted to fight the savages in their own fashion. The combat lasted about two hours; the English regulars, terrified at the fiendish warwhoops of the savages, and dispirited with a style of warfare the like of which they had never imagined, gathered together in a body, and offered a tempting mark to the enemy, while they fired at random. The officers did all in their power to retrieve the fortunes of the day, but were a ready mark for the unerring aim of the Indians, and out of 86, 26 were killed and 37 wounded. The Virginians showed great valor, and of the three companies scarcely thirty were left; the regulars, having wasted their ammunition, broke and ran, leaving the artillery, provisions, baggage, and even the General's private papers, a prey to the enemy. All attempts to rally them were vain. Seven hundred and fourteen privates were killed or wounded, together with the army chaplain, who was among the latter; while of the French and Indians only three officers and 30 men fell, and about as many were wounded. After having had five horses shot from under him, a ball entered Braddock's side, and he was borne from the field mortally wounded. He was carried across the river with the remnant of his army, and the flight to Dunbar's Camp, on the Chestnut Ridge, was continued with all possible speed. On the 11th they reached the camp, which the news of the defeat had converted into a scene of the greatest confusion. On the following day the remaining artillery, stores and heavy baggage were destroyed, and the retreat began. Colonel Thomas Dunbar, the highest officer under Braddock, assumed command and retreated to Philadelphia to spend the winter. Braddock died on the 13th and was buried near the Great Meadows, where his grave is still pointed out.

It is worthy of note that at the first and at the last battle of the French and English war in America, the generals on both sides lost their lives: Beaujeu and Braddock at the battle of Monongahela, Montcalm and Wolfe at the taking of Quebec.

The effect of Braddock's defeat was widespread and disastrous to the colonists of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Nothing could exceed the terror with which the news filled the frontier, a feeling which extended even to Philadelphia, where some over-sanguine persons were actually collecting funds to celebrate the victory they felt confident would soon be gained over the French. But where victory was expected and predicted consternation alone appeared, and the tomahawk and scalping-knife were already seen in imagination to glitter at every cabin door. From that day there was no security for human life or property west of the Susquehanna; and soon marauding bands of savages appeared as far east as Reading. All that was ferocious in the breasts of the savages was aroused to activity, and the Canadians, many of whom were only a little less cruel, were ready to join them in the general devastation: even the French soldiers felt a fresh impulse added to the racial, national and religious hatred with which they had for centuries regarded the English. Whence was relief to come? All the forces of the colonies, supposing that

harmony reigned between their respective governors and assemblies, would not be sufficient to check the elated victors and guard the frontier; and assistance could not be expected from the mother country before the middle of another year. Besides, England had sufficient to engage her attention at home. In May, 1756, George II declared war against France, and both as a protection of the colonies and as a means of dividing the forces of the enemy, he planned an American campaign. But the right man was not at the head of it, and it was a pitiable manifestation of military incompetence. The commander-in-chief, the Earl of Loudoun, did not reach America before the latter part of July. The one single hope shed on the frontier emanated from the Colonial militia.

The path of the hostile French and Indians led from a rendezvous on the Allegheny River, as well as from Fort Duquesne, and it was felt that there could be no security till this base of supplies was destroyed. This was Kittanning, an important Indian town on the east bank of the river forty-five miles above Fort Duquesne, where the town of the same name now stands. Lying on one of the principal trails from the East to the West, it was a place of great importance to the Indians, and being on the route of the French from the lakes to the fort, it was of no less importance to them. It was known to the latter as Attiqué, and it is mentioned in Céloron's journal as a considerable town. Colonel John Armstrong, who commanded the Colonial forces garrisoning the forts in the Juniata Valley, was ordered by the Governor to fit out and command an expedition against it. Hopes were entertained that the Delaware chief, Captain Jacobs, who made his home there and who was one of the most cunning and cruel of the savage leaders, might either be killed or captured, and that a large number of prisoners held there might also be released. All necessary preparations having been made, Colonel Armstrong set out from Fort Shirley, a frontier post situated on Aughwick Creek, a short distance southeast of the present town of Huntingdon, on the 30th of August, 1756, with a force of about 300 men. The expedition followed closely the well-known Kittanning Path, and after a march of four days, the little army came unobserved to the immediate vicinity of the town, when they discovered a party of savages stopping for the night in the path. Turning aside, they were enabled to come unseen to the top of the hill overlooking the town. We cannot delay to enter into a detailed account of the battle; suffice it to say that the town was destroyed, with its vast stores of ammunition and provisions. September 8th, Captain Jacobs was killed,—although this is denied by some authorities,—a large number of prisoners were rescued, and the enemy was frustrated in the execution of a well planned attack on the frontier forts, especially Fort Shirley, which was to have been undertaken the next day. Colonel Armstrong received a slight wound, but the expedition was eminently successful; and well did the daring commander deserve to have the county in which the battle took place named after him, that future generations might revere his memory. In the account of the affair which the commander of the French at Fort Duquesne sent the next day to Canada, the credit of leading the Colonial forces is given to "Le Général Wachinton," whose name was already a tower of strength on the frontier.

The results of this skillfully planned and admirably executed attack were not of lasting importance; for, though it broke up the greatest Indian stronghold in Western Pennsylvania, it counted for little in the struggle between the two most powerful nations of Europe for the possession of the Valley of the Ohio. It could not be followed up, and it consequently gave the frontier only a moment's respite. The English forces in North America were at that time under the command of an incompetent general, and for that



reason the following year, 1757, but added to the disasters that had attended the English cause since the beginning of the war. West of the Susquehanna the Indians and the French had it all their own way, for the territory of Western Pennsylvania received but little attention, the efforts of the commander-in-chief being mainly directed toward the French posts on the head of Lake Champlain. At the close of the year the cause of the enemy seemed everywhere triumphant, and had it not been that hopes were revived by restoration of Pitt to the British ministry, the situation of the colonies would have been truly deplorable; but with the opening of the spring of 1758 the presence of that eminent statesman began to be felt in the councils of the British, and signs of healthy activity began to show themselves in American affairs. Loudoun was recalled, and Abercrombie, seconded by Lord Howe, succeeded him; and, while Amherst and Wolfe were sent to join the fleet in the Northeast, and the commander-in-chief directed his movements against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, General John Forbes was placed in command of the army that was to operate west of the mountains. With this campaign only are we concerned, and space must be given to its details, because with it ended the ascendancy of the French, not only in the Ohio Valley, but also in the whole of North America.

After considerable delay Forbes saw 1,250 Scotch Highlanders arrive from South Carolina, who were joined by 350 Royal Americans. Pennsylvania furnished 2,700 Colonial troops and Virginia 1,900. Yet strong as was Forbes' army, he could hardly have reached the Ohio had it not been for Washington, whose knowledge of the country and of Indian warfare was invaluable, although he was strongly in favor of following Braddock's route instead of cutting a new one from Bedford, as the commander insisted on doing, and did. The Indians were to be an important factor in the campaign, and when Forbes was about to march, the provincial government determined to make an effort to alienate the tribes on and near the Ohio from the French. Accordingly, Christian Frederic Post, a Moravian missionary who was held in high esteem by the Eastern Indians, and especially by the Delawares, was sent out in July. Accompanied by a small number of Indians, he proceeded by the west branch of the Susquehanna and Venango to Kiskakunk, on the Beaver River, about four miles below the present town of New Castle, an important Indian village, where he was well received and attentively listened to. This visit inflicted a severe blow at the confidence of the Indians in the ultimate success of the French, and caused many of them to waver.

The army under Forbes had been making slow progress, and did not reach Raystown, the present Bedford, before September. Here Colonel Bouquet was awaiting the arrival of the General. But this tardiness was not without a good effect. It gave Post an opportunity of perfecting his negotiations with the wavering Indians; it exhausted their patience at the inactivity of the French, and caused many of them to leave the fort and return to their homes; and it resulted in the consumption of the provisions of the French, and forced them to reduce their forces. In this way the capture of the fort was rendered more certain and less difficult. Bouquet was sent forward from Raystown with a force of 2,000 men to a point on the Loyalhanna, afterward the site of Fort Ligonier, while the main body of the army and the General followed with the heavy artillery and baggage. Every day was sealing more certainly the fate of Fort Duquesne. The French began to be disheartened at the success of the English on the lakes; the distance of the fort from the base of supplies was a serious difficulty, and the mutual jealousies of the authorities in Canada rendered the position of the garrison of the fort a very unenviable one. Nor was the state of affairs at the fort itself any better. General

Montcalm, writing at this time to his friend Chevalier de Bourlamaque, gives this picture of the condition of affairs at Fort Duquesne: "Mutiny among the Canadians, who want to go home; the officers busy with making money, and stealing like mandarins. Their commander sets the example and will come back with three or four hundred thousand francs; the pettiest ensign, who does not gamble, will have ten, twelve or fifteen hundred francs. The Indians do not like Ligneris, who is drunk every day." Insignificant successes served in a measure to keep up the spirits of the French, but the entire policy of that nation in the New World was erroneous, and the fall of its power was only a question of time. The defeat of Major Grant, September 5th, within a mile of the fort, to which he had been sent with 800 men to reconnoiter, was due rather to his imprudence than to the valor and vigilance of the enemy; and the attack of the French and Indians on Fort Ligonier, a short time after, produced no permanent result. The fall of Fort Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, August 27th, by cutting off supplies, made it impossible longer to hold Fort Duquesne. All hope being lost, on November 24th, when the English were within ten miles of the fort, it was blown up, and the surrounding buildings, about thirty in number, were burnt. The French, who numbered about four hundred, besides a large force of Indians of various tribes, withdrew. Part of the former went down the Ohio to the Illinois country, part across the country to Presqu' Isle, and part with the commander, De Ligneris, up the Allegheny to the fort at the mouth of French Creek. On November 25, 1758, the English advanced in a body, and at evening, says Mr. Bancroft, the youthful Washington could point out to the officers and men the meeting of the waters. The hand of the veteran Armstrong raised the British flag over the ruins of the fort, and as the banner floated to the breeze, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was named Pittsburg. The first recorded use of the name is found in a letter from General Forbes to Governor Denny, dated the day after taking possession, from "Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, the 26 November, 1758." The minutes of a conference held by Colonel Bouquet with the chiefs of the Delaware Indians, "at Pitts-Bourgh, December 4, 1758," gives another form of the same name. The next day after the arrival of the English being Sunday, the army chaplain, Rev. Charles Beatty, was ordered to preach a sermon in thanksgiving for the superiority of the British arms. He was a Presbyterian.

Leaving Colonel Hugh Mercer with about two hundred men in a small fort hastily thrown up near the ruins of the French stronghold, Forbes, with the rest of the army, set out on their return to Philadelphia. During the winter and early spring the French concentrated forces at Fort Machault, at the mouth of French Creek, with a view of returning and retaking Fort Duquesne, but the attack on Fort Niagara caused them to abandon that idea, and hasten to the relief of that post, which, however, fell on the 5th of August. Quebec fell with the death of Montcalm, September 14th of the same year; and with the capitulation of Montreal September 8, 1760, all the possessions of the French east of the Mississippi fell into the hands of the English, and the star of France sank below the horizon never to rise in the Valley of the Ohio.

It is needless to speculate on what the consequences would have been if the French arms had triumphed west of the Alleghany Mountains. Different persons will be influenced in forming their opinions by their racial, national, religious or other bias. But it was in the nature of things that the Saxon race should obtain the mastery, both on account of the mistaken colonization policy of the French, who, although a thrifty people at home, are not so successful as their rivals across the channel in planting colonies abroad. Besides, the

mouth of the St. Lawrence and that of the Mississippi are too far distant from the interior for ready communication and the transmission of supplies. The Appalachian Mountain ranges presented a barrier to the English, but this had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Communication could always be had between the frontier settlements and the seaboard in a few days, and the colonies were obliged to strengthen themselves and become firmly grounded in the East before attempting to form settlements beyond the "Alleghany Hills." The progress of the English was natural; that of the French was not.



### CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF BOUNDARY DISPUTES—MASON AND DIXON'S LINE—VIRGINIA AND PENNSYLVANIA CHARTERS—FORT PITT DISMANTLED—VIRGINIA TAKES POSSESSION OF IT—TROUBLE AT PITTSBURG IN CONSEQUENCE—DR. JOHN CONNOLLY—EFFORTS TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE INEFFECTUAL—TRADERS RESOLVE TO BUILD A TOWN ON THE MANOR OF KITTANNING—COUNTER PROCLAMATIONS—FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT A SETTLEMENT—EXTENSION OF MASON AND DIXON'S LINE—RUNNING OF WESTERN BOUNDARY LINE—CONCLUSION OF DISPUTE.

Reference has more than once been made in previous chapters to a difference of opinion which long existed between the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia regarding the boundary line which separated them, each claiming a large portion of Southwestern Pennsylvania. The purpose of the present chapter shall be to inquire into the cause, the consequences and the final settlement of this dispute.

It cannot be regarded as a matter of surprise that controversies should have arisen between adjoining colonies respecting the lines by which they should be divided. There were several very good reasons for them. The imperfect knowledge of the geography of the country when the first charters or grants were issued, and the consequent indefiniteness of the terms in which they were couched; the desire of those who asked for charters to have them as ample as possible, which may have caused them at times to impose on the imperfect knowledge of the territory possessed by the rulers; the disposition to interpret the charters, when obtained, in the most liberal sense; and the importance attached to priority of occupation, will suffice to account for all the controversies found in our early history. With a more perfect knowledge of the geography of nations, there are in our own day controversies of the same kind in Africa, South America and Alaska. No boundary disputes in the United States were more important than those between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the same colony and Virginia; and the former from the influence it exerted on the latter will be briefly referred to.

In sketching the running of Mason and Dixon's line it will not be necessary to enter into the details of the long and animated dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland respecting their boundaries; suffice it to say that, after much contending, the proprietaries of the two colonies, when in London together, in the year 1763, agreed to employ Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two mathematicians and surveyors, to run the dividing line between the colonies. They arrived in Philadelphia before the end of the year, received their instructions, and proceeded to the work assigned them. After considerable preliminary surveying, they fixed the southern boundary of Pennsylvania at  $39^{\circ} 43' 18''$ —now more exactly calculated to be  $39^{\circ} 43' 26.3''$ . In the years 1766-67 they extended the line west to the distance of a little more than 244 miles from the Delaware River; but when they reached that point the Indians would not allow them to proceed further. The line was marked for the distance of 132 miles by stones set up at the end of every two miles,

every fifth stone having on its northern face the arms of Thomas and Richard Penn, and on its southern face those of Lord Baltimore. These stones were imported from England. To return to the subject of this chapter.

After several ineffectual attempts to colonize Virginia, James I, in 1609, granted to a London company, by royal charter, a tract of country extending 200 miles to the north and as many to the south of Old Point Comfort; and in 1681 Charles II granted to William Penn, by a similar charter, a territory reaching from "the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude . . . . . the said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the eastern boundary," the Delaware River. The dispute embraced two points: The southern and the western boundary lines. Had Virginia secured the territory as far north as her charter called for, it would not have taken in the forks of the Ohio; but her governors claimed that the five degrees west of the Delaware, granted to William Penn, did not extend further west than the Laurel Ridge, or the summit of the most western spur of the Alleghany Mountains, and that all the lands lying beyond that line belonged to Virginia. So long as the country west of the mountains remained unsettled, the question of territorial boundaries attracted little attention; but when it became necessary to defend the country against the encroachments of the French, and secure the forks of the Ohio, the strategic point, it presented itself for solution, and the more so as the Governor of Virginia took the initiative in securing information regarding the intentions of the French and the strength of their armament, and in fortifying the point at the forks. The operations of the Ohio Land Company do not appear to have elicited a protest from the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, although much of their grant was within the limits claimed by the Penns. Correspondence now began to be exchanged between the governors of the two colonies, but the unexpected arrival of the French at the forks, and the necessity of uniting all the forces of the colonies to oppose them, forced the question into the background, where it remained till after Pontiac's war. With the return of a sense of security, and the commencement of settlements west of the Monongahela, it again made its appearance. The territory had not as yet been purchased from the Indians, and they complained so loudly of the encroachments of the whites, that the King required the governors of the two colonies to compel them to retire to lands which had been purchased. But they paid so little heed to all authorities that nothing was left but to purchase the lands from the natives, which, as we have seen, was done by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in October, 1768. It now seemed necessary to bring the matter to a final settlement in order to give clear titles to the lands that might be purchased by settlers; yet time went on and nothing was done. So peaceable did the Indians appear that Major Edmonson, who commanded the garrison at Fort Pitt, received orders from the commander-in-chief in October, 1772, to dismantle the fort and withdraw his command. He did so, though not without a protest from the settlers, who feared, and with good reason, that the unprotected state of the frontier would encourage the Indians to a renewal of former hostilities. A more serious danger, if possible, soon menaced the incipient city. Unfortunately for the peace of the country, Virginia was at that time governed by a man who was more remarkable for his avarice than for his patriotism. This was Lord Dunmore, who was appointed Governor in 1771; and no sooner was he in possession of power than he began to use it in taking up lands for himself. Says Mr. Bancroft: "No royal Governor showed more rapacity in the use of official power than Lord Dunmore. He reluctantly left New York, where, during his short career,"—of less than a year and a half—"he acquired fifty thousand acres. . . . Upon entering upon

jurisdiction, which would at once settle our present dispute, without the great trouble and expense of running lines, or the inconvenience of keeping the jurisdiction in suspense."

On the same day Lord Dunmore replied in a characteristic and haughty manner, stating, among other things, that, "your resolution with respect to Fort Pitt puts an entire stop to further treaty;" and they, in their turn, answered, on the 27th, that, "the determination of His Lordship not to relinquish Fort Pitt puts a period to the treaty." Says Mr. Craig: "After a careful perusal of this correspondence, and an attentive consideration of Lord Dunmore's conduct in 1774 and 1775, the conclusion is forced upon the mind, that he was a very weak and arbitrary man, or else that the suspicion, then entertained, that he wished to promote ill will and hostility between the Pennsylvanians and Virginians, as well as between the Indians and the whites, was well founded." These negotiations having failed, Connolly continued to domineer with a high hand at Fort Pitt; so much so that Aeneas Mackay, a prominent person in the western part of the Province, wrote to Governor Penn: "The deplorable state of affairs in this part of your Government is truly distressing. We are robbed, insulted and dragooned by Connolly and his militia in this place and its environs."

The people were driven to the last extremity, and, though accustomed to take their own part, they had no court to which an appeal could be made, and were too weak to appeal to force of arms. The traders, especially upon whom the town of Pittsburg mainly depended, contemplated a number of plans for their relief. One of these was to raise a stockade around the town, which stood a little distance from Fort Pitt, on the banks of the Monongahela, and another was to build a town in the Manor of Kittanning, about four miles below Kittanning, where Ford City now stands, which they proposed to call Appleby. The town was never built, but active measures were taken looking to the building of it in the summer of 1774, as the following from the Colonial Records goes to show: At a council held at Philadelphia, on the 4th of August, 1774, "the Governor laid before the Board two letters which he received within these three days from Captain St. Clair, at Ligonier, dated the 22 and 26 of July, with certain papers enclosed relative to Indian and other affairs in Westmoreland, and the same being read and considered, the Council advised the Governor to order a town to be immediately laid out in the Proprietary Manor at Kittanning, for the accommodation of the traders and other inhabitants of Pittsburg, who, by Captain St. Clair's advices, would be under the necessity of removing from that town on account of the oppressive proceedings of the Virginians." August 6th Governor Penn wrote to St. Clair: "I am now to acquaint you that I approve of the measure of laying out a town in the Proprietary Manor of Kittanning, to accommodate the traders and other inhabitants who may chuse to reside there; and therefore enclose you an order for that purpose." On the 24th of August, 1774, while Richard Butler was conveying eight horseloads of dry goods for one James McFarlane to the site of the proposed new town, these goods, with two horseloads of flour and salt for the Pennsylvania troops, were seized by Connolly. The next day Arthur St. Clair wrote from Ligonier to Governor Penn: "I acquainted the Delawares with your orders for the erecting a trading place at the Kittanning, for which they were thankful, as they are in want of many things already, and cannot come to Pittsburg to purchase, and a number of them will probably be there on Monday next, which is the time I have appointed for laying out the town." This fixes the date, August 29, 1774, as the day upon which the new town of Appleby, as it was to be named, was to be laid out. Such was the unhappy condition



of affairs when Lord Dunmore, who was then in Pittsburg, issued the following proclamation, September 17, 1774:

"A PROCLAMATION.

"*Whereas*, The rapid settlement made on the west side of the Alleghany Mountains by His Majesty's subjects within the course of these few years has become an object of real concern to His Majesty's interests in this quarter; and *whereas*, the Province of Pennsylvania have unduly laid claim to a very valuable and extensive quantity of His Majesty's territory, and the executive part of that Government, in consequence thereof, has most arbitrarily and unwarrantably proceeded to abuse the laudable advancements in the part of His Majesty's dominions by many oppressive and illegal methods in the discharge of this imaginary authority; and *whereas*, the ancient claim laid to this country by the Colony of Virginia, founded in reason, upon preoccupation and the general acquiescence of all persons, together with the instructions I have lately received from His Majesty's servants, ordering me to take this country under my administration, and as the evident injustice manifestly offered to His Majesty by the immediate strides taken by the proprietors of Pennsylvania, in prosecution of their wild claim to this country, demand an immediate remedy, I do hereby, in His Majesty's name, require and command all His Majesty's subjects west of the Laurel Hill to pay a due respect to this my proclamation, strictly prohibiting the execution of any act of authority on behalf of the Province of Pennsylvania, at their peril, in this country; but, on the contrary, that a due regard and entire obedience to the laws of His Majesty's Colony of Virginia, under my administration, be observed, to the end that regularity may ensue, and a just regard to the interest of His Majesty in this quarter, as well as to the subjects in general, may be the consequence. Given under my hand and seal at Fort Dunmore, September 7, 1774.

"DUNMORE."

The publication of this proclamation brought out the following counter proclamation from Governor Penn of Pennsylvania:

"A PROCLAMATION.

"*Whereas*, I have received information that His Excellency, the Earl of Dunmore, Governor-General in and over His Majesty's Colony of Virginia, hath lately issued a very extraordinary proclamation, setting forth (here is recited the substance of Lord Dunmore's proclamation); and *whereas*, although the western limits of the Province of Pennsylvania have not been settled by any authority from the Crown, yet it has been sufficiently demonstrated by lines accurately run by the most skilled artists, that not only a great tract of country west of the Laurel Hill, but Fort Pitt also, are comprehended within the charter bounds of this Province, a great part of which country has been actually settled, and is now held under grants from the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and the jurisdiction of this Government has been peaceably exercised in that quarter of the country till the late strange claim set up by the Earl of Dunmore, in behalf of His Majesty's Colony of Virginia, founded, as His Lordship is above pleased to say, in reason, preoccupation, and the general acquiescence of all persons; . . . in justice, therefore, to the proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, who are only desirous to secure their own undoubted property from the encroachments of others, I have thought fit, with the advice of the Council, to issue this, my proclamation, hereby requiring all persons west of the Laurel Hill to retain their settlements as aforesaid made under this Province, and to pay due obedience to the laws of this Government; and all magistrates and other officers who

for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limit of said State be the western boundary of said State forever." This agreement of the commissioners was ratified—upon certain conditions as to land titles—by the Virginia Legislature, June 23, 1780, and by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania on the 23d of September of the same year. It now remained to draw the southern and western boundaries in accordance with the decision of the commission; but this was no easy task. In running their line Mason and Dixon had computed a degree of longitude on that parallel to be 53 miles 167.1 perches, and consequently the line from where it was left when first drawn would have to be extended about 23 miles westward to complete the five degrees longitude from the Delaware. But as some doubts had arisen as to the accuracy of this computation, it was determined to establish the western boundary by astronomical observations, and as considerable preparation was necessary for the execution of the work by this method, it was thought necessary in the meantime to run a temporary line; and in the spring of 1781 the President and Council of Pennsylvania, under authority from the Assembly, appointed Alexander M'Lean, a noted surveyor to meet one to be appointed by Virginia to execute the work. That State named Dr. James Madison. So many delays occurred, it was thought intentionally on the part of Virginia, that nothing was done in 1781 toward running the temporary line. On the 2d of March, 1782, the Council of Pennsylvania received and adopted the following report from a committee appointed to consider the question of running the temporary line: "That Council and your committee are unanimous in opinion, from the great expense necessarily attending the completing the line between this State and Virginia, it would be most prudent to defer it for the present, and that a temporary line during the continuance of the present war, or till times are more settled on the frontiers, may be made and agreed on at a small expense, which will answer every purpose expected, and to effect which Council will take the necessary measures." The work was ordered to proceed, and the 1st of June was set as the time for commencement. At the appointed time M'Lean repaired to the place of rendezvous, but neither Commissioner Madison nor the Virginia surveyor, Joseph Neville, appeared, but an armed body of Virginians who had collected there prevented him from proceeding with the work. He laid the state of affairs before his Government, and an arrangement was entered into between it and Virginia, and all obstacles having been sufficiently removed, he and Neville ran the temporary line in the fall of 1782.

The permanent boundary line was run and established from the Maryland line westward to the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, by a commission composed of members from the two States, "to determine by astronomical observation the extent of five degrees of longitude west from the River Delaware, in the latitude of Mason and Dixon's line, and to run and mark the boundaries which are common to both States, according to an agreement entered into by the commissioners of the said States at Baltimore, in 1779, and afterward ratified by their respective Assemblies." The commissioners divided themselves into two bodies, one of which proceeded to the point on the Delaware where Mason and Dixon's line began, and the other to the southwestern corner of the State, at each of which points an observatory was erected, where, by many weeks of careful astronomical observation, the commissioners carefully adjusted their chronometers to the true time. On the 20th of September the eastern party set out to meet those of the west to compare their observations. On comparing their chronometers, however, there was found to be a difference of one and one-eighth seconds. A sufficient distance was therefore meas-



*B H Jones*



ured back on the line, and the permanent corner of the State fixed. In the joint report of the commissioners, dated November 18, 1784, they say: "The underwritten commissioners have continued Mason and Dixon's line to the termination of the said five degrees of longitude, by which work the southern boundary of Pennsylvania is completed. The continuation we have marked by open vistas over the most remarkable heights which lie in its course, and by planting on many of these heights, in the true parallel of latitude, the true boundary, posts marked with the letters P and V, each facing the State of which it is the initial. At the extremity of this line, which is the southwest corner of Pennsylvania, we have planted a squared, unlettered white oak post, around whose base we have raised piles of stones. . . . The advanced season of the year and the inclemency of the weather have obliged us to suspend our operations, but we have agreed to meet again at the southwest corner of Pennsylvania on the 16th day of next May, to complete the object of our commission." In accordance with this agreement they met in the following year, ran and established the western boundary line of Pennsylvania due north from the southwestern corner post to the Ohio River, and made a report of their labors on the 23d of August. Thus ended this protracted dispute, perhaps the most remarkable in the history of this country, although it required some time, especially on the part of Virginia, to adjust all the details relating to land titles.

## CHAPTER IV.

NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF THE SITE OF PITTSBURG—PERMANENT OCCUPATION—BUILDING AND FALL OF FORT DUQUESNE—BEGINNING A TOWN—EARLY RELIGIOUS SERVICES, FRENCH, ENGLISH—EXTINCTION OF INDIAN TITLE—SURVEY OF THE MANOR OF PITTSBURG—WASHINGTON'S VISIT AND DESCRIPTION—IMPORTANCE OF THE PLACE DURING THE REVOLUTION—GENERAL IRVINE—THE PROPRIETARIES CONCLUDE TO SELL THE LANDS OF THE MANOR—SURVEY AND PLAN OF LOTS OF THE TOWN—GROWTH OF THE TOWN—EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF IT—ESTIMATES OF POPULATION—EARLY INDUSTRIES—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST NEWSPAPER WEST OF THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS—FIRST POST-OFFICE, AND MAIL REGULATIONS—BUILDING OF A MARKET HOUSE—LAST FAREWELL TO THE RED MAN—FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN—INCORPORATION OF THE BOROUGH OF PITTSBURG—TOPOGRAPHY—CONCLUSION.

Nature fitted the forks of the Ohio for the site of a great city, the French and frontier wars drew attention to its many advantages, and in a measure prepared the way, and it is for us in this chapter to record its incipency, and trace its gradual growth in the last century. It has already been stated that the first attempt at permanent occupation of the spot by the white man was made on Sunday, February 17, 1754, when Captain William Trent arrived with a small detachment to throw up a fortification to resist the threatened encroachments of the French. Little could he and his small band have appreciated, on that cold winter's day, the importance of the work they inaugurated in any of its numerous phases, all of which tended to attract greater attention to the advantages of the place, both from a military and a civic point of view. It was destined to experience several changes of masters and numerous vicissitudes, all of which have been or will be traced in these pages, before it was free to pursue its onward march to greatness. Yet all of these but tended to lay more deeply and firmly the foundations of that greatness; like the mountain oak, the storms that shake it but aid it in striking its roots more deeply into the soil.

Scarcely had the English begun the work of fortification when the French descended the river, came suddenly upon them, as we have seen, and demanded their immediate and unconditional surrender. With the building of Fort Duquesne the work of permanent occupation was continued, though not so much with a view of building a town—for the French then cared little for more than a military occupation—as of affording accommodations outside the fort for soldiers and hangers-on of the army; so that at the time of the victorious entry of General Forbes to take possession of the smoldering ruins of the fort and plant the standard of Great Britain, there were found the chimneys of some thirty houses near the fort. On Friday, November 24, 1758, when the army under Forbes was within about ten miles of the forks, and near the spot where the ill-fated Braddock had met with so crushing a defeat a little more than three years before, deep sounds were heard about sunset as of a heavy explosion, and it was conjectured from the volumes of smoke seen rising in the direction of Fort Duquesne that the French, despairing of

holding the place against the advancing enemy, had blown it up and withdrawn. Such was found to be the case. We have already spoken of the retreat of the French, and need not follow them now. On the next day, which witnessed the downfall of the French power in the Valley of the Ohio, and presaged it for all North America, the English took possession of the forks. But could the dying Forbes and his worn out but victorious army have penetrated the veil of the future, their prophetic eyes would have discerned in this victory a foreboding of the future overthrow of the power which they represented; and, strange as it might have appeared, they would have seen by their side the young hero by whom it was to be effected. Says the historian Bancroft: "On Saturday, the 26th of November, the little army moved on in one body; and at evening the youthful hero (Washington) could point to Armstrong and the hardy provincials, who marched in front, to the Highlanders and the Royal Americans, and to Forbes himself, the meeting of the rivers. Armstrong's own hand raised the British flag over the ruined bastions of the fortress. As the banner of England floated over the waters, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was with one voice called Pittsburg. It is the most lasting monument to William Pitt. America raised to his name statues that have been wrongfully broken, and granite piles of which not one stone remains upon another; but long as the Monongahela and the Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the gateway of the West." The first use on record of the name "Pittsburg," and that, too, without the superfluous "h," is found in a letter from General Forbes to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, dated the day after taking possession, from "Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, the 26 of November, 1758." Colonel Bouquet, in the minutes of the conference which he held with the Delaware Indians a few days later, signs them "at Pitts-Bourgh, December 4, 1758."

Although uninterrupted possession was held from that time forward, no immediate attempt was made at building a town; only a small fortification was thrown up for a garrison to hold the place during the winter until work could be begun on a permanent stronghold. During the early part of the following year fears were entertained that the French would descend the Allegheny and recapture the place; but their forces were needed to defend the posts on the lakes, and the English were free from further direct molestation. With the building of the larger Fort Pitt, the Indians were convinced that they had nothing to hope for from their former allies, and they returned to trade with the English and revive the friendship that had existed before the French occupation; and the traders, on their part, were only too willing to resume so lucrative a business. This necessitated the erection of buildings for the accommodation of the traders and their merchandise, while others were needed for quarters for such of the soldiers as were not accommodated in the fort. In this way the foundations of the future city of Pittsburg were laid; and the little cluster of houses would have increased more rapidly had it not been for the united effort of the Indian tribes, commonly known as the conspiracy of Pontiac, an account of which has already been given, to drive the palefaces into the sea, in the first half of the year 1763. So deeply had the plans of this daring plot been laid that the commander of Fort Pitt found it necessary to burn the houses around the fort to prevent the savages from taking shelter behind them in their attack upon it. The crushing defeat which the Indians suffered at the hands of Colonel Bouquet, at Bushy Run, and the humiliating terms they were forced to accept in the Muskingum country a year later from the same intrepid commander, forced them to accept



terms of peace which promised to be lasting, and which offered the frontier a much needed repose. It proved, however, to be only a respite. But we are now concerned with it in so far only as it exercised an influence on the settlement of the forks.

With the year 1764 began the building of Pittsburg as a town. Whatever houses had been erected up to that time were nothing more than adjuncts of the fort for the accommodation of soldiers and traders; but in that year a step was taken to lay out a town, by what authority is not known, and Colonel John Campbell surveyed that part of the present city which lies between Water Street and Second Avenue, and Ferry and Market streets, on the banks of the Monongahela, a short distance above the fort. The lots were sixty by two hundred and forty feet and fronted on Ferry and Market streets instead of on the streets parallel with the river. This was the first systematic arrangement of the houses that it was then thought necessary to build; but, like those that had been previously put up, they were rather for the accommodation of traders and their customers than as the nucleus of a permanent population. And, what is most remarkable, the land had not as yet been purchased from the Indians, though they would appear to have acquiesced in the movement from the need they had of the articles furnished them by the traders. Reference is made from this time forward to Pittsburg as a town; and, as before, it was the scene of a number of conferences with the Indians. But these references are few and unsatisfactory. Our pioneer forefathers were more given, both from choice and necessity, to acting than to recording their actions; still we are able to follow the history of Pittsburg, with many and provoking breaks, to the time when it changed its military aspect for one of civic quietude. In 1764 was also erected Bouquet's redoubt, which stood outside Fort Pitt to the south, and between it and the site of Fort Duquesne, and which is yet standing, "the sole existing monument of British rule." Engraven in a stone tablet on its wall may still be read the legend: "Col. Bouquet, A. D. 1764." How unaccountably strange and unpardonable that Pittsburg has not erected a single monument to any of the great men who figured in her early history; no, not even to Pitt or Washington, though the living have that honor.

In the strife necessary for taking possession of the backwoods the frontiersman did not forget the higher allegiance he owed to his divine Master. The pioneers were, as a rule, profoundly religious, and their religious annals furnish valuable historical data not to be found elsewhere. We have seen that the French were accompanied by their chaplain, who ministered to them during the period of their occupation, and left a record that has happily been transmitted to us. Braddock's army was accompanied by a chaplain, who was wounded in the battle of the Monongahela. So, too, was Forbes' army, the Reverend Charles Beatty, who preached in the Sunday after taking possession of the ruins of Fort Duquesne on the superiority of the British arms. He was some time after appointed by the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia to visit the frontier inhabitants. On Friday, September 5, 1766, he arrived at Fort Pitt late in the evening in company with a Reverend Mr. Duffield, and both were introduced to Captain Murray, the commander of the post. But the fort was already attended by a resident chaplain of the same denomination, the Rev. Mr. McLagan, to whom the Captain introduced the visiting ministers. On Sunday, the 7th, the latter reverend gentleman invited Reverend Mr. Beatty to preach in the fort, while Mr. Duffield preached to the people "who live," as the record states, "in some kind of a town without the fort." Nothing more is known of Pittsburg as a town till the visit of Washington in 1770; but by the treaty of October, 1768, the

proprietary government purchased from the Indians all the territory which they still claimed east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, and consequently that upon which Pittsburg stands. Settlers soon began to take up lands west of the Monongahela, and those who had settled before the purchase returned to the lands from which they had been driven by order of the King and the Governor. January 5, 1769, a warrant was issued for the survey of the Manor of Pittsburg. The survey was completed March 27th of the same year, and returned May 19th. The manor embraced the lands between the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers and extended across the latter stream including within its limits an area of 5,766 acres with the usual allowance of six per cent. for public highways. Both the fort and the incipient town were included within its limits.

About the middle of October, 1770, Washington stopped at Pittsburg on his way to look after certain of his landed interests on the Kanawha River, and, true to his custom, for which succeeding generations well know how to thank him, he kept a journal. In this we read: "October 17.—Doctor Craik and myself, with Captain Crawford and others, arrived at the fort. . . . We lodged at what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Sample's, who keeps a good house of public entertainment. The houses, which are built of logs, are ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and, I suppose, may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders." Sample's "house of public entertainment" was a two-story hewed log house, and the first in Pittsburg with a shingle roof. Giving seven persons to each house—for new houses would hardly be built without necessity—the population of the town would approach one hundred and forty souls. It is worthy of remark that the first description of the site of Pittsburg extant is from the pen of Washington, on the occasion of his visit to the French near the close of 1753; and now the first description of the town is from the pen of the same illustrious personage.

It was stated in a previous chapter that Fort Pitt was dismantled in the autumn of 1772, and soon after occupied by the Virginians under Doctor John Connolly. The disturbances attending that sinister event, and the determination of the Indian traders of the place to build a town on the Manor of Kittanning, where Ford City now stands, in Armstrong County, have been related. It is needless to speculate on the consequences of such a movement, had it been carried into execution, and the establishment of the claim of Virginia to the territory around the headwaters of the Ohio. The growth of the town would doubtless have been retarded, and it might never have attained its present proportions; but in the nature of things it was destined to become a center of trade and population. During the War of the Revolution the hostility of the tribes west of the rivers, instigated as they were by the English at Detroit, inflicted serious injury on the Indian trade and interfered with the development of the town; but this was in a measure compensated for by the presence of larger numbers of soldiers who needed accommodations, and by the knowledge of the natural advantages of the place, which they would make known east of the mountains on their return. With the close of the struggle with the mother country and the restoration of amicable relations with the Indians, especially after the last purchase of 1784, a new impulse was given to the building up of the town. From about this time the settlement of Kentucky began to exercise a wholesome influence on the growth of Pittsburg. Brownsville and Pittsburg were the places of embarkation for the emigrants from east of the mountains; and, as these were frequently delayed by the low stage of water in the Ohio, and the necessity of building boats for their transportation, they increased the trade and activity

Street parallel with Market Street through to Liberty Street. We then measured up Water Street to Smithfield Street, which we also laid out from Water Street through to Liberty Street, sixty feet wide, making it parallel with Wood Street, and then proceeded to lay out the blocks between Smithfield and Wood streets, from Water Street through to Liberty. From Smithfield Street we went on to lay out Cherry Alley, making it twenty feet, and running it from Water Street to Liberty, parallel with Smithfield Street. We then laid out the block of lots between Smithfield Street and Cherry Alley, through from Water to Liberty Street. We then proceeded to Grant Street, which we laid out sixty feet wide, making it parallel with Cherry Alley, and then laid out the block of lots between Cherry Alley and Grant Street. We run Grant Street through from Water Street to Liberty, making it end on Liberty Street, which was the last street we laid out on that side of Liberty. We made Market Street and Liberty Street the basis of the blocks of survey south of Liberty Street, and we finished all the survey and laying out of the lots on that side of Liberty Street before we proceeded to the other side. Making the survey of the lots south of Liberty Street, we staked them all off with good locust pins. In making the survey of the lots between Liberty Street and the Allegheny River, we commenced, I think, at Marbury (now Third Street), and worked on up until we finished at Washington Street, which was the last street we made. We made Washington Street to run from the Allegheny River to Liberty Street, when it ended. The reason we stopped at Liberty Street was that if we had run it across it would have run through a public street. Liberty Street had been run, and when we run Grant Street we stopped at Liberty Street for the same reason. Washington Street was sixty feet wide. Those streets, viz., Grant and Washington, did not meet because there was a public street between them. We drew a line along the last row of blocks sixty feet wide for Grant Street. The streets and lots were all measured with a pole and not with a chain. The first survey we made I called a circumscribed survey. The object of it was to get a general view of the ground to enable us to lay out the town. None of the streets were fixed by it, not even Washington or Grant. It was run with a chain, and we threw it away and made no further use of it, except to plot by it the ground north of Liberty and below Marbury Street. That ground was then occupied by a military post, and we could not survey it. Water Street was to extend in width from the base line which we used, Ormsby's house, to a low-water mark in the river, and this width was to prevail through its whole length from Grant Street to the point. In laying out Water Street there was another murmuring of the inhabitants, complaining that the street was too narrow. Mr. Wood said that they would be digging cellars and then they would fill up the gullies and make a fine street. There was a narrow place at the mouth of Ferry Street, and also down lower. There was a great gut at the mouth of Wood Street, which made an ugly crossing. We set no pins at the south side of Water Street, for it was to go to low-water mark.

"(Signed)

THOMAS VICKROY."

This plan of Pittsburg is known as the "Wood's Plan," or "The Old Military Plan," and a remarkable circumstance connected with it was that the rod used in surveying it, mentioned above, was one-eighth of an inch in every ten feet longer than the United States standard of measurement. When the survey was adopted this rod was adopted as the city standard of measurement, and hence there is the anomaly of two standards in the city, which has occasionally produced unpleasant results in the purchase and sale of property. In order to harmonize them an eighth of an inch must be added to every ten feet when the Government standard is used. With the survey of the town a fresh stimulus was



given to its growth, and numerous lots were purchased, although they were but gradually built upon.

The conclusion of the war between the United States and the mother country drew many settlers across the mountains, lessened the confidence of the Indians in their ultimate triumph over the whites, and left nearly every man a soldier, ready at a moment's notice to march against them in case of an outbreak; and, though the savages were still restless, and occasional depredations were committed, the settlements enjoyed greater repose than they ever had before. With the extinction of the Indian title to the lands beyond the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, still less was to be feared from them. Pittsburg now began to assume the airs of a town, although the greater number of the houses were very indifferent, and their inmates, in not a few cases, rude and insubordinate. Among them, however, were some possessed of a liberal education and religious spirit and considerable wealth and refinement. Toward the end of 1784, Arthur Lee visited the town and left an account, by no means flattering, of its condition and prospects, an account which doubtless drew something of its coloring from the fact that Virginia had been forced to give up the territory to Pennsylvania. He says: "Pittsburg is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even in Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on, the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt. from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel; so that they are likely to be damned without the benefit of clergy. The rivers encroach fast on the town, and to such a degree, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had in thirty years of his memory carried away one hundred yards. The place I believe, will never be very considerable." Of a piece with this are the following remarks by Mr. John Wilkins, who wrote about the same time: "When I came here I found the place filled with old officers and soldiers, followers of the army, mixed with a few families of credit. All sorts of wickedness were carried on to excess, and there was no appearance of morality or regular order. There appeared to be no signs of religion among the people."

Contrasted with these rather gloomy pictures we have the exaggerated one, drawn by Hon. Hugh Henry Brackenridge, in a paper on Pittsburg, which he prepared for the first number of the *Pittsburg Gazette*, that appeared on July 29, 1786. He says among other things: "It was in the spring of 1781 that, leaving the city of Philadelphia, I crossed the Alleghany Mountains, and took up my residence in the town of Pittsburg:

"If town it could be called, that town was none,  
Distinguishable by house or street . . . . .

"But in fact a few buildings under the walls of a garrison, which stood at the junction of the two rivers. Nevertheless it appeared to me as what would one day be a town of note, and in the meantime might be pushed forward by the usual means that raise such places." After enlarging on the attractions of the surrounding country and the streams, he continues: "But to return and take a view of the Monongahela, on the south side of the town. The bank is closely set with buildings for the distance of near half a mile, and behind this range the town chiefly lies, falling back on the plains between the two rivers. To the eastward is Grant's Hill, a beautiful rising ground, discovering marks of ancient cultivation, the forests having long ago withdrawn and shown the head and brow beset with green flowers. From this hill two crystal fountains issue, which, in the heat of summer, continue with a limpid current to refresh the taste. It is pleasant to celebrate a festival on the summit of this ground. In

15 cents; over 90 and not exceeding 150 miles, 18½ cents; over 150 miles and not exceeding 300 miles, 25½ cents; over 300 miles and not exceeding 500 miles, 30 cents; over 500 miles, 37½ cents. Double letters, or those composed of two pieces of paper, double these rates; triple letters, or those composed of three pieces of paper, triple these rates. Packets or letters composed of four or more pieces of paper, and weighing one ounce or more, avoirdupois, are to be rated equal to any single letter for each quarter ounce. Newspapers—Each paper carried, not exceeding 100 miles, or for any distance, not being carried out of the State in which it is printed, 1½ cents; if carried out of the State in which it is printed and over 100 miles, 2½ cents. Magazines and Pamphlets—Carried not over 50 miles, for each sheet, 1½ cents; over 50 miles and not exceeding 100 miles, 2½ cents; over 100 miles, 3 cents. But pamphlets are not to be received or conveyed by the post on the main line, or any cross-road, where the mail is large." The receipts of the postoffice for the year ending October 1, 1790, netted \$110.99.

A market house was built at the corner of Market Street and Second Avenue in 1787, and regular market days were appointed; and on the 29th of September of the same year an act was passed by the Legislature for the establishment of an academy or school of higher education, and the work of public education was begun. But both of these matters will be treated at length in their proper places.

Our pity for the rude and misguided sons of the forest will be sufficient apology for pausing to record their last attempt to regain possession of their ancient hunting-grounds around the head of the Ohio, and for the last serious demonstration they made against Pittsburg; and while we congratulate our forefathers on their final escape from the terrors of the so long familiar Indian raid, we cannot but cast a parting glance of regret and heave a sigh as the red man leaves his hunting-ground forever and retires before the advance of civilization, which he had long learned to contemplate in some of its repulsive aspects. The recording angel that pens the inevitable may drop a tear upon the page, but sad would it be for future generations if he blotted it out forever. Let us pause, then, for a moment and bid our red brethren an eternal farewell at the forks of the Ohio. In the year 1790 they began to be troublesome on the frontier, and the town itself was for the last time felt to be in danger. General Henry Knox, then Secretary of War, on learning the hostile disposition of the savages, wrote to Major Isaac Craig, in command of the garrison at Pittsburg, under date of December 16, 1791, when the danger seemed imminent: "I request you immediately to procure materials for a blockhouse and picketed fort, to be erected in such part of Pittsburg as shall be the best position to cover the town, as well as the public stores which shall be forwarded from time to time." Major Craig replied, on the 20th of the same month: "I am making every possible exertion for the erection of a work to defend this town and the public stores. . . . The work, if you have no objection, I will name Fort Lafayette." The name was approved by the War Department. This, the last defensive work within the limits of Pittsburg, stood near the bank of the Allegheny River, about the present Ninth Street. "Mad Anthony Wayne"—after whom, by the way, Tenth Street was very appropriately named—arrived on the 15th of June, and history has recorded how effectually he rid Pittsburg forever of all fear of Indian incursions.

So few are the references to the early history of Pittsburg, and so valuable, especially when written by one who is not an inhabitant of the place, that they should be preserved. John Pope, in his journal of his "Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States," in 1790, under date of October, gives the reader his impressions of Pittsburg in his own peculiar style, which could not have appeared very flattering to his sanguine host, Mr. Brackenridge. He writes: "I staid ten days. Here I saw the celebrated Hugh Henry

Brackenridge. . . . In company with this gentleman I viewed the fort and the neighboring eminences of Pittsburg, which will one day or other employ the historic pen as being replete with strange and melancholy events. The town at present is inhabited, with only some few exceptions, by mortals who act as if possessed with a charter of exclusive privilege to filch from, annoy and harass their fellow-creatures, particularly the incautious and necessitous; many who have emigrated from many parts to Kentucky, can verify this charge. Goods of every description are dearer in Pittsburg than in Kentucky, which I attribute to a combination of pensioned scoundrels who infest the place. . . . Was a Spaniard to reside among Pittsburgers only one week, he would be apt to exclaim in the words of Quevedo:

“ ‘Tis not for thee, but for thy bread,  
Tray wags his tail and shakes his head ’ ”

There is no document extant containing a petition for the incorporation of the Borough of Pittsburg, but the subjoined document, which has but lately been discovered, would appear to be a preliminary step in that direction. It is found in the minutes of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Allegheny County, in these words:

“September 9, 1792.

“According to the prayer of a petition made by a number of the inhabitants of Pittsburg—Read at the June Session, 1792, and laid over till September—ordered that so much of Pitt Township as lies within the following boundaries, that is to say: Beginning at the point or confluence of the rivers Monongahela and Allegheny, and running up the margin of the Monongahela to the two-mile run, thence up said run to the head thereof, thence by a due north course to strike the two-mile run that empties into the Allegheny River, thence down said run to the mouth thereof, thence down the said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same is, erected into a new township, called Pittsburg Township.”

But the time at length came for Pittsburg to cut loose from the surrounding territory and assume municipal proportions. This important event took place on April 22, 1794, and is contained in a document entitled “An Act to erect the Town of Pittsburg, in the County of Allegheny, into a borough, and for other Purposes therein Mentioned.” The subjoined extracts will be sufficient:

“Whereas, the inhabitants of the Town of Pittsburg, in the County of Allegheny, have, by their petition, prayed to be incorporated, and that the said town and its vicinity, as hereafter described, should be erected into a borough;

“And whereas, it may contribute to the advantage of the inhabitants of the said town, as also to those who trade and resort there, and to the public utility, that nuisances, encroachments, annoyances and inconveniences in the said town and its vicinity should be prevented, and for the promoting rule, order and good government in the said town.

“Section 1st. Be it enacted, etc., That the said Town of Pittsburg shall be, and the same is hereby erected into a borough, which shall be called the Borough of Pittsburg forever, the extent of which said Borough of Pittsburg is and shall be comprised within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the point or confluence of the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela and running up the northeast beach of the said river Monongahela, south 57 degrees east 39 perches to Short Street, thence south 64 degrees east 207 perches to Grant Street, thence south 74 degrees east 49 perches to the mouth of Suke's Run, thence north 30 degrees east 150 perches to a post in Watson's field, thence north 19 degrees west 150 perches to the river Allegheny, thence down the said river Allegheny south 71 degrees west 315 perches to the place of beginning.” It will be seen



that these boundaries include something more on the Monongahela side than the plan of lots surveyed by Mr. Wood, as given above. In the matter of regulating the borough government, the act directs that certain provisions of the recent act for the erection of the Borough of Reading be followed. The first election of borough officers was fixed by the act to take place on the 19th of the following May, which was accordingly held, and the persons named below were chosen to fill the several offices: "Two chief burgesses, George Robinson and Josiah Tannehill; high constable, Samuel Morrison; town clerk, James Clow; assistant burgesses, Nathaniel Irish, John Johnston, George Adams and Nathaniel Bedford; assessors, William Amberson and Abraham Kirkpatrick; supervisors, William Gray and John McMasters." Two days later the first regular meeting of the newly-elected council took place, when Adamson Tannehill, William H. Beaumont and Major Isaac Craig were appointed surveyors or regulators of the borough.

Mr. Craig, in his *History of Pittsburg*, gives a description of Pittsburg as it appeared soon after its erection into a borough. He says: "The ramparts of Fort Pitt were still standing, and a portion of the officers' quarters, a substantial brick building, was used as a malt-house. The gates were gone, and the brick wall, called the revetment, which supported two of the ramparts facing toward the town, and against which the officers and soldiers used to play ball, were gone, so that the earth all around had assumed the natural slope. Outside the fort, on the side next the Allegheny River, was a large, deep pond, the frequent resort of wild ducks. Along the south side of Liberty Street, and extending from Diamond Alley to the foot of Fourth Street (now avenue) was another pond, from which a deep ditch led the water into a brick archway, leading from Front Street (now First Avenue), just below Redoubt Alley, into the Monongahela. . . . South of Market Street, just below Front and Water Streets, was another pond, and still another in the square in front of the St. Charles Hotel (i. e. west of Wood Street and south of Third Avenue). Finally, there was Hogg's Pond"—so called after Captain James Hogg, whose name is frequently met with in the early history of the country around the headwaters of the Ohio, and who was a member of the Transylvania Land Company—"extending along the north of Grant's Hills from Fourth to Seventh Avenues. From this last there was a low, ugly drain, extending down nearly parallel to Wood Street to the river. A stone bridge was built across this gully on First Avenue, probably soon after the borough was incorporated. . . . Nothing could be less pleasing to the eye than the rugged, irregular bank of the Monongahela. From the bridge (Smithfield Street) down to Wood Street, the distance from the lots to the break of the bank was from sixty to seventy feet. Wood Street was impassable when the river was moderately high. From Wood to Market, the distance from the lots to the break of the bank was fifty or sixty feet. At Market Street there was a deep gully worn into the bank, so that a wagon could barely pass along. At the mouth of Chancery Lane there was another chasm in the bank. At Ferry Street there was a similar contraction of the way. At Redoubt Alley there was quite a steep and stony descent down to the level of the covered archway of which I have before spoken. Below that archway the space between the lots and the break of the bank nowhere exceeded twenty feet, and between Short and West streets it varied from fifteen feet to five."

## CHAPTER V.

TRANSPORTATION—THE KEEL-BOATS AND KENTUCKY BOATS—THE PACK-HORSE PERIOD—THE TRAILS AND EARLIEST ROADS—WAGONING OVER THE MOUNTAINS—CONVEYANCE BY SCHOONERS, BRIGS AND SHIPS—SEA-GOING VESSELS—TURNPIKE AND PLANK ROADS—THE STAGE COMPANIES—CARRIAGE OF FREIGHT—MAIL AND PASSENGER LINES—THE GREENSBURG AND PITTSBURG TURNPIKE—OPPOSITION TO THE CUMBERLAND ROAD—IMPROVEMENTS IN NAVIGATION—FERRYBOATS, WHARVES AND DOCKS—THE STEAMBOATS—INCIDENTS AND STATISTICS—THE STRUGGLE TO GAIN THE TRANSIT TRADE—TELEGRAPH LINES—ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF VESSELS—TOLL ROADS, ETC.

Batteaux and canoes were used by the French and their Indian allies to carry themselves and their possessions down the Allegheny River to this point in 1754. After the establishment of Fort Duquesne the same conveyance was used to supply the garrison with necessaries. After the English took possession in 1758, batteaux were used on the rivers and pack-horses over the mountains, and the same conveyances continued to serve the purpose during the Revolutionary war. In 1776 Gibson and Linn made the hazardous trip down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, and the following spring returned with 136 kegs of gunpowder for the Continental army. At the "Falls of the Ohio" they were forced to unload and carry their cargo around the falls. No doubt they used batteaux or canoes. Their trip was such a pronounced success that others with produce to sell ventured over the same perilous route (a). Flatboats, however, were used instead of batteaux or canoes, the boats being sold for whatever they would bring after the cargo had been disposed of. In fact, it was in 1777, after the return of Gibson and Linn, that boat-building by carpenters from Philadelphia began for the first time on the Monongahela. This industry grew very rapidly and gave employment in a short time to large numbers of persons, both as builders and boatmen. The journey to New Orleans was a dangerous one, for Indians lined the rivers and constant vigilance was required. Snags, whirlpools and eddies were of frequent occurrence and pirates and desperadoes were on the watch to plunder and murder. The boatmen equaled the emergency and at the call of the horn were ready for any sort of an affray with Indians, pirates or scoundrels. Keel-boats, flatboats, batteaux, "Kentucke" boats, arks, barges and other varieties of conveyance by water were devised. The arks were used to take down families and live stock, and were often large enough to carry 500 barrels of flour. Keel-boats were usually the only early kind used for common carrier service. They carried about thirty tons.

In 1794 packet boats began to ply regularly down the river from Pittsburg. They carried cannon and arms, and passengers slept on them instead of having to go ashore. The line extended between Pittsburg and Cincinnati and consisted of four keel-boats of twenty tons each, the round trip being made in four weeks.

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(a) History of Pennsylvania.

The cabins were made rifle-ball proof. Property insurance on these boats was offered and men could work their passage, but must obey the master. Up to this time commerce was confined to necessities, but now began to be a source of profit to the owners of the line. Thus was transportation on the rivers conducted until steamboats came. On the keel or packet boats the cost of freight was usually about six times as much up stream as down.

The early commerce of Pittsburg was injured to some extent by the fact that freight at one time from the Atlantic coast, destined for the western country, could be carried via New Orleans cheaper than across the mountains (b).

Before 1755 there was no road for wagons west of the Alleghanies, but during that year one was cut by the army of General Braddock along an old Indian trail, and in 1758 another was cut by the army of General Forbes. Immediately succeeding this for many years pack-horses were almost the sole means of conveyance across the mountains. Beginning with 1760 the settlers began to pour across the Alleghanies into Western Pennsylvania. After that date caravans of twelve to fifteen horses, tied together in single file, each animal carrying about 200 pounds, and the whole line guided by two men, would carry eastward the furs, peltries, ginseng, bear's grease, etc., of the western country and bring back salt, iron, nails, etc. When wagons were finally introduced to take the place of the pack-horses, the drivers of the latter were much offended, and in some instances openly rebelled, believing their rights had been invaded. Pack-horses continued to be used so long as roads were difficult of passage by wagons.

"For several years after the peace of 1783 there was nothing but a horse-path over the mountains; so that salt, iron, powder, lead, and other necessary articles had to be carried on pack-horses from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. As late as 1794, the year of the insurrection, so bad were the roads that freight in wagons cost from five to ten dollars per hundred pounds; salt sold for five dollars a bushel; iron and steel from fifteen to twenty cents per pound in Pittsburg" (d).

In 1782 the Monongahela River was declared by the Legislature a public highway, and John Ormsby was granted the right in March, 1784, to establish a ferry on the same at Pittsburg. In September, 1785, Jacob Bausman was granted the right to establish a ferry on the Monongahela River opposite Pittsburg, and in March, 1784, the Legislature granted to David Elliott the right to establish a ferry over the Ohio at the mouth of Sawmill Run, about one mile below Pittsburg. By act of September, 1785, the Legislature appropriated £2,000 to lay out a "States Highway" from Miller's Spring in Cumberland County to Pittsburg, and by act of March, 1798, the Ohio and the Allegheny rivers were again declared public streams or highways.

"Philadelphia, September 14, 1786.

"Mr. Brison is just returned from New York with orders to establish a post from this place to Pittsburg and one from Virginia to Bedford, the two to meet at Bedford; from thence one will proceed to Pittsburg (e)."

An act passed the house March 15, 1784, "For raising, by way of lottery, the sum of \$42,000 for improving the public roads from the city of Philadelphia to the western part of the state and toward the improving the navigation of the river Schuylkill." September 25, 1785, there was passed "An act to appropriate the sum of £2,000 of the public money to the laying out and making of a highway from the western parts of Cumberland County to the town of Pittsburg and to authorize the president in council to appoint commissioners to lay out the same." By 1788, £600 had been spent on that part of the road which led over the mountains. In 1786 a bill to carry on this work was introduced, but, strange to say,

(b) Judge Barnett. (d) Fgle.

(c) Extract of a letter written at Philadelphia and published in the Gazette of 1833.



*J. Morris*



was lost because the people did not want to be taxed for it. August 30, 1786, John Blair notified people along the Monongahela that he intended to pass up and down between Pittsburg and Gasting's ferry, thirty-five miles, every week with his boat.

On September 25, 1783, the General Assembly, by special act, granted William Butler the right to establish a public ferry upon the land reserved to the State opposite the town of Pittsburg, and Mr. Butler continued to conduct the same until 1786, when having found that his building was subject to overflow, he was granted the further right of erecting his building upon any other portion of the said reserved tract, and was also allowed to cultivate land there which had previously been cultivated by James Boggs, deceased.

During the year 1784 about sixty-three wagon loads of goods from the East, mainly from Philadelphia, arrived in Pittsburg, and for the round trip each team charged about £50, or \$250, for its services. Goods for the merchants were brought out and the products of the Western country taken back; but the revenue from these transactions came from the pockets of the Western people, who were already almost wholly destitute of money. It came to be properly reckoned, therefore, that the money paid the wagoners was in the nature of a tax upon the people, which could be cut down very greatly by the construction of good roads—turnpikes. But the people had no money to build roads and so were compelled to pay the enormous tax to the wagoners. When the roads became bad in the wet season of the year, pack-horses were used to carry the freight back and forth to the Western country. Long lines of loaded animals could be seen winding through the forests and around the mountain sides (f).

From October, 1786, to December, 1788, the number of boats and persons passing down the Ohio for Kentucky and elsewhere from a register kept at Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum was as follows: Boats, 857; souls, 16,203; horses, 7,190; black cattle, 1,811; sheep, 1,258; wagons, 563.

In 1786 a ferry was opened by Hugh Ross from his new house to Rory Frazer's in Pittsburg on the Monongahela and was made free on Sunday from 10 to 12 and 3 to 4 o'clock for those wishing to attend divine service in Pittsburg.

"Since Sunday evening last upward of 120 boats have passed by this town on their way to Kentucky, which at an average of 15 persons each, will add 1,800 inhabitants to that young settlement. This excessive emigration, it is said, is owing to the badness of the crops of corn in old Virginia, which have not, in general, produced one-fourth of the quantities that were expected. There are more than the above number now up the Monongahela River nearly in readiness to depart for the same country" (g).

In May, 1787, a resolution was introduced in the House declaring a state road opened extending from the Middle Ferry on the Schuylkill to Lancaster, thence to Miller's Springs and thence to Pittsburg, and appropriating £2,000 annually for the maintenance of the same, to be raised by a tax on horses. This resolution was lost by a vote of 29 to 36 (h). H. H. Brackenridge said of this road in April, 1788: "Perhaps it might be well that the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg should remain as it is, because, in that case, it would resemble the way to heaven—rough, rugged and difficult to pass."

In March, 1787, a post route was established from Alexandria, Virginia, to Pittsburg, via Newgate, Leesburg, Winchester, Fort Cumberland and Bedford, to be weekly from May 1st to November 1st, and fortnightly the rest of the year. In April, 1788, about 4,000 persons passed down the river Ohio to Kentucky and Ohio (i). Marcus Huling asked all those who owed him for ferriage to pay same

(f) Gazette, June 2, 1787.

(g) Gazette, November 24, 1787.

(h) Gazette, March 19, 1787.

(i) Gazette, July 12, 1788.

at once, June 12, 1788. In 1788 the Ohio Company sent out many emigrants for settlement in that state under General Putnam. John Patch took the Ormsby ferry in August, 1789. Previous to January 23, 1790, the rivers here continued open, permitting navigation—a mild winter. A large keel-boat came down the Monongahela River in the evening of January 31, 1789, loaded with coal, and was sunk and four persons were drowned. John McDonald, the owner, reached shore, but came near freezing to death before finding shelter.

In August, 1787, the general postoffice at New York called for proposals for carrying the mail from Philadelphia to Bedford, to commence January 1, 1788, and continue one year, the contractor to have the exclusive privilege of carrying the mail for hire over the route, and to pay all expenses and receive all the postage and other emoluments therefrom, the rate of postage to be fixed by Congress.

In September, 1787, it was noted in the *Gazette* as a memorable circumstance that David Irwin with his team and wagon had carried 2,800 pounds over North and Tuscarora mountains, through Clark's Gap, on the new road built by Mr. Skinner (j).

In April, 1791, the Governor was empowered to contract for certain improvements, among which was £500 on the road from Bedford to Pittsburg.

In 1792 the Legislature appointed commissioners to make an artificial road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, which act led to the formation of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company, with a capital of \$360,000. This company was incorporated April 9, 1792, and the road was finished in 1794, and was about sixty-two miles in length.

It appears, then, that the first two routes to the East were the old Braddock trail to Cumberland and thence to Baltimore, and the other route through Bedford, Chambersburg, Harrisburg to Philadelphia. Later, these gave place to three routes partly over the other lines: 1. The Braddock trail was abandoned for the one leading more directly to Brownsville, thence through Uniontown; 2. The Bedford route; 3. The northern route through Murrysville and Ebensburg, the latter nearly on the old Kittanning trail. For many years these were the great highways connecting Western Pennsylvania with the Atlantic cities, and as the settlements progressed branch roads from these routes were projected in all directions. In the '80s a rude road was laid out to connect Pittsburg with Washington and another to connect it with the Ohio country via Beaver, and still another to branch from this line northward to Lake Erie. None of these was turnpiked at first, but was kept in uncertain repair by teamsters and merchants, who were compelled to corduroy or otherwise improve them in places from time to time, and such was the condition of the roads until after the beginning of the present century. Almost from the start, however, the State aided with meager and insufficient appropriations to keep the main routes in repair.

In July, 1798, proposals for carrying the mail from Pittsburg to Zanesville, via Cannonsburg, Washington, West Liberty, Wheeling and Willstown were called for, the distance being estimated at 140 miles. When this line was in operation the mail left Pittsburg Friday at 2 p. m. and reached Zanesville the following Monday at 3 a. m., and left Zanesville on Tuesday at 5 a. m. and reached Pittsburg on Friday at 10 a. m. The contract commenced October 1, 1798, and the route was later varied somewhat and became a principal thoroughfare from Pennsylvania to Kentucky and Ohio.

In May, 1799, John and Mordecai McLeod, Duncan Campbell and Joseph Brown established their boatyard here, designed to make keel and Kentucky

(j) *Gazette*, September 29, 1787.

boats. They called for lumber which they intended to send down the river for sale.

In March, 1800, the two rivers overflowed their banks, compelling families to remove and doing much damage. The Monongahela Company built a brigantine at Elizabethtown, a small, stanch vessel of ninety-two tons' burden, which was launched in March, 1801. It was loaded with flour, taken to New Orleans, and there boat and cargo were sold. The schooner Monongahela Farmer, loaded with 750 barrels of flour, passed here on its way to New Orleans in May, 1801.

A new contract for carrying the mail from Chambersburg via McConnellsburg, Bedford, Somerset, Greensburg, Pittsburg and Cannonsburg to Washington, Pennsylvania, twice a week, took effect October 1, 1801. The carrier left Chambersburg every Tuesday and Saturday and reached Washington every Friday and Tuesday, and Josiah Espy of Bedford and Jacob Graft of Somerset were the first contractors. At this time, also, a mail route was established from Pittsburg to New Connecticut, via Beaver, Georgetown and Canfield.

"Sailed on Sunday east from this place for Liverpool, England, the brig 'Dean,' burthen 170 tons. She takes in a cargo of cotton at the mouth of the Cumberland River, on freight by Messrs. Meeker, Denman & Co., merchants of Philadelphia" (k).

"Just opened leading from Nicholas Bausman's to Pittsburg, a new coal road crossing the river (Monongahela) at Gregg's Ferry, about one-quarter mile above the town at the head of the sandbar, three-quarters mile nearer than the old road, descent down coal hill very gradual so that full loaded wagons can pass and repass with as perfect ease as they can any other common road. Passage across river will not be obstructed by sandbar and the river there is narrower than opposite the town. Samuel Emmitt will conduct the ferry, who has opened a house of public entertainment on the South Side" (l).

A large meeting of the citizens of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia was held in Pittsburg, September 29, 1802, for the purpose of forming a company to export the produce of the country. Colonel Ebenezer Zane was elected chairman and Dorsey Pentecost secretary. A committee was appointed to draw up a plan for such an association, those appointed for Allegheny County being John Wilkins, Jr., and John Finley. The meeting resulted in the formation of the second Ohio Company.

In April, 1803, the Secretary of the Navy called for proposals for the building at Pittsburg, Marietta and Louisville of a number of galleys of the following specifications: To be fifty-six feet long, fourteen feet six inches broad and five feet eight inches deep, to have a twelve-foot forecastled deck, a fourteen-foot quarter-deck, a cabin, a magazine, have twenty-eight oars, two lateen masts, twenty-eight feet long, two cables 100 fathoms long, prepared to carry one 24-pounder and four 6-pounder brass howitzers, the frame to be built of black walnut and planked with seasoned white oak.

"On Thursday afternoon, the 23d inst. (Dec., 1802), was launched from the shipyard of Messrs. Tarascon Brothers, James Berthoud & Co. the schooner Amity, burthen 100 tons" (m).

Tarascon Brothers, James Berthoud & Co. constructed many schooners, brigs and ships. Their ship Louisiana of 300 tons burden, launched in March, 1804, took a cargo to Liverpool from the mouth of the Cumberland. At this time, also, from the yard of Captain Eliphalet Beebe the schooner Conquest, which registered 126 tons and was pierced for sixteen guns, sailed for the

(k) Gazette, January 21, 1802. (l) Gazette, April 15, 1802.

(m) Gazette, December 31, 1802.

West Indies under Captain Kenny. It was owned by General O'Hara and was thus armed because pirates were feared in the Gulf. At this date the brig Allegheny, of 150 tons, was launched by Barber & Lord. In 1803 Captain Beebe offered for sale his "patent right of building vessels drawing less water by several feet than on any other plan hitherto known," and claimed that the draught was taken off in a great measure by crooking the keel.

At the boatyard of Brown & Craig, on the south side of the Monongahela River, at Widow Craig's Ferry, there were kept in 1801-2 large numbers of keel and Kentucky boats for sale to persons and families going down the Ohio River. In April, 1803, Tarascon Brothers, James Berthoud & Co. called for hands to descend the river in flat-bottomed boats. The James Robinson ferry was still in operation across the Allegheny in 1803. He kept large flats for wagons and stock and skiffs for individuals, as did the other ferries here. The Robert Knox ferry at this time was in operation on the Allegheny near Robinson's.

"In April, 1803, the ship Pittsburg and the schooner Amity, launched a short time before from the shipyard of Tarascon Brothers, James Berthoud & Co., adjoining this borough, cleared from this port, the former for Lisbon and the latter for St. Thomas, loaded with flour. The Pittsburg registered 270 tons, the largest boat thus far built on the Western waters" (n).

"We understand that it is contemplated to run a line of mail stages from this city to Pittsburg, to commence in June next (1804). It is to be performed in six days, being a distance of 300 miles, 120 of which are a continued chain of mountains. The advantages which will result to the community at large from this laudable undertaking must be obvious, and we trust that it will meet with adequate encouragement" (o).

This line began to run regular stages from this city to Philadelphia July 4, 1804. They left Ferree's tavern with a great flourish of whips every Wednesday. It was designed to run them soon twice a week.

In 1804 a resolution was adopted by the Legislature to appoint a committee to ascertain the most eligible route for a turnpike road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, to determine whether it should commence at Harrisburg or Columbia (pikes to those points having been previously built), and to report whether such turnpike should be built by the State or by private companies.

In October or November, 1807, a boat owned by Mr. Winchester and loaded with valuable merchandise struck a rock a few miles below Pittsburg, was stove in and sunk, injuring the dry goods to the extent of several thousand dollars. The proprietor not being there at the time, and thinking the accident due to the carelessness of the master, brought suit against him for damages before Justice (Doctor) Richardson of Pittsburg. The master produced the plank from the bottom of the boat, which had broken, and showed that it was rotten and had broken through no fault of his, and was thereupon discharged by the justice. Many poor keel and Kentucky boats were constructed by unscrupulous builders, in spite of the danger to buyers and their property. No boat inspectors were appointed prior to 1812.

Large boatyards were in operation at Brownsville, Pittsburg and Wheeling and from these points the great bulk of the emigration for the West set out. Boats were also built at New Geneva, Williamsport, Elizabethtown and McKeesport. The usual price of a Kentucky boat was \$1 to \$1.25 per foot, or a total of about \$35. They were well boarded up on the sides and roofed to within seven or eight feet of the bow. In times of great drouth emigrants went to Wheeling to embark, owing to low water farther up stream; but in high water

(n) Gazette, April, 1803. (o) Philadelphia Evening Post.



Pittsburg secured this business, because it was nearer for the Eastern emigrant, and there was a better storage here for his goods in case of delay.

"It is related of a vessel built and cleared from Pittsburg for Leghorn, that when she arrived at her place of destination the master presented his papers to the custom-house officer at Leghorn, who would not credit them and said to the master, 'Sir, your papers are forged! There is no such place as Pittsburg in the world! Your vessel must be confiscated!' The trembling captain laid before the officer a map of the United States, directed him to the Gulf of Mexico, pointed out the mouth of the Mississippi River, led him a thousand miles up to the mouth of the Ohio, and thence another thousand up to Pittsburg. 'There, sir, is the port whence my vessel cleared out.' The astonished officer, before he saw the map, would as soon have believed that this ship had been navigated from the moon" (p).

"The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is seldom made in less than a month, and sixty shillings per ton freight, consisting of sixteen barrels, is usually paid for flour, etc., thither. Boats carrying 800 to 1,000 barrels of flour may go in about the same time from Pittsburg as from Philadelphia to Pensacola, and for half the above freight. The Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, etc., there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea and charges of insurance, etc., as from thence to Pensacola. This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact that about the year 1776 there was a great scarcity of provisions at New Orleans, and the French settlement at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither in one winter upward of 800,000 pounds of flour" (q).

In February, 1806, the General Assembly passed an act incorporating "The President, Managers and Company of the Harrisburg and Pittsburg Turnpike Road," and in March, 1807, by a supplemental act incorporated separate companies in each county through which the road was designed to pass. In March, 1807, the General Assembly incorporated "The President, Managers and Company of the Harrisburg, Lewistown, Huntingdon and Pittsburg Turnpike Road;" and in March, 1808, authorized the Governor to subscribe under certain conditions for 2,000 shares of stock of this company. The supplemental act was repealed in April, 1811, when an act to encourage the construction of certain great and leading roads was passed. By this act Nathan Beach, Robert Harris, John Schoch, William McCandless and Adamson Tannehill were appointed commissisoners to view the northern and southern routes, as they were called, connecting Harrisburg and Pittsburg, and report to the Governor which was the cheaper and more practicable for a turnpike. It was provided that as soon as the company should become incorporated and had actually paid in on their subscriptions of stock \$150,000, the Governor should be authorized to subscribe to such stock on behalf of the State \$350,000, to be paid in installments as the road progressed. The commissioners, after viewing the two routes, selected the southern as the more practicable. The time for commencing the construction was extended to 1814. This route extended through Carlisle and Bedford.

To commence August 2, 1812, an express post was instituted by the government, extending from Washington, D. C., to Detroit, via Pittsburg, the whole distance to Detroit, 550 miles, to be covered in five days. Pittsburg was reached in three and a half days.

On December 4, 1813, a meeting was held in Pittsburg, at the house of John McMaster, to consider the question of applying to the Legislature to incorporate a company to build a turnpike road from Pittsburg to Greensburg.

(p) Speech of Henry Clay in the United States Senate. (q) Harris' Journal.

John Wilkins was made chairman of the meeting and Ephraim Pentland secretary. A committee consisting of Dunning McNair, William Steele, John Irwin, William McCandless and Ephraim Pentland was appointed to confer with a like committee from Westmoreland County in regard to the matter (r).

In 1813 a large meeting was held in Pittsburg to indorse the action of a similar meeting held a short time before in Washington regarding a turnpike road between the two places; on which occasion the Washington memorial with some changes was adopted and ordered circulated in the borough and vicinity for signatures, to be put in readiness for presentation to the Legislature. Among other things the memorial declared that:—

"The town of Pittsburg, by reason of its advantageous situation for trade and its extensive manufactures, has progressed in importance in a most unexampled manner, and bids fair to become the emporium of Western commerce; that of the navigation of the rivers Mississippi and Ohio many necessary and heavy articles, such as cotton, sugar, lead, etc., are brought from the New Orleans market and deposited in Pittsburg, where they are distributed through all the adjacent country; that Pittsburg, also, on account of its peculiar situation, has become the place of deposit for the produce of this country destined for the Mississippi market; that the adjoining county of Washington includes the most fertile and populous part of the Western country, which occasions an almost continual intercourse between the boroughs of Washington and Pittsburg; that the inconvenience, delay and difficulty which are experienced by our citizens who are compelled to transport their supply of salt and many other articles between these towns have made the necessity of a permanent, substantial road of great importance to their interests; that the present road, although the great mail stage route, is over very bad ground and is frequently almost impassable, being subject to continual alterations which are influenced by individual and local interests, so that the improvement of the road and of the adjoining country is greatly retarded. . . . The great federal road from the Potomac to the Ohio, it is probable, will pass through the town of Washington. To connect this road with the turnpike contemplated from Pittsburg to Philadelphia is undoubtedly an object of great concern to the interest of our State. The making of a permanent turnpike between Washington and Pittsburg will secure this effect. It will also intersect at Washington the State road lately laid out from Somerset toward Clarkstown and Wheeling, on the Ohio. The intercourse between the Western country through Pittsburg to the lakes will also be opened by it" (s).

The "Two Mile Run Turnpike," near Pittsburg, cut an important figure here in 1813-14. Proposals to build the same were called for in January, 1814, and the road was designed to be sixty feet wide, pavement twenty-two feet wide and two feet deep, the latter six inches to be river gravel, and on each side was to be sufficient space for a summer road. Jacob Negley was chairman of the board of commissioners and Ephraim Pentland secretary.

In July, 1814, the commissioners named in the act incorporating the Greensburg and Pittsburg Turnpike Company met at the tavern of Mrs. Herron, in Versailles Township, to organize and elect officers. William Wilkins became president, William Friedt treasurer, and Joseph Patterson, Ephraim Pentland, William B. Foster, Dunning McNair, Thomas Sampson, Jacob Negley, William Caven, George Armstrong, James Irwin, William Hindman, Tobias Painter and William Fullerton managers.

Under the law of March, 1814, providing for the building of the turnpike from Harrisburg to Pittsburg, the route was let in five sections to contractors.

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(r) Mercury, 1813. (s) Mercury, 1813.

as follows: 1. Harrisburg to Chambersburg. 2. Chambersburg to Bedford. 3. Bedford to Somerset. 4. Somerset to Greensburg. 5. Greensburg to Pittsburg. It was provided that work on this route must begin within five years; that the company contracting for each section must be incorporated; that fifty or more persons must be concerned in the Pittsburg-Greensburg section; that the State should subscribe for part of the stock of each section; that when five miles had been built tollgates could be erected, at which time the State should pay its share of stock, and that this act was supplemental to the acts of March 31, 1807, and March 13, 1812. The commissioners of the Pittsburg-Greensburg section were Simon Drum, Jr., William Friedt, Robert Stewart and Jeremiah Murray of Westmoreland County, William McCandless, Phillip Gilland, John Darragh, James Morrison and George Steward of Allegheny County, and David Bruce and Robert Bowland, Jr., of Washington County (t). Thus, after years of inexcusable waiting, the Legislature took the first great step to unite with a satisfactory road the two important sections of the State. This road, when completed, failed to answer expectations, because it was not kept in repair, and was usually almost wholly impassable in places, so that there was for years constant complaint. The newspapers of that date are full of remonstrances and criticisms.

"Transportation.—An association is spoken of at Philadelphia to establish a line of wagons between that city and Pittsburg, to start at fixed periods, etc., and by traveling day and night, like the mail stages, make the journey in seven days. This may be easily accomplished when the great turnpike is finished" (u).

William B. Foster and William Robinson were the local agents for the Philadelphia and Pittsburg Transporting Company in 1818, and were authorized to receive the installments of stock when due. The "great Western turnpike" from Harrisburg to Pittsburg was progressing rapidly in construction in 1817. That portion from Pittsburg to Greensburg had been finished before. Of the 194 miles, eighty-seven were finished by February, 1818. It was evident that in a short time the whole line from Philadelphia to Pittsburg would be completed (v).

In 1817 the Postmaster-General advertised for proposals to carry the mail in stages from Pittsburg to Louisville (440 miles) in seven days (w). The mails sent East to Greensburg were found fault with, because they were often kept there over night and then sent back, through the carelessness of the driver or the neglect of the landlord.

The vast extent upon which the State of New York undertook its schemes of internal improvement previous to 1820 was viewed with admiration not unmingled with envy by Pittsburg. Many here wished that Pennsylvania had such a man as De Witt Clinton and such public spirit as New York. "We regret that Philadelphia, a city rich in means, but poor in spirit, does not participate in these expanded views" (x). The dreams of De Witt Clinton and his associates of extending a vast system of canals across New York from east to west, and of connecting the Allegheny, the Ohio, the Mississippi and their tributaries with this system was "worthy of the genius of an Alexander or Napoleon" (y). The practicability of the plan was unquestioned. The possibility that this great scheme would divert the trade of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys to the Erie Canal, and thus enrich New York at the expense of Pennsylvania and prove the commercial ruin of Pittsburg and Philadelphia, was

(t) Mercury, March, 1814.

(v) Mercury, February 6, 1818.

(x) Gazette, May 22, 1818.

(u) Niles Register, March 29, 1817.

(w) Niles Register.

(y) Gazette, May 22, 1818.

sufficient to rouse this city into severe and repeated remonstrances, denunciations and demands upon the General Assembly for help.

"We confidently believe if the genius which has for some years stimulated the citizens of New York had only taken up her abode in the breasts of some of our money-making Philadelphians, that we should have had long ago an admirable turnpike for the whole route to Pittsburg, splendid bridges and cheap means of transportation. In place of this, our present turnpike has struggled into an imperfect existence. Baltimore and New York are fast interfering in the Western trade, and even steamboats on Lake Erie have got a stand that cannot easily be shaken now. A transporting company has lately been formed for the purpose of establishing a line of wagons between this place and Philadelphia. We hail the institution as the beginning of a new era. We really thought that a portion, at least, of our great city were beginning to understand their real interests; but lo! when the thing could be put in operation we find it trammelled with such preposterous and narrow-minded regulations as to destroy every chance of its utility" (z).

It was stated with many denunciations that the merchants of Philadelphia actually required buyers from the West to pay for the carriage of their goods in that city in advance; but that Pittsburg made no such requirement of its purchasers. However, in response to certain other strictures placed upon them by the citizens of Pittsburg, the transportation company threatened to retaliate by avoiding Pittsburg and landing their goods at Wheeling. This threat did not frighten the former city, but induced the business men to take great interest in the proper and efficient organization of the company, which was composed largely of Philadelphians.

"She (Philadelphia) has become wealthy; but really she has forgotten the real source of her wealth. That source exists beyond these mountains, which too many there are so apt to view with feelings of horror. The increase of Philadelphia has been in exact proportion with that of the Western country. Would it not be reasonable, then, to suppose that a portion of her attention should have been devoted to the object of shortening the distance between the two places, by attending the difficulties of the route? Would not common prudence have dictated the policy of applying a small portion of her wealth for the purpose of securing their advantages and of preventing the interference of her rivals? But in place of this, whenever Western improvement has been the question, a degree of callous indifference was displayed that is actually astonishing. The idea was, the Kentuckians (which is the *nomen generallissimum* to the East for all the people of the westward) must have goods; as they can procure them from no other source, let them struggle through their difficulties themselves. Philadelphia considered herself as the great warehouse for a country of some millions of square miles; as this space was peopling by an enterprising race, there appeared no end to her anticipated prosperity, and secure in the idea she dropped into a fatal slumber" (z).

"We consider the crisis has arrived when the question of all others the most important to Philadelphia and Pittsburg is to be determined. New York is straining every nerve for the consummation of her great canal scheme. The destinies of that great State are directed by unlimited genius, unbounded talent and profound intrigue. Every act, no matter how unconnected in appearance with the real object, is made to lend to the aid of the grand design. They make feasts, give toasts, establish Bible societies, and even build churches for sailors! All this makes a noise, creates notoriety and attracts the attention of the world. Western merchants there are overwhelmed with hospitality.

(z) Gazette, 1818.





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"It is useless for Philadelphia to say Pittsburg should do it. Philadelphia has the power and wealth to neutralize much of the force that is now leveled against her. We are not entirely convinced that the New York canals and the United States Turnpike may not be made as subservient to our purposes as the Pennsylvania improvements. We are not very anxious to make the experiment; but many characters of the soundest judgments believe that if the trade of New York is introduced into Lake Erie, the connection between Erie and Pittsburg would be formed with the utmost facility, and would afford us a means of sending back our produce on terms that a land carriage never could effect. The distance between the lake and the tributary streams of the Allegheny is reduced to nothing, when compared with the immense work that must stretch from the Hudson to Ontario" (a).

"We remember when the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States was on the carpet that she (Philadelphia) evinced considerable powers of exertion. If she will display the same on a much more important subject she may properly retain her standing. Let us have a really good turnpike and substantial bridges" (c).

Richard Bowen and Thomas Cromwell were appointed commissioners in 1818 to receive subscriptions for stock in the Kentucky-Ohio Canal Company, for opening a canal round the falls of the Ohio, and books were opened at the counting-house of Richard Bowen & Co. in Pittsburg.

It was estimated that during the year 1818 \$1,500,000 was paid to the people of this State by outsiders for the item of transportation of products alone, much of which was received at Pittsburg. "It is, in fact, the support of all the country from this (place) to Chambersburg" (b).

On March 3, 1818, an act passed the Assembly to incorporate the Pittsburg and Steubenville Turnpike Road Company, and on June 5th the commissioners, Henry Baldwin, Dennis S. Scully and Andrew Scott, opened books for the subscription of stock thereto. William Brown, Samuel E. Marks, Andrew McCurdy, James Beatty and Alexander McFarland were appointed commissioners to open books of subscription. In 1818 an appropriation of \$30,000 was made to clear the navigation of the Monongahela from Brownsville to Pittsburg.

In September, 1818, the commissioners of the Greensburg and Pittsburg Turnpike Road Company, James Irwin, Robert Stewart and William B. Foster, called for proposals for the erection of toll houses and gates and the employment of three tollgate keepers. During the winter of 1818-19 a petition to the Legislature was circulated throughout Western Pennsylvania and extensively signed, praying that body to complete "a good and substantial road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg," to be free of toll for broad-wheeled wagons engaged in transporting between those two places. In this petition it was stated that already offers were made to transport goods from New York to Pittsburg for \$5 per hundredweight, while the existing rate from Philadelphia to Pittsburg varied from \$6 to \$8 per hundredweight. This petition was signed by about 200 merchants and manufacturers of Pittsburg, and was presented to the Legislature by Mr. Forward, who at the same time read another from this place praying for an appropriation to aid in improving the navigation of the Ohio from Pittsburg to the State line.

The New Alexandria and Pittsburg Turnpike Road Company began operations before the spring of 1819. In 1819 the Legislature was flooded with petitions in the interest of turnpikes in all parts of the State; 200 petitions of this kind were presented and referred to the appropriate committee. The Harris-

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(a) Gazette, June, 1818. (c) Gazette, June 23, 1818. (b) Gazette, October 2, 1818.

burg and Pittsburg Northern Route Mail Stage began running January 29, 1819, leaving each place on Tuesdays and reaching the other end of the line on Mondays. The line via Clark's Ferry, Limestone, Huntingdon, Blair's Gap, Armagh and New Salem once per week, and the through fare was \$14 and way passengers were charged seven cents per mile. In August, 1819, D. H. Blaine and James Kinkead began running a line of coaches three times a week between Pittsburg and Washington.

"The march of improvement in the West has been rapid and grand; it has outstripped calculation and even gone beyond the sanguine anticipations of our wildest enthusiasts. A gentleman (d) of the first respectability in our country, some forty years ago, in a large company in Philadelphia (about 1778—Ed.), predicted that within thirty years a post would pass between that city and Pittsburg once in two weeks. This gentleman, who viewed our country with the eye of a philosopher, and who was one of the first explorers of the Mississippi, lived to see his wild predictions more than verified. He lived to see a mail stage passing his own door west of Pittsburg three times a week on the route to Lexington, in Kentucky. If he had hinted anything about two bridges and a penitentiary we presume that a writ of lunacy would have been taken out against him" (e).

The Pittsburg and Butler Turnpike Road Company was projected in 1819. The commissioners were Henry Baldwin, William Robinson, Robert Campbell, Hugh Davis, Dunning McNair, John David, William Campbell and John Gilmore. The Pittsburg and Uniontown Turnpike Road via Birmingham, Elizabethtown and Perryopolis, was begun in 1819, and books were opened for subscription. The commissioners were William Wilkins, Philip Gilland, Thomas Duncan, George A. Bayard, John Withrow, Thomas Irwin, George Steward, George Sutton, James Brice, Joseph Barnitz, John Lyon and Henry W. Beason.

It was found that the carriage of Western products through Pittsburg to Philadelphia from Ohio and Kentucky could be effected in most instances cheaper than to New Orleans. With a good turnpike wagoners could haul immense loads both ways. In consequence of this state of things enormous quantities of products accumulated at Pittsburg, and thence found their way to Philadelphia. When the turnpikes were first opened—the northern and southern routes—the weight of articles for several years conveyed from the Atlantic cities to Western points in Pennsylvania exceeded that returned by about one-half, the weight going West being about 21,000,000 pounds annually, and that going East about 10,000,000 pounds. In 1822 the Western freightage cost about \$600,000, while that going East cost about \$100,000. It was thought that this vast trade would be lost through the Cumberland road. The toll paid on a trip to Philadelphia and back, for six horses and a broad-wheeled wagon, was \$19.20, and on a narrow-wheeled wagon (1822) and six horses, \$29.30—an average of about \$24 on each load in toll—and was about 21 per cent. of the wagoners' whole receipts. The Cumberland Road paralleled the principal Pennsylvania turnpike and extending about thirty miles south of it. The cost of the whole road from Harrisburg via Chambersburg to Pittsburg up to this time was \$1,150,000; and the cost of the road via Huntingdon, nearly completed, would be, it was estimated, about \$570,000. Of the stock in these two roads the State held \$920,000 and individuals \$470,000. The two roads covered 412 miles (f).

"In Pennsylvania, however, rent by parties and impelled or impeached by factions in what is commonly called politics, a strong disposition exists to

(d) George Morgan of Morganza. (e) Gazette, 1818.

(f) Report of House Committee; Mr. Stevenson, chairman, 1821-2.

encourage domestic industry and extend facilities to internal navigation by roads, bridges and canals" (g).

In the spring of 1821 freight by wagon from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was \$11 per hundredweight, but during the summer and fall, when the roads were good, was much lower. The Senate committee's report made to that body March 23, 1822, stated that when the work then in progress on the State highways was finished there would be two stone roads running from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, each 300 miles long, one of which was finished, and one continuous road from the latter city to Erie, passing via Butler, Mercer, Meadville and Waterford. At this time the State was well advanced in its immense system of internal improvement.

The State Treasurer was required by law (h) to publish a list of all banks, individuals and associations issuing orders or notes in the nature of banknotes; and accordingly, in January, 1822, he published the same, together with a list of unlawful banks, individuals and corporations issuing orders, etc., among which were the Greensburg and Pittsburg Turnpike Company, the Pittsburg and New Alexandria Turnpike Company and the city of Pittsburg.

"It is well known to all persons acquainted with the settlement and improvement of the country lying beyond the Appalachian Mountains, that the first line of communication with it passed through Pennsylvania; and that from the doubtful and devious footpath, through each successive stage of improvement, up to the regular and costly turnpike, Pennsylvania, to the year 1820, possessed the best and most attractive road. The Legislature, convinced at an early period of the advantages to be derived from the settlement of the West, and desirous of facilitating and securing to her citizens the highly productive and valuable carrying trade between the Atlantic and the waters of the Ohio, and of fixing the point of exchange between the East and West within her limits, and actuated by the most honorable and enlightened views of State policy, did, at successive periods, make large appropriations for encouraging objects of such unquestionable advantage to the Commonwealth. The fostering care of the Legislature and public spirit of our citizens induced a vast portion of the emigration and property destined to the West to pass through our State" (i).

This report, continuing, said, that at that date (1822) a barrel of flour was carried from Pittsburg to Philadelphia for \$2; that if the farmer himself were to do this, it would require a team of five horses to convey fifteen barrels, would consume thirty-five days, and if he received \$6 per barrel he would be out of pocket \$20 on his return; that prompt action should at once be taken to retain the immense carrying trade between the two cities—whisky, flour, pork, hemp, tobacco, cotton, glass, cordage, paper, linen, spun yarn, etc.

"Had it not been that the turnpike road from Huntingdon to Pittsburg was finished about the time foreign iron fell to \$90 per ton, all the manufactories in the middle counties must have inevitably closed, as it would have continued to cost them \$60 per ton to reach their market; whereas they now reach Pittsburg at an expense of \$30 per ton by taking twice the former load and making the trip in less time" (i).

The Cumberland Road threatened the extinction of the revenue derived from the transporting trade, and although the State had aided in the construction of this highway, Pittsburg, as a measure of self-defense, discountenanced such aid and opposed the completion of the road. The construction of this thoroughfare was the hobby of that day. Congress assisted, and so did Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Pittsburg felt that the building of the road

(g) Niles Register, November 3, 1821. (h) Act of March 21, 1814.

(i) Report of House Committee on Domestic Manufactures, December 24, 1822.



meant, to a large degree, the decadence of this point as a distributor and the obliteration through here of an immense carrying trade to and from the great West. Why, then, should this State be so willing to help build the Cumberland Road? And why be so slow to keep in repair the State road east from Pittsburg? Here was a large military depot, and on Lake Erie was a large naval station, and why should not the State improve the great roads connecting the East with those points instead of assisting a road which would divert the carrying trade from Pittsburg and pour its benefits into Baltimore instead of into Philadelphia? In short, the building of the road was looked upon with dismay by this city, and was bitterly opposed by mass meetings, petitions and memorials.

As a matter of fact the turnpike east of Pittsburg was in a deplorable condition—impassable in some places, while the bridges were poor and often washed away. Rocks and other impediments in the Ohio below Pittsburg needed removal. Western merchants, shipping via Pittsburg, threatened thereafter to use the Cumberland Road. This was the spur which set the steed of State legislation at last in motion.

The National or Cumberland Road was first proposed in 1797, and Henry Clay became one of its warmest supporters. The act for its construction was passed in 1806, and the first coach bearing the United States mail passed over it August 1, 1818. Toward the close of 1818 it was finished as far west as across the Alleghanies, and later over it passed the greatest stage travel and traffic in the country. Thousands upon thousands of emigrants poured westward over its splendid roadbed, while Pittsburg was obliged to accept such as were willing to come over the execrable Pennsylvania turnpike. But, in spite of all, the water facilities and the location of Pittsburg alone gave it a fair share of the transporting trade.

The building of the Cumberland Road was regarded from the commencement as a step hostile to the interests of Pittsburg. It was correctly seen at the outset that it was destined to drain the trade of Ohio, Kentucky and other Western points into the markets of Washington and Baltimore, and that Wheeling might thus win the coveted distinction of being the "head of navigation." Immense appropriations for that road by Congress were viewed with chagrin by citizens here, who fancied they could already see the largest part of the trade of the West go east over this road to Baltimore, or east to New York via Lake Erie and the Erie Canal. The newspapers of Pittsburg and their correspondents did not hesitate to denounce the lethargy of Pennsylvania in permitting such a result, when the natural route to the seaboard east for all the Northern country was through this State via Pittsburg. The Cumberland Road was built by the Government. When, it was asked, had so much been done for Pennsylvania? Why should Pennsylvania or Pittsburg permit the deflection to other points of the trade which was rightfully hers? Even the mail from Baltimore and Washington, bound for Pittsburg, passed over the Cumberland Road to Washington, Pennsylvania, and thence across the country to its destination, thus delaying it at least one day. The injury likely to result to Pittsburg was so manifest that in September, 1818, a petition was prepared and extensively signed and addressed to the General Assembly, praying that body to remonstrate with Congress against granting any further public money toward the construction of that road. The petition recited that when Ohio was admitted into the Union it was provided that two per cent. of the proceeds of the sale of public lands in that State should be applied toward making a road from the river Ohio to the navigable waters of the Atlantic watershed; that this expenditure had continued until the money had been expended; that Congress had then advanced a large sum on the credit of this fund; that the

whole delegation of Pennsylvania in Congress had protested against this course; that from 1807 to 1816 operations had been suspended; that in 1816 other appropriations to the amount of over \$600,000 were made for construction purposes; that other large amounts would be required to put the road in condition for travel; and ended by praying that all portions of the country might be placed on a footing of equality as regards appropriations of public money, and that a lavish expenditure of money should not be made for constructing this road, the main design of which was to annihilate all the benefits Pennsylvania might derive from Western trade through the Ohio and its tributaries (j).

"Why should the Union be taxed to make a road from Cumberland to Wheeling? It is no more a national object than a road from Pittsburg to Bedford. It does not go within 140 miles of the seat of government; does not lead to nor touch an arsenal, naval or military depot. But it gives the Western trade to Baltimore and Wheeling—takes it from Philadelphia and Pittsburg. It takes the profits of the carriage from Pennsylvania and gives it to Maryland. . . . Pennsylvania has nearly finished a turnpike of 300 miles; the Government has not contributed a dollar. Yet, if there is a national road, it is this. It was the route of business, of travelers and of emigration, and will continue so if the unlimited expenditure of public money does not force it in another direction. . . . Our State has a right to complain that the funds of the Union are exclusively applied to local objects. Not another road can have one dollar, not another State partake of this bounty" (k).

The completion of the Cumberland Road in 1820 and its freedom from tolls, thus connecting Wheeling and the Western country with Baltimore and the Atlantic, was rightly considered a severe blow to the commercial interests of Pennsylvania. And what makes it harder to bear was the fact that the Government had spent \$1,800,000 to construct that road, had removed the tollgate wholly, while Pennsylvania was obliged to construct her own turnpikes and harass commerce and travelers with toll. If the injury to Philadelphia was great, that to Pittsburg was greater. So great had become the carrying trade from the West through Pittsburg that the average annual amount of carriage money, it was claimed, paid to wagoners in Pittsburg for the years 1816, 1817, 1818 and 1819 approximated \$600,000, nearly the whole of which was drawn from the Western country and retained in Pennsylvania. Should this be diverted to Wheeling and Baltimore? was the question.

"Our rivers are so low as to render navigation very difficult, and at this moment there is probably near a million worth of merchandise lying along our shores. The Western merchants are lounging through our streets or moping in our taverns in restless anxiety. There is a belief among them that the Ohio is free from impediments below Wheeling, and that all the dangerous places lie between that place and Pittsburg. This belief is not founded exactly on fact, but it answers the purpose of threat when ill humor and disappointment hold dominion over the bosom. It is, therefore, very common to hear the names of Wheeling, Baltimore and the Cumberland Road murmured in no very inaudible tones. Indeed, from the serious disappointment and extraordinary delay which this class has met with this season, there is not the least doubt but that an immense portion of the Western goods will next year be purchased in Baltimore and transported directly to Wheeling. The arrangement of the general postoffice has likewise interfered to increase our danger. The mail from Baltimore, Washington, Alexandria, Hagerstown, etc., is now sent by this route, and actually arrives in Pittsburg by the Western carrier. Yes, Pittsburg and Philadelphia now depend

(j) Mercury, October 2, 1818. (k) Mercury, October 9, 1818.

upon a cross post-rider for all their important mail—the most important mails, probably, in America.

"The eastern portion of our State must depend upon their own exertions to avert the evil; they have the means and ought to exert them. Pittsburg and her neighborhood will have as much as they can execute in clearing out the river to Wheeling, a distance of 800 miles. This has been in agitation among us twenty years; it now becomes a task that can no longer be dispensed with" (l).

In 1818 it was openly boasted at Wheeling that by means of the Cumberland Road that city would wrest from Pittsburg nearly all its Western trade:

"Poor Pittsburg! your day is over, the scepter of influence and wealth is to travel to us; the Cumberland Road has done the business."

"If the turnpike between Philadelphia and Pittsburg be made worthy of such a State as Pennsylvania, and the river cleared out to Wheeling, no mortal power can affect us" (m).

In 1826 the Greenville and Pittsburg Turnpike, in which the State owned \$89,000 and individuals \$73,000 stock, owed debts to the amount of \$13,201; had received \$11,634.98 in tolls and spent \$9,747.51. In the Pittsburg and Alexandria Turnpike, in 1826, the State owned \$48,860; individuals \$19,932.89; tolls received \$2,118.38; expenses, \$1,663.98 (o). In 1826 it was contended by the local press that the great increase in arrivals and departures of loaded keel-boats during a very low stage of water was due wholly to the improvements that had been made on the river below the city.

"During the late session of the Legislature, it was stated that \$900,000 had been paid yearly in Pittsburg for carriage. We certainly are not inimical to canals, but when great questions are involved, it is improper, in order to carry a popular measure or to answer the views of a few, to misrepresent the most important data upon which the benefits of artificial navigation are to be decided. From the 1st of April, 1825, to the 1st of April, 1826, 3,460 wagons passed the turnpike gate. Averaging their weight of goods at 4,000 pounds each, the whole weight of goods transported would amount to 13,840,000 pounds. Allowing three cents per pound as the price of carriage (which is probably something higher than the general average would bear), the whole amount of carriage paid during the last year would be \$415,200. The amount paid for return carriage during the same period was about \$103,800, making the total amount of carriage to and fro \$519,000. It is certain that the amount of goods brought to Pittsburg during the past twelve months was greater than that of any former period, and although the price of carriage falls far short of what it was stated to have been, still the sum actually paid is enormous, and is sufficient of itself to warrant the investment of moneys in the great system of internal improvement now progressing in Pennsylvania" (p).

"On the subject of navigation we cannot do more than recall to the recollection of our fellow citizens the unexampled bustle and activity exhibited at our wharves during the past spring (1826), and the immense shipping business done by our commission merchants. It is probable our steamboat proprietors have never before had such a long series of profitable running in one season. In fact, the continued high waters, the immense quantity of freight daily arriving, and the numerous travelers that are ever passing and repassing, seem to have given a new and astonishing impulse to our navigation. From three to eight steamboats have been constantly in port, notwithstanding the head of navigation is ninety miles below us, as our Wheeling friends would have it" (p).

(l) Gazette, October 27, 1818. (m) Gazette, December, 1818.

(o) Chambersburg Repository, March, 1827.

(p) Pittsburg in 1826 (adapted); Samuel Jones.

Vessels, Etc.	Arrived.	Departed.
Steamboats .....	70	78
Keel-boats .....	470	470
Flats .....	145	145
Freight, west and south (tons).....	7,190	....
Freight (tons) .....	....	15,250

"The *Pittsburg Gazette* of the 20th inst. gives a long and interesting account of the first ascent of the Allegheny River by a steamboat, the *Albion*, of fifty tons. The water was at the stage usual during the spring months when the Ohio is navigable. The boat proceeded fifty miles from Pittsburg, and might have proceeded further, but the experiment was thought sufficient. The progress of the boat upward was between four and five miles an hour, except at some of the rapids, which, however, were conquered; returning, the descent was ten miles an hour. Among the party on board the *Albion* was a gentleman (r) yet apparently on the right side of middle age, who claimed to be the first white male born west of the Allegheny River. It is supposed that the river may be navigated by vessels of fifty tons, while the Ohio is by vessels of 100 tons; and a plan has already been adopted for commencing the regular navigation of the Allegheny next spring by steamboats. It is said they may ascend to Franklin or Warren. The distance from Pittsburg is not stated, but by referring to the map, we suppose the last named to be at least 150 miles by the course of the river. What a noble canal is this! Warren, in a direct line, does not appear to be more than 40 miles from Portland, on Lake Erie. We must and will have our railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio. And that being made, whether by the Allegheny or the Ohio Canal, we shall be close to the shores of the lake just named, and the people of the distant West will become our neighbors. There must needs be enough of constitutional law in our country to profit by the bounties which Providence has bestowed" (s).

On July 13, 1827, the *Messenger*, Captain Baird, arrived here in a lower stage of water than any boat of her size had ever before navigated. From February 9th to July 13th she made nine voyages to Louisville and return, and one to Nashville, averaging 160 tons, or a total of 1,600 tons. Part of her freight for Pittsburg was 600 bales of cotton to Adams, Allen & Co., of the Phoenix Cotton Factory; 150 hhds. of sugar, 307 hhds. of tobacco, 108 bales of cotton for other houses, 40,000 pounds of lead to Allen & Grant, 55 hhds. of tobacco to John Turbitt, and 40 hhds. of tobacco to Miller & Robinson (t). From February 2, 1827, to July 1, 1827, the arrivals of steamboats here were 104 and the departures 120, the total tonnage of the latter being 14,200, an average of 135 tons to each boat. In the Pittsburg trade at this time, the total tonnage was 5,620. Of the boats which left here, fourteen were new, built either here or near here, and of these five were of the largest class, viz.: *Fame*, 300 tons; *Columbus*, 350; *America*, 300; *New York*, 300; *Florida*, 400 (u). A daily line of post coaches was run in 1828, by G. A. Dohrman, between Pittsburg and Wheeling, via Steuënvillle and Wellsburg, the fare being \$3.25. In 1828 a new stage line was put in running operation between Erie and Pittsburg, running via Salem, Youngstown and Beaver, and carrying passengers through in two days for \$5 each. In the spring of 1828 freight to Louisville was 50 cents a hundred; iron and glass, \$4 to \$5 per ton; to Cincinnati, 45 cents a hundred; by carriage from Philadelphia, \$2.50 to \$2.75 per hundred pounds.

The Pittsburg and Coal Hill Turnpike Road was begun in 1828. In March

(r) William Robinson, Jr.

(s) *Niles Register*, published at Baltimore, April 28, 1827.

(t) *Gazette*, July 20, 1827.

(u) Memorandum of Pittsburg gentleman in *Gazette* of November 16, 1827.



books were opened for subscriptions by the commissioners, William Wilkins, Henry Holdship, William B. Foster, Peter Mowry, William Arthurs and James Brown. From November 1, 1827, to July 1, 1828, the number of steamboat arrivals here was 276, and number of departures 284, the total tonnage being 34,350 (v). The important questions in 1828 were the slackwater improvements of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, the improvement of the channel of the Ohio, the connection with the Lake Erie and Ohio Canal, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A national road from Uniontown via Pittsburg to Lake Erie, distance 368 miles, was strongly talked of in 1828. Beginning in 1826 and continuing until the completion of the canal in 1829, the wagon trade through Pittsburg from the West was something almost inconceivable. The facts and figures of that day are bewildering. Cotton from Tennessee and Northern Alabama could be conveyed via Pittsburg to Philadelphia and New York as cheaply as via New Orleans and the ocean route (w).

"The reduction in the expense of transportation added to the increased value of the lands adjacent to the three great turnpikes leading from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, Erie and Tioga, have amounted to a sum which at the lowest estimate exceeds the cost of constructing not only these roads, but all the turnpikes in the State collectively" (x).

But at this time none of the roads had yielded dividends sufficient to remunerate its stockholders, and many yielded nothing and some were abandoned. Many of the owners were adjacent farmers and merchants.

Among the turnpikes projected about this time were the following: Indiana and Pittsburg, Harrisburg and Pittsburg, Pittsburg and Meadville, Pittsburg and Kittanning, Pittsburg and Mercer, Birmingham and Pittsburg, Monongahela Turnpike Road Company, Pittsburg and Williamsburg.

It was stated that in 1829 freight from New York had reached Cincinnati via the Erie Canal and the Lake Erie and Ohio Canal, at \$3.50 per hundred-weight. The Ohio Canal was just finished. Early in November, 1829, the first steamboat (Amulet) to engage in freighting directly from the canal boats took on her cargo of 150 to 200 barrels of salt at the outlet lock of the canal. The carriage was 75 cents per barrel from the Conemaugh Salt Works to Cincinnati. At this time the cost of making salt there was less than 25 cents per bushel, and required from thirty-six to forty-eight hours to bring it here.

"What think ye of this, ye venerable fathers of Allegheny County, who used to pay the storekeepers of Pittsburg \$10 per bushel for your salt, equal to \$50 per barrel? Then you had European salt brought over the mountains on horseback; now one horse can bring 200 barrels, or 1,000 bushels, in a canal boat from twenty to thirty miles a day" (y).

In April, 1829, so great became the travel over the Philadelphia and Pittsburg Turnpike that the stage proprietors were obliged to put on extra stages every other day. In 1829 the Pittsburg and Beaver Turnpike Road Company was resuscitated, having lain dormant since 1819, owing to hard times. The Legislature gave it new life in 1829. The outlet to the eastward of the city was always bad, and aside from the Pittsburg and Greensburg Turnpike, the only other outlet was through the little valley which separated Grant's from Boyd's Hill. The county road through this valley, via Chadwick's to East Liberty, was usually in bad and often impassable condition, so that travel was usually confined eastward to the turnpike. It was again proposed in 1830 to build a turnpike over this route, commencing at the line of Ross street and extending four and a half miles

(v) Gazette, July 18, 1828.

(x) Statement of George W. Smith, in 1828.

(w) Gazette, 1834.

(y) Gazette, November 10, 1829.



*William A. Herron*

eastward to the old turnpike, a clear gain of one mile, and the avoidance of Foster's Hill. This was called Farmers' and Mechanics' Turnpike.

The Uncle Sam was the largest boat afloat on the Western waters in 1829, registering 550 tons, and capable of carrying 500 passengers. Her engine, of 200 horse-power, was built by Warden, Arthurs & Benny, of this city. She was launched in March, 1829, at a cost of \$30,000.

It became evident in 1828-30, owing to the astonishing and unexpected success of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, that inland transportation by rail was bound to succeed all other means of intercommunication. Leading citizens saw at once that the canal was doomed. It was admitted that the Pennsylvania Canal, which had just begun to exhibit its usefulness and power, would, no doubt, in a comparatively short time, be exchanged for a railroad.

In March, 1830, a new arrangement of mail stages over the northern route from Pittsburg to Philadelphia and Baltimore via Blairsville, Huntingdon and Harrisburg was made by J. Moorhead, A. Horbach, J. Bigham, S. Moore and Colder & Wilson. The trip was made in four days, each passenger being allowed thirty pounds of baggage at his own risk.

In March, 1830, Mr. Blanchard launched the steamboat Allegheny, 90 feet long, to be used in navigating the Allegheny River. It was stipulated that she should not draw more than ten inches, unloaded, nor more than twenty-four inches, loaded with 40 tons and 100 passengers. It was the first steamboat to arrive in Warren—April 21, 1830, about 11 o'clock a. m., a large crowd collecting to witness the wondrous sight.

The Allegheny arrived at Pittsburg May 24, 1830, with twenty-seven tons of freight from Olean, New York, 300 miles up the Allegheny River from Pittsburg.

In March, 1830, the steamboat owners here built a floating dock to be used in repairing steamboats. It was 140 feet long and 32 feet wide. It was noticed that in March, 1830, the steamboat Talisman made the round trip to Nashville, Tenn., in nineteen days, not the quickest trip on record, but one of the quickest. It was related that twenty years before it would have required at least ninety days to make such a trip. The rate of freight in 1830 was \$1.50 per hundred; in 1810 it had been about \$8. In 1830 a small steamboat ran between Pittsburg and Brownsville, which was a great accommodation to traders bound for the West.

A steam ferryboat commenced running June, 1831, from the end of Penn Street to Steele's Landing on the Ohio, about 300 feet below the glassworks, and was considered a great improvement. Four wagons and many foot passengers could be taken at one trip. The owner was Joseph Irwin.

In 1829 and 1830 great improvement took place in the conveniences of stage traveling, as in everything else. In 1831, Reeside, Haymaker & Co. were in possession of the whole line of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, and placed thereon three lines of stages: (1) A small stage which traversed the route to Philadelphia in less than two days and a half; (2) another in four days—the two lines running daily, and (3) one which ran every other day. Then there was the fourth line over the northern route via Blairsville, Huntingdon and Lewistown, which made the trip in less than four days. The travel over these lines early in 1831 was very great. A stage line was established in 1831 between Pittsburg and Wheeling, another from Pittsburg to Steubenville, and the speed of the line from Pittsburg to Cleveland via Beaverstown was greatly increased, and the stages between Pittsburg and Erie were run through in thirty-six hours. These important changes and improvements were necessitated by the demands of a greatly increased patronage.

Ephraim and Samuel Frisbee established their boatyard at the point in 1831, on the site of old Fort Duquesne, and on Saturday, August 27, 1831,

launched their first steamboat, the *Napoleon*, of 150 tons burden. In 1831 The Pennsylvania and Ohio Transportation Company was formed here and soon began operations. The Pittsburg and Birmingham Road Company was also in operation, with Joseph Patterson, F. Wendt, J. Beltzhooover, J. McDonald, D. O'Connor, O. Ormsby, R. Burke and F. Bausman at its head.

The *Mediterranean*, built here in part in 1832, was 193 feet long and 60 feet breadth. Its engine was 320 horse-power, and was also built here; and its hull, of great strength, was built by Samuel Walker, of Elizabethtown. This boat was the largest, strongest and most beautiful yet turned out here—582½ tons. Mr. Strodes was captain. It cost nearly \$40,000, and was destined for the lower Mississippi trade, and went down the Ohio at the rate of seventeen miles an hour.

On January 21, 1832, in the morning, the northern pier of the Monongahela bridge fell to the river, carrying down two arches and a team of horses, both animals being drowned.

In June, 1833, a turnpike convention was held in this city to take into consideration the question of a uniformity of tolls and other matters of mutual interest. The companies represented were: Washington and Williamsport, Somerset and Bedford, Summit and Mt. Pleasant, Robbstown and Mt. Pleasant, Huntingdon, Cambria and Indiana, New Alexandria and Conemaugh, Pittsburg and Greensburg (David Shields and D. R. McNair, delegates), Pittsburg and New Alexandria (James Murray and Samuel Jack, delegates), Stoystown and Greensburg, Bedford and Stoystown, Mt. Pleasant and Pittsburg (James Estey and Jesse Lippencott, delegates), Pittsburg and Butler (Hugh Davis, delegate), and Chambersburg and Bedford. So many divergent views were expressed that little resulted, except that resolutions were adopted to memorialize the Legislature for assistance and to appoint a committee to correspond with the various turnpike officials to learn their wishes regarding the price and changes in price of tolls.

In 1831-3, Mr. Craig, of the *Gazette*, took great interest in the State improvements in Western Pennsylvania, and did much for their advancement. He drew a map, with Pittsburg as the center, with lines diverging from it in all directions, showing the proposed routes of canals and railways, which was widely exhibited, and became popularly known as "Craig's Spider."

In 1834 merchandise was carried from Philadelphia via Pittsburg to Louisville in fourteen days for \$1.33 per hundredweight, and to St. Louis in twenty-one days, for \$2 per hundredweight. In the spring of 1834 several small steamboats plied regularly between Brownsville and Pittsburg. There was an immense revival of trade this year. Steps to macadamize the first five miles of the Greensburg and Pittsburg Turnpike Road were taken in January, 1834, for the benefit, particularly, of this county and Pittsburg and its suburbs. It was expected that the necessary amount would be raised by subscription.

In 1835 the People's Line of stages ran daily between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, covering the distance in sixty hours, and using the Columbia Railroad as far as it had progressed. In 1835 it was proposed to extend the Pittsburg and Coal Hill Turnpike to a junction with the Greensburg and Pittsburg Turnpike. In the spring of 1835 the Pittsburg and Philadelphia Pioneer Line of packets was set in operation on the canal and portage railroad for the accommodation (exclusively) of passengers, and the company advertised to carry them through in three and a half days. This was such a decided improvement that great rejoicing was indulged in by Pittsburgers. About this time, also, the Western Transportation Company advertised to carry freight through from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in eight days. It was noticed by the *Louisville Journal* that goods had reached that place via Pittsburg in eleven days from Philadelphia. This was considered wonderful.



In the spring of 1835 the trade of Wheeling was solicited by Philadelphia merchants, and was largely secured by the efforts of the great mercantile houses of the latter city—shipments to be made via Pittsburg for \$1.37½ per hundred. It was shown to be out of the question at the time to ship freight from Wheeling to Baltimore over the turnpike for that sum. The canal and the river had thus verified predictions (z).

It was noted in February, 1835, that the Legislatures of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio and the Congress of the United States were then considering propositions of improvement which were designed to embrace Pittsburg in their measures—the railroad and the Rochester and Olean Canal, in New York; the canal connection with Erie and with the Ohio Canal, in Pennsylvania; the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in Maryland; the same in Virginia; the two cross-cut canals, in Ohio; the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the improvement of the Monongahela and the Ohio rivers in Congress (a).

A daily line of steamboats was added to the transportation facilities of this city February 23, 1835. The Western Transportation Company improved its conveyance eastward at this time.

Previous to the close of the year 1835, and subsequent to 1811, there were built in the Pittsburg district 304 steamboats, out of a total of 684 built on all the Western rivers. They measured 106,135 tons. Of the total number, 344 were worn out or abandoned, 238 snagged or otherwise sunk, 68 burned, 17 lost by collisions, and 17 by explosions, the latter being the Washington, Union, Atlas, Caledonia, Porpoise, Cotton Plant, Tallyho, Tricolor, Car of Commerce, Alabama, Hornet, Kanawha, Helen McGregor, Huntress, General Robinson, Arkansas and Teche. The number built each year was as follows (b):

1811.....	1	1820.....	9	1829.....	55
1812.....	0	1821.....	7	1830.....	43
1813.....	1	1822.....	10	1831.....	61
1814.....	2	1823.....	14	1832.....	80
1815.....	0	1824.....	13	1833.....	48
1816.....	5	1825.....	32	1834.....	59
1817.....	8	1826.....	60	1835.....	52
1818.....	31	1827.....	24		
1819.....	34	1828.....	35	Total.....	684

"We were informed yesterday by a respectable merchant of this city that goods from Philadelphia by way of the Columbia Railroad and Pennsylvania Canal arrived here within six and a half and seven days after shipment, and that some lots, which were destined for Louisville, arrived at that place within three days thereafter, making only ten days from Philadelphia to Louisville!!! Comment is unnecessary. This serves to show what *can* be done" (c).

Goods sent by a Cincinnati merchant from New York, via Philadelphia and Pittsburg, on October 16, 1836, arrived in the first named city November 3. They passed over Leech & Co.'s line, and the transit was considered a remarkably swift one. In 1836 there were located here eight transfer lines eastward, and in 1837 the number had grown to fourteen. In 1836 the engines on the Portage Railway could draw from ten to fifteen cars; in 1837 they could draw thirty loaded cars. The inclined planes, which delayed the mountain transit in 1835-6, were operated without delay in 1837.

In August, 1836, the United States Mail Line ran westward twelve good steamboats, one departing each day; the Good Intent Line ran westward, also,

(z) Gazette, March 3, 1835.

(a) Gazette, February 28, 1835.

(b) Western Boatman, No. 3.

(c) Advocate, April 8, 1835.

twelve good boats, one leaving daily. Two more lines were added in 1837—one to Louisville and one to Beaver. A daily line to Brownsville was also started in 1837. These gave the city eleven regular daily departures by rivers. There were nearly as many more irregular departures.

At this time (August, 1836) there were eight regular lines operating freight boats on the canal, and three lines operating passenger packets. In May, 1837, passengers were carried from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in three days and six hours by the Pioneer Fast Packet Line (d).

In 1837 there were two steamboats which ran regularly on the Allegheny River—the Newcastle and the Pulaski.

"There are two regular lines of steamboats leaving this port daily for Louisville, and every important forwarding house has an arrangement by which he is enabled to ship daily by one or other of these lines. Besides these regular lines of boats, there is at least an equal number of transient boats departing from Louisville, St. Louis, Nashville, Florence, etc., which ply constantly in their respective routes, although not organized as yet into lines. The forwarding houses prefer the regular lines generally, because they afford the most prompt and speedy conveyance to goods; and in order to secure room for the goods of their respective customers in those best conveyances, nearly every forwarding house is interested to a small extent in each boat of the line by which he ships. There can be, therefore, no inducement, no temptation, with the merchant to hold goods for a single hour, because he has at all times a boat in port to receive his shipments; and the extremely active competition between the lines and between transient boats affords a perfect guarantee to the owner of goods that his freight will be charged at the lowest rate at all times. The canal lines deliver goods at the basin to the consignees who present bills of lading or other authority to receive them. From occasional omissions by the forwarding merchants of Philadelphia, to send forward bills of lading, there have been instances of goods remaining in the canal stores here, because the consignee had no knowledge of the shipment and could not, of course, make application for them" (e).

In September, 1837, the following freight rates per one hundred pounds from Philadelphia to Pittsburg were adopted here by Leech & Co.'s Line (Tustin & Harris), Pittsburg Line (J. O'Connor & Co.), Union Line (Dulith, Humphreys & Co.), Dispatch Line (John White & Co.), Reliance Line (John Dougherty), Pennsylvania & Ohio Line (James Steel & Co.), Pilot Line (Bolton & Co.), to wit (f):

Dry goods, queensware in crates, stationery, drugs, fruit, leather, confectionery, shoes, saddlery.....	\$1.25
Hardware, paints, dyestuffs .....	1.12½
Groceries and tin boxes .....	1.00
Hats, bonnets, clocks, oil vitrol, pianos, new furniture, looking-glasses, basket carriages, willow baskets, car- riages .....	2.50
Burr blocks .....	.90
Manufactured marble .....	1.50
Fish, per barrel .....	2.25
Queensware in hogsheads .....	2.00
Second-hand furniture .....	1.50
Clay (whiting) .....	.90

(d) Advocate, May 11, 1837.

(e) Reply of Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce to attack of Philadelphia Commercial Herald against the commission houses here, August, 1837.

(f) Gazette, September 12, 1837.

The Farmers' and Mechanics' Turnpike Road Company had secured \$30,000 of stock subscriptions by 1837. As before stated, the road terminated beyond East Liberty. To meet the first expenses, the company issued \$12,000 in loan certificates, which depreciated greatly when the panic of 1837 descended upon this community. It was thought by many that the company would never be able to redeem its paper. Over sixty of the leading merchants of this city came to the rescue of the company by agreeing in a public notice to receive the certificates that had been issued in exchange for goods (g).

In April, 1838, the forwarding merchants of Philadelphia permanently fixed the price of freights between that city and Pittsburg by the Pennsylvania Canal and Columbia Railroad, as follows, per hundredweight: Dry goods, \$2; hardware and grocers' ware, \$1.70; groceries, \$1.40 (h).

When the first iron steamboat was launched, September 9, 1838, all experienced river men thought she would draw from twelve to fourteen inches. When it was known that she drew but nine inches astern and nine and a half forward:—

"All were astonished. The instance is without parallel. A timber boat of her capacity, similarly constructed, would draw twenty-one inches, while the iron steamboat draws but nine and a half. The draft ascertained, the next rush was to the hatches to note how rapidly she leaked. It seems that many came to the launch expecting to see the boat sink. They must have thought the truth strange, for when that was known the boat did not leak a drop. Here, then, is a boat, the product of Pittsburg enterprise and mechanical skill, the first of any considerable size built in the country, which, when finished, will afford the safest vehicle for the conveyance of persons and property which can be produced in the shape of a steamboat. She cannot be sunk, she cannot be burnt, she is proof against explosion, and she runs in almost no water at all; and what, we would ask, does the traveler or shipper want more than these?" (i).

Robinson & Minis turned out seven steamboats from their works from January 12 to May 15, 1839. Previous to April 20, 1839, 130 steamboats were built at Pittsburg, 83 at Cincinnati and 22 at Wheeling (j). In May, 1839, a line of hacks to run tri-weekly between Uniontown and Pittsburg was established by John Morrison. In June, 1839, the Reliance Transportation Company, a firm consisting of Peter Shoenberger, John D. Davis, John McFadden, John and William Bennett, John Dougherty, James M. Davis and G. and J. H. Shoenberger, dissolved, sold all their stock of boats, horses, etc., to a new company—Reliance Portable Boat Company—composed of the same individuals except John Dougherty (k).

An immense convention, at which many counties of Western Pennsylvania were represented, was held here November 19, 1839, to memorialize Congress on the subject of a national road from Erie via Meadville and Pittsburg to the Cumberland Road. The object argued was to connect the United States arsenals at Meadville and Pittsburg with that great highway.

"We have never witnessed such a display of business as is this day made at our landing along the Monongahela River. The whole extent of the landing, from the bridge to Ferry Street, appears to be covered with packages of merchandise, bales of cotton, bacon in casks, flour, corn, lead, hemp, pig-metal and a variety of other articles, while the carts, drays, etc., kept up a continual bustle, passing and repassing between the river and the canal basin. . . . The short time required to transport goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburg the present season—eight days or thereabouts—is a subject of general remark. This is in part owing to the excellent condition of the canals and railroads

(g) Gazette, July 29, 1837.

(h) Niles Register, April 27, 1839.

(i) Gazette, September, 1839.

(j) Louisville Price Current, April 20, 1839.

(k) Gazette, June 28, 1839.

and in part to the greater perfection in the arrangements of our enterprising and indefatigable transporters. We occasionally look into the warehouses at the basin and have been surprised to find them comparatively clear, when, judging from the long line of heavily laden drays which from morning to night may be seen wending their way to that point, we expected to see them crowded. Great as the trade is, the means of conveyance are adequate to it (l).

"Our business season, now nearly closed, has been one of unusual fluctuation in facilities for transportation of merchandise by river and canals, in prices of our leading manufactured articles and of the various products of our soil, and in our moneyed operations and exchanges. Our city now occupies a most enviable position from a commercial point of view. On the one hand we have the great line of canals and railroads connecting us equally with Philadelphia and Baltimore, and on the other hand by one crosscut canal intersecting the grand Ohio Canal at Akron, we have easy and cheap access to Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo and adjoining lakes and country, and by our rivers we have intercourse with every important or unimportant point in the mighty West. At the present time our canal is suspended, yet we have ample means of transportation by land between our city and Philadelphia and Baltimore—to the former by wagon lines connected with the railroad at Chambersburg, and to the latter by wagons entire. At present merchandise of various kinds is coming from Baltimore to our city at \$1 per 100 pounds and from Philadelphia by railroad and wagons in like proportion" (m).

In February, 1840, upon the breaking up of the ice in the Monongahela River, nearly all the coalboats between Brownsville and Pittsburg were destroyed and sunk (n).

In March, 1840, it was noted by the local newspapers that a contract had recently been made for the transportation of 10,000 barrels of flour from points between Pittsburg and Wheeling to New York by way of New Orleans. To meet this unfavorable condition of affairs the canal commissioners passed a resolution to allow a drawback of twenty cents per barrel on all flour entered at Pittsburg which should be certified as having been passed to Philadelphia. By so doing they virtually reduced the toll to fifty-four cents per barrel for the route and prevented the general shipment of flour from Pittsburg to New York by way of New Orleans (o).

Late in 1840 the Board of Trade, owing to the great falling off in traffic over the Pennsylvania public works, took action to secure a reduction in the cost of transportation, by appointing a committee for that purpose. By July 15, 1840, there had been built in the Pittsburg district in four years 170 steamboats with a total tonnage of 24,106. On September 7, 1840, eighteen steamboats were being built, and on the Monongahela, on the Allegheny and down the Ohio to Beaver, thirteen steamboats plied.

"During the first three days of this week nearly 700 boxes and bales of merchandise from Boston and 300 from Philadelphia have been forwarded hence to Louisville and other towns in the West by the New York Canal" (p).

"Every citizen of Pittsburg at all conversant with our Western business must be aware that we are gradually but rapidly losing the transit trade of the great West, and yet we rest satisfied (apparently) with the small and decreasing business left to us, while our neighbors are reaping a rich harvest from our apathy. Here we see that in three days only we have lost the transporta-

(l) Gazette, April, 1839.

(m) Pittsburg Correspondence in Niles National Register, December 12, 1840.

(n) Harris' Intelligencer, February, 1840.

(o) Niles National Register, March, 1840.

(p) New York Express, August 27, 1841.



tion of more than 200 tons of goods; the tolls, which would amount to \$2,500, are totally lost to our State, and more than \$5,000 is lost to our citizens in the form of freights on the canal and river. We see that in three days 300 packages of goods have been shipped from Philadelphia over a line of canal and lake navigation more than 400 miles longer than our own. . . . The causes are obvious: The high rate of freight on our State works and the uncertainty in regard to the navigation of the Ohio River from June to November, comprising two-thirds of the business year. Our citizens are well aware that we have a reliable navigation in the Ohio for steamboats carrying freights at low prices but four months in the year, and yet the practicability of rendering it safe and good for ten months is demonstrated in the reports of Captain Dutton. Many of the facts might be given to show that these two causes alone are operating to the certain destruction of the best interests of our city. For instance, our manufacturers must sustain great loss and inconvenience by being deprived of a home market for their articles. The Western merchants, having no business here, will not visit us merely to buy their small stocks of glass, iron, nails, cotton yarns, etc. They will buy in the larger Western towns" (q).

Early in August, 1841, although the river was at its lowest stage—thirteen inches of water—the steamer *Glide*, drawing but ten inches of water, left with a full complement of passengers.

On January 3, 1846, experiments on the telegraph line between Pittsburg and Norristown were made. The line was then finished from Harrisburg to Lancaster, and was nearly finished to this place.

"They are putting up the poles for the magnetic telegraph along Fourth Street to Odeon. The line will be ready for occupation during next week" (r).

"The wires were all ready for communication with Philadelphia from this city last Saturday. Several experiments were tried on Saturday night, and yesterday the first communication was transmitted to the *Ledger* newspaper. We are now capable of conversing with the people of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Boston and New York" (s).

By July, 1848, telegraph poles had been erected from Pittsburg to Marietta, Ohio—part of the line to New Orleans from this city via Wheeling, Maysville, Lexington, etc. Soon afterward the line was opened. In November, 1849, the Lake Erie Telegraph Line opened an office at Beaver, thus putting Pittsburg in telegraphic communication with the Great Lakes.

The first President's message received here by telegraph was taken from the wires of the Atlantic and Ohio Telegraph Company on December 9, 1847, the *Commercial Journal* paying \$100 for the privilege, the other newspapers—*Chronicle*, *Telegraph*, *American*, *Gazette*, *Dispatch* and *Post*—receiving it from the former paper. It consisted of about 19,000 words. This was justly considered a great event. Henry O'Reilly was the agent in charge here.

The dispute between Pittsburg and Wheeling in early times over the navigation of the Ohio between the two cities was often both severe and amusing, and did not die out with the lapse of time, nor has it yet altogether ended. In 1846 there were plying on the Ohio to and from Pittsburg nearly 100 steamboats varying from 100 to 300 tons burden, and a few of lighter draft for special service in periods of unusual drouth. Some of the latter drew no more than twenty inches and could always be used below Wheeling, but not always above it and below Pittsburg. In fact, in the summer of 1845 there were sixty-six days during which no steamboat of any draft ran above Wheeling, but those

(q) *Advocate and Emporium*, September 1, 1841.

(r) *Commercial Journal*, December 24, 1846.

(s) *Commercial Journal*, December 28, 1846.

of lighter draft did run below that city. During the winter of 1845-6 on one occasion only was the river blocked by ice below Wheeling, while between Wheeling and Pittsburg it was closed about half of the time. As late as March, 1846, for ten days at a stretch, the river was closed above Wheeling to all boats. These facts were used by the Pittsburg papers to argue the importance of river improvement between the two cities (t). From June 14, 1831, to July 13, 1846, there were built here 612 steamboats. Those having the greatest tonnage were the Emperor, with 535, built in 1837, and the Mohawk, with 501, built in 1832 (u).

"For many years two great lines of coaches were run between Philadelphia and Pittsburg. Starting daily, the three hundred and fifty odd miles between the two cities were passed over in about three days; that is, if the roads were in good condition, but more time was usually required. Every twelve miles a change of horses was made and quickly. No time was lost and no rest was given the traveler. . . . Tollgates were passed every six or twelve miles. There was plenty of drink along the way and it was both good and cheap. Ministers, lawyers, statesmen, and all, while the horses were being changed at the relay stations, rushed out of the stage coaches to the taverns and comforted themselves with something cheering. A through pass ticket from Pittsburg to Philadelphia was all the way from \$14 to \$20. . . . For twenty-five years emigrant travel formed a big portion of the business along the turnpike. It was mostly from Baltimore, where thousands of emigrants landed" (v).

The iron sea steamer Hunter, which had been built here on Lieutenant Hunter's plan, was sent down the river through the ice early in 1846. Its completion marked an important epoch in boat building.

The total cost of building the Greensburg and Pittsburg Turnpike was \$180,336.82; amount of stock, \$145,350; tolls collected in 1845, \$16,361.

The following is an annual aggregate of the arrivals of steamboats and other vessels at the port of Pittsburg, together with the amount of tonnage for the years named (w):

1843—steamboats . . . . .	1,707	165,317
1843—keels and flats . . . . .	582	13,675
1844—steamboats . . . . .	1,966	216,236
1844—keels and flats . . . . .	621	14,180
1845—steamboats . . . . .	2,169	227,994
1845—keels and flats . . . . .	621	14,180
1846—steamboats . . . . .	2,585	276,572
1846—keels and flats . . . . .	634	15,965
1847—steamboats . . . . .	3,171	372,465
1847—keels and flats . . . . .	764	20,730
1848—steamboats . . . . .	2,885	361,000
1848—keels and flats . . . . .	705	20,570

Previous to the construction of the dams on the Monongahela the largest amount of coal to come down that river any one year was, in round numbers, 3,000,000 bushels. In 1853 the amount was over 15,000,000 and the price here per bushel was greatly reduced. At this date three more dams—Nos. 5, 6 and 7—were in view. In May, 1854, the fine suspension bridge over the Ohio River at Wheeling was blown down. The year 1855 was the first in forty that navigation was maintained uninterrupted throughout the summer by steamers on the Ohio River (x).

Prior to 1850 coal was sent down the Ohio from Pittsburg in big flat-

(t) Niles National Register, March 21, 1846.

(v) Post, 1846.

(x) Commercial Journal, December 14, 1855.

(u) Commercial Journal, 1846.

(w) Gazette, April, 1849.



bottomed boats, 125x18x8 feet, carrying about 15,000 bushels of coal each. They were lashed in pairs and floated down in charge of enough men to care for them in times of high water. After about 1850 the coal was loaded in large flats and towed down by steam. Pittsburg engineers devised the towboat which draws but two or three feet of water, carries no load itself, but pulls enormous burdens down the river. This is the cheapest transportation in the world. Necessity forced the engineers to devise this course to retain their trade which the railroads were fast securing (y).

During the late '40s and the '50s was the era here of plank road building and many were projected. The Allegheny and Perryville Plank Road was established early in 1849, and extended from Federal Street, in Allegheny, over the Franklin and Harmony Road to a point one mile north of Perryville, and had a total length of seven miles. The Allegheny and Butler Plank Road was incorporated in 1849 and opened in 1850-51, and the Allegheny and Perryville Plank Road was put in operation about this date.

On January 22, 1850, the Pittsburg and Braddock's Field Plank Road Company was incorporated and stock to the amount of 1,600 shares was soon offered to subscribers by Thomas M. Howe, William Eichbaum, E. D. Gazzam, James Ross and others, commissioners, and the road was opened in 1851.

In 1849 the Temperanceville and Noblesville Plank Road Company was incorporated and authorized to issue 800 shares of \$25 each. The Allegheny and Manchester Plank Road was incorporated in May, 1850, and authorized to issue 600 shares. Others incorporated about this time or soon afterward were the Allegheny and New Brighton Plank Road, the East Liberty and Penn Township Plank Road, the East Liberty, North Washington and Apollo Plank Road, the Lawrenceville and Sharpsville Plank Road, the Pittsburg and Cumberland Plank Road, and others. These roads served their purpose and a few of them were in use only a short time ago.

No doubt the difficulty of up-river transportation was the spur which led inventors to use steam for water navigation. Fulton, Livingston and Roosevelt built here the first steamboat on the Western waters in 1811. She was 138 feet keel and named New Orleans. Mr. Roosevelt constructed her at a cost of \$40,000. The boat was launched in March, 1811, passed down the river to New Orleans, later was run regularly between that city and Natchez, was regarded as a wonderful invention, and was the admiration of all beholders. She ran down stream at the rate of about nine miles an hour. "She passes floating wood on the rivers as you pass objects on land when on a smart trotting horse" (z). In 1814 she was lost on a snag near Baton Rouge. This was the commencement of the wonderful steamboat era.

In 1810 the editor of the *Navigator* said: "From the canoe we now (1810) see ships of two or three hundred tons burden, masted and rigged, descending the same Ohio, laden with the products of the country, bound to New Orleans, thence to any part of the world." The same writer said in 1812: "Shipbuilding is superseded by steamboat navigation on our Western rivers." As yet the editor of the *Navigator* did not see the approach of the iron horse, but speculated on the wonderful state of things likely to result from the use of steamboats.

"To see a huge boat working her way up the windings of the Ohio, without the appearance of sail, oar, pole, or manual labor about her, moving within the secrets of her own wonderful mechanism and propelled by power undiscoverable. This plan, if it succeeds, must open to man flattering prospects to an immense country, an interior of not less than 2,000 miles of as fine a soil

(y) Post, 1846. (z) Navigator, 1813.



and climate as the world can produce. . . . The immensity of country we have yet to settle, the vast riches of the bowels of the earth, the unexampled advantages of our water courses, which wind without interruption for thousands of miles, the numerous sources of trade and wealth opening to the enterprising and industrious citizens, are reflections that must rouse the most dull and stupid. Indeed, the very appearance of the placid and unbroken surface of the Ohio invite trade and enterprise" (a).

Congress early declared Pittsburg a port of clearance, "and at one time shipbuilding was carried on with considerable spirit; whether this has been relaxed in consequence of the war, or from its having been shown by experience not to be profitable, is not well known" (b).

On April 22, 1814, the *Vesuvius*, a steamboat intended as a regular trader between New Orleans and the falls of the Ohio, left Pittsburg. She had been launched November 29, 1813, from the Fulton and Livingston yard, and was commanded by Captain F. Ogden. At this time another, intended to run on the Ohio above the falls, was on the stocks here, both under the control of Fulton, Livingston, Latrobe and others, organized as a company. "The departure of the *Vesuvius* is a very important event, not only for this place, but for the whole western part of the Union, and its influence will be felt over the whole of the United States" (c). The *Vesuvius* was 480 tons burthen, twenty-eight and a half feet beam and when loaded drew from five to six feet of water. An elegant cabin with twenty-eight double berths on each side was built upon her deck. Previous to her departure her speed was tried on the Monongahela and Ohio, going both up and down stream. On the Ohio below town she moved up stream at the rate of four miles an hour. Upon her departure she steamed to Middletown, down the Ohio a distance of twelve miles, in one hour and a half. The completion of this steamboat was correctly considered an event of vast importance to the Western country.

"The Cincinnati *Spy* says that the steamboat *Vesuvius* arrived at that place on the 26th of April in forty hours from Pittsburg" (d).

"The steamboat *Vesuvius* went from Pittsburg to Louisville, 767 miles, in sixty-seven hours and twenty-five minutes, equal to ten and a half miles per hour" (e).

"Astonishing Passage.—The steamboat *Vesuvius* made the following passage from Pittsburg to New Orleans: From Pittsburg to Shippingport, 67½ hours; from Shippingport to Natchez, 125½ hours; from Natchez to New Orleans, 33 hours; total, 227 hours, or nine days and eleven hours" (f).

"The steamboat *Enterprise*, built at Bridgeport, on the Monongahela, arrived at Pittsburg on the 8th ult., designed as a packet between that place and the falls of the Ohio. Her power was highly approved. She was tried against the current of the Monongahela, unusually high and rapid for the season, and made three miles and a half an hour. She returned with the stream that distance in ten minutes" (g).

The boat was elegantly finished and arranged for the passenger trade and was made in accordance with the French patent. Mr. French had placed the wheel behind the boat, but this was claimed to be an infringement on the Fulton & Livingston patent (h).

Thus it will be seen that the New Orleans was built in 1811, and then in rapid succession followed the *Comet*, the *Vesuvius* by Fulton, *Enterprise* by French, *Etna* (300 tons) by Fulton, *Dispatch* by French, *Buffalo* (300 tons)

(a) Navigator, 1817.

(c) Niles Register, May 21, 1814.

(e) Niles Register, June 4, 1814.

(g) Niles Register, July 9, 1814.

(b) Navigator, 1813.

(d) Mercury, May 11, 1814.

(f) Niles Register, July 9, 1814.

(h) Mercury, August 10, 1814.

by Latrobe, James Monroe by Latrobe, Franklin by Shiras & Cromwell, Oliver Evans by George Evans, Harriet (40 tons), New Orleans (300 tons) by Fulton, James Madison and the General Jackson by Whiting, James Ross by Whiting & Stackpole, Frankfort and Tamerlane by the Pittsburg Steam Engine Company.

"The beautiful steamboat James Ross is riding at anchor before our city, ready to take the tide at its height. This vessel presents an interesting and beautiful object for the eye of taste; she looms large and rests on the bosom of the water like a duck. She seems to be intended to afford every kind of accommodation for the passenger and freighter, and her handsome paneled doors and frequent windows gave her the appearance of a floating hotel. The owners, Messrs. Whiting & Stackpole, have another nearly ready to be launched a few miles above town and there are two more on the stocks in the city" (i).

In the autumn of 1818 water was very low in the rivers here and no relief had come by November 14. Lying idle on the Monongahela were thirty large keel-boats, besides many flat-bottoms, loaded with goods, waiting for rain. Western merchants had been here, purchased their goods, loaded the same on the boats, and had gone on, the most of them, expecting that a rise in the rivers would soon bring them their merchandise. The merchants suffered, the proprietors of the boats suffered, as the hands must be retained, and all prayed for rain. This waiting was one of the most expensive and vexatious occurrences in the early history of Pittsburg.

In December, 1818, the Pittsburg Steam Engine Company launched from its yard on the Monongahela the Tamerlane and the Frankfort, two elegant steamers of 320 tons burdens each, and at this date had two more on the stocks, all elaborately and richly built for that day, as fine, in fact, as the James Ross.

On January 1, 1819, it was said (j) that there were thirty-one steamboats running on the Western rivers, and thirty more nearly completed, and the keels of many more nearly laid; that the present (then) tonnage was 3,300, now building 3,710, total tonnage 7,010.

The United States steamboat Western Engineer was launched from the arsenal near Pittsburg, March 26, 1819. She was destined under Major Long to explore the waters of the Mississippi. Her draft was only nineteen inches.

The Monongahela and Ohio Steamboat Company owned the steamboats Enterprise and Dispatch. They were constructed on the plan of Mr. French, the engineer, and both were built at Bridgeport.

In June, 1819, when the steamboat James Ross arrived in Louisville in fourteen days from New Orleans, "What an immense prospect do not these strides in enterprise and improvement open to the speculative mind! It is only a few years since it required some weeks to descend from the Ohio to New Orleans" (k).

By an important decision of the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Pennsylvania in 1819, it was affirmed that the admiralty jurisdiction of the United States courts extended to the fresh waters and navigable streams of the interior, and that the wages of boatmen came under the denomination of seaman's wages. This was the case of Shecker et al. vs. the Geneva Boxer.

It was estimated in the fall of 1819 that a steamboat tonnage of 10,000 was in process of construction along the three rivers—Ohio, Allegheny and Monongahela. Early in 1819 the Pittsburg Navigation and Insurance Company was formed for the purpose of trading between Pittsburg and other parts of the Western country. It was a stock company and was vigorously attacked

(i) Mercury, October, 1818. (j) New Orleans Gazette. (k) Gazette, June 11, 1819.

and opposed by the "old freighters." The capital was fixed at \$100,000 and the directors stated that until sufficient capital should have been paid in, the business would be confined to freightage and not insurance. The directors were Thomas Cromwell (president), Anthony Beelen, William Robinson, Jr., George Bowen, George Grant, Robert Patterson and Isaac Bean. It was claimed by the "old freighters" that this company actually began business with only \$5,000 paid in, and the public was asked whether it was wise to trust them instead of the companies which had made the business successful. It was also said that this amount had been paid in in common circulating paper which was at twenty per cent. discount. The "old freighters" were S. & A. Hart, McCullough & Young, Isaac Scott & Co., James Ferguson & Stedum, Knox, Holderman & Co., and Strodes & Johnson, "boat owners of the City of Philadelphia."

"As we have at length established a navigation company in this place, it is to be hoped that the attention of our Legislature will be a little more directed to the internal improvement of the West than has hitherto been the case. When we speak of internal improvement we wish it understood that we mean exclusively the Pennsylvania Turnpike and removing the impediment to the navigation from Pittsburg to Wheeling" (l).

Public notice was given in September, 1819, that pursuant to legislative enactment proposals would be received for improving the navigation of the Ohio River from Pittsburg to the State line, the improvements to consist in removing large stones from the bed of the river and in cutting an artificial channel of a certain depth and width through the shoals and ripples. The call was signed by Matthew B. Lowrie, Charles Shaler, Alexander Johnston, Jr., John Linton, James Adams, Isaiah Doane and William Wilkins. Nearly all boats which met disaster in this portion of the Ohio River did so on rocks at the head of Montour's Island, in Horse Tail Ripple, the second Lowry Ripple, or nearly opposite the foot of Montour's Island. It was thought that \$100 would remove these impediments. The river was so extremely low in September, 1819, that it was proposed to raise a body of citizens to go down and remove them (m).

In 1822 it was reported that 400 boats plied upon the Erie Canal between Rochester and Little Falls, among which were several lines of excellent packets. At this time the great Union Canal in Pennsylvania was progressing rapidly.

"No less than seven steamboats are prepared or preparing to start from Pittsburg early in the spring to ply between that place and St. Louis, Nashville, New Orleans, etc., regularly. They are amply fitted for the transportation of passengers and merchandise on goods of all sorts, and will depart and arrive in succession, so as to afford the greatest possible facility to transportation wherever the river will admit of it. The land carriage to Pittsburg is now very moderate" (n).

"Pittsburg.—The shipping list for the port for one week ending April 15, 1823, notices the arrival of four steamboats and as many keel-boats, and the departure of two steamboats and four large flat-bottomed boats" (o).

"If a railway can be constructed in any country where a canal could be made and in many situations where canals are impracticable through want of water; if loaded boats and wagons have been raised and let down 220 feet on some of them; if they can be completed and kept in repair for far less expense than canals and do not occupy one-fourth part of the room; if they cause no bilious or intermittent fever in the country through which they pass; and if five or six wagons each loaded with twenty hundredweight can be

(l) Gazette, February 23, 1819.

(n) Niles Register, January 18, 1823.

(m) Gazette, September 21, 1819.

(o) Niles Register, April 26, 1823.

impelled with a velocity of ten or twelve miles per hour by means of one of Perkins' steam engines, expending two or three bushels of coal, from Pittsburg to Baltimore; if these things be so and they can all be demonstrated, is it not time to abandon impossibilities and think seriously on a subject of the greatest importance?" (p)

"Pittsburg.—Within the last two years no less than ten steamboats have been built at this place and there is now one on the stocks. Their tonnage was as follows: 240, 230, 120, five of 100 each, 80 and 60" (q).

In the years 1823-25 there were built at Pittsburg and vicinity twenty-one steamboats having a total tonnage of 3,720, and others were on the stocks. At the close of 1824 the State of Pennsylvania owned \$1,789,067.20 in turnpike stock, which yielded during that year the small revenue of \$1,187.50. It also held bridge stock to the amount of \$554,750, which yielded \$10,640. It owned also \$30,000 in Union Canal stock, \$50,000 stock in the Schuylkill Navigation Company, and would own within a year more \$100,000 stock in the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal; total, \$2,523,817.20, yielding a revenue of \$12,827.50.

In September, 1826, the price of freight in keel-boats from Pittsburg per 100 pounds was as follows: To St. Louis, \$1.62½; to Nashville, \$1.50; to Louisville, 75 cents; to Cincinnati, 62½ cents; to Marietta, 40 cents; to Wheeling, 18½ cents; to Philadelphia, \$1 to \$1.12½. From Philadelphia to Pittsburg the freight was \$3. In 1826 seven steamboats were lying with their sides to the wharf and had ample room.

In 1826 ejectment suits were instituted against the city by Messrs. Howell for a piece of ground lying along the Monongahela, claimed under an assignment from the Penns, and the Select and Common Councils employed Richard Biddle to protect the interests of the city and appropriated \$200 as a retainer. This famous batture case, involving the title to a large tract on the Monongahela River front, was finally decided by the Supreme Court, in March, 1832, in favor of the city, Judge McKean delivering the opinion and reversing the Circuit Court. Messrs. Wilkins and Sargeant were the opposing counsel and Mr. Denny assisted Mr. Wilkins (r).

In November, 1826, the street commissioner finished, at a cost of about \$1,200, an extension to the steamboat wharf on the Monongahela from the lower end of Market Street landing to the lower end of Ferry Street landing.

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(p) Federal Gazette (Baltimore), September, 1823.

(q) Niles Register, May 22, 1824.



## CHAPTER VI.

TRANSPORTATION CONTINUED—THE FIRST BRIDGES—LATER BRIDGES AT MECHANIC'S STREET, HAND STREET, SOHO, SHARPSBURG—THE CANAL AQUEDUCT—THE SUSPENSION AND THE TRIPARTITE BRIDGES—THEIR VALUE—THE PENNSYLVANIA CANAL—THE TUNNEL THROUGH GRANT'S HILL—INCIDENTS CONCERNING THE CANAL—SALE OF THE PUBLIC WORKS—RECENT BRIDGES—LOCK NAVIGATION ON THE MONONGAHELA—STATISTICS—EARLY RAILWAY PROJECTS—LEGISLATION—ADVENT OF THE RAILWAYS—SUBSCRIPTIONS OF STOCK THERETO—REPUDIATION OF THE BONDS—INCIDENTS, OBSERVATIONS AND STATISTICS.

In the year 1810 a bill was introduced in the State Legislature providing for the construction of two bridges at Pittsburg—one over the Monongahela and one over the Allegheny, and an estimate of the probable cost of such a structure was made by Judge Findley. It was calculated by him that the 1,200 feet of river would require chains of 1,540 feet, and four such chains of inch and a half square iron bar, weighing sixty-four pounds to the foot, with some excess, would amount to \$8,800; smith work would cost \$3,080; a bridge thirty feet wide would require \$900 worth of plank; three piers would cost \$15,000; other expense, \$1,050; right to use certain patents, \$1,200; putting together, \$1,296; incidentals, \$1,000; total, \$32,326. James O'Hara, William McCandless, David Evans, Ephraim Pentland, Jacob Beltzhoover, Adamson Tannehill, Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Enochs and Dr. George Stevenson were the commissioners appointed to open books for the subscription of stock in the Monongahela bridge. John Wilkins, James Robinson, Nathaniel Irish, George Shiras, George Robinson, Isaac Craig, James Irvin, John Johnston and James Riddle were authorized to open books for the subscription of stock in the Allegheny bridge (a). Probably owing to the war of 1812, the bridges were not built at that time and in 1816 (b) the law was reenacted, and the Governor, on behalf of the State, was authorized to take 1,600 shares of stock in each bridge. The law specified that one was to be built over the Monongahela at Smithfield Street and one over the Allegheny at St. Clair Street. William Wilkins, James Ross, Thomas Baird, John Thaw, David Pride, Philip Gilland, Oliver Ormsby, Christian Latshaw, Jacob Beltzhoover, James Brison and Samuel Douglass were the commissioners for the Monongahela bridge, and William Robinson, Jr., Thomas Cromwell, William Hayes, James O'Hara, George Shiras, William Anderson, James Adams, Robert Campbell and others were the commissioners for the Allegheny bridge.

The last installment of stock for the Monongahela bridge was called for by the treasurer, John Shaw, to be paid May 15, 1818. The first arch was laid on the piers on Saturday, June 20, 1818 (c). It was rapidly built, when once begun, and rested on two abutments and seven intermediate piers of stone. It was constructed of wood and iron, with the catenarian curve of arches, the contract price being \$110,000. As if to favor the contractor, the weather during the fall was excellent.

(a) Act of March 19, 1810.

(b) Act of February 17, 1816.

(c) Gazette, October 27, 1818.

"The beautiful bridge over the Monongahela has nearly reached the northern shore; it will probably be crossed before Christmas. The one over the Allegheny is not so far advanced, but yet enough is done to insure its completion. Pittsburg will then exhibit what no American city or town has ever yet done—two splendid bridges over two mighty streams, within 400 yards of each other" (d).

"On Saturday (November 21, 1818) the last arch of the Monongahela being completed, and the whole floored, the undertakers and builders announced the pleasing event by the discharge of cannon from the middle pier and the display of the United States flag waving over the central arch, having attached to its staff a beautiful banner with appropriate representations. The City Guards and the new company of Washington Guards from Birmingham, heralded on their respective sides of the river, marched across and fired salutes. In the afternoon the workmen sat down to a substantial dinner, at which Mr. Johnston, the meritorious undertaker and superintendent, presided. The following toasts were drunk:

1. The State of Pennsylvania—the First in the Union for the Number and Beauty of Its Bridges. 2. The Legislature of Pennsylvania—Their Liberty Has Kept Bright the Hammer and the Axes of the Bridge-BUILDER. 3. The Governor. 4. The President of the United States—May the Route of His Next Tour be Entirely Bridged. 5. The Sixteenth Congress. 6. Henry Baldwin—Above High Water Mark. 7. Walter Lowrie. 8. The President of the Monongahela Bridge Company—Distinguished for His Public Spirit. 9. The Managers and Company—May Their Success Equal Their Enterprise. Volunteer by one of the managers: The Undertakers and Builders of the Monongahela Bridge—Their Success Has Equaled Their Enterprise."

November 26, 1818, John Shaw, treasurer of the Monongahela Bridge Company called a meeting of the managers to appoint a gatekeeper to receive the toll, as follows: Foot passengers, 2 cents; vehicles of four wheels and six horses, 62½ cents; vehicles of two horses, 25 cents; vehicles of one horse, 20 cents; horse and rider, 6 cents; horse alone, 6 cents; each head of cattle, 3 cents; each head of sheep, 2 cents.

The first three installments of stock of the Allegheny Bridge Company were called for by the treasurer, Alexander Johnston, Jr., to be paid on or before January 4, 1818, or suit would be brought for the amounts. By October 5, 1818, the last arch of the Allegheny bridge had been laid. Mr. Johnson was the builder, and Mr. Stacker the mason contractor.

"We are delighted to find the Allegheny bridge has been commenced. Although a bridge over this river may not be more important to Pittsburg than the one over the Monongahela, when viewed merely as affording a facility of crossing a wide stream, yet in another point of view it will be truly useful. Pittsburg, owing to the limited space left for a city by the two hills and the two rivers, has been laid off on a most contracted plan. The inconveniences of some of our narrow streets have, from the great increase of our population, become very seriously felt during the hot months of summer. The handsome, healthy plain surrounded by many fine situations for seats on which the town of Allegheny is situated will by the means of this bridge become a part of Pittsburg, and will, of course, present an opportunity for our city population to spread themselves more without detriment to their business or inconvenience to their families. This bridge will, in our opinion, have also an important effect on the country northwest of the Allegheny River, in an agricultural point of view, by bringing its inhabitants much nearer in fact to market. This river, although

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(d) Gazette, November 24, 1818.

much narrower than the Monongahela, is much more difficult to cross, owing to its extreme rapidity. In the winter and spring seasons it is frequently impassable for days together, owing to ice and high water. These inconveniences will in a short time be remedied, and the two shores connected by a splendid street" (e).

The State held \$40,000 worth of stock in the Monongahela bridge, and was required to assist in repairing the damage caused by the falling of the span in 1831-2.

In March, 1836, an act was passed to incorporate a company to build a bridge over the Allegheny River at Mechanic's Street, and another act passed the same year incorporated a company to build a bridge over the Allegheny at Hand Street. Each company was authorized to issue 1,200 shares of \$50 each. Work on both bridges was at once commenced. In 1837 a company was incorporated to build a bridge over the Monongahela at Birmingham, and to construct a turnpike therefrom to the Coal Hill Turnpike. It was specified that 3,000 shares of \$25 each should be issued.

In December, 1837, the Allegheny, or St. Clair Street, bridge was lighted with gas for the first time, and the improvement was commented upon by the newspapers. J. Tassey, R. Gray and S. Lothrop were the building committee of the Hand Street bridge. This bridge and the Mechanic's Street bridge in Northern Liberties were erected in 1837-8. This gave the cities four bridges over the Allegheny, counting the canal aqueduct as one: St. Clair Street or Allegheny, Hand Street, Mechanic's Street; also one over the Monongahela at Smithfield Street and another projected over the same river at Soho or Birmingham. In 1838 an act was passed to build another over the Allegheny River at Sharpsburg. Not having been done by 1843, the act was extended for another five years.

The new bridge from Hand Street across the Allegheny to Cedar Street was finished and opened May 29, 1840. It was 1,027 feet and 3 inches long and 42 feet wide. On each side were walks six feet wide for foot passengers, and on top was a walk twelve feet wide, with hand-railing and lattice-work. There were two abutments and four piers. It cost \$70,000, and was built by Sylvanus Lothrop and others, who also built the aqueduct here and at Freeport.

In May, 1840, the act authorizing the building of the bridge at Soho was extended for another period of three years, no commencement having yet been made.

In 1846 the Councils of Allegheny appointed a joint committee to confer with the officers of the bridges at Hand Street, St. Clair Street and in the Fifth Ward to ascertain upon what terms such bridges would be sold to the cities, with the view of their being made free. In this year an act was passed constituting the District Court of Allegheny County sole arbiter to determine whether the Allegheny bridge, under the law of 1810 and its supplements, should be made free. The result was a lawsuit of long continuance, a thorough overhauling of the accounts of the bridge company, and the employment of the ablest lawyers of the city on both sides, among whom were Messrs. Loomis and Stanton. The bridge was not made free.

The great fire of 1845 destroyed the Monongahela bridge at Smithfield Street, and in 1845-6 a splendid suspension bridge was built there by Mr. Roebling to take its place. Early in 1846 the bridge was opened to the passage of the public, prematurely, owing to the fact that, as the river was then impassable to the ferryboats from the large quantity of floating ice, neither individuals nor teams could cross. The bridge was accordingly thrown open. In November,

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(e) Gazette, 1818.





1848, the St. Clair Street bridge was repainted, greatly improved and "made as good as new," and in January, 1849, was made free to ladies.

An important project in 1846 was to span the rivers at their junction to form the Ohio with a tripartite bridge, "starting from the Point at the confluence of the two rivers, spanning with one trunk half the breadth of the confluent streams and diverging on the breast of the bar into two trunks, spanning also the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers." A company was formed and chartered by the Legislature, and stock subscriptions were called for, one gentleman putting his name down for \$50,000. The structure was designed to cost \$300,000, though but 500 shares of \$500 each were authorized. Rivermen and their friends combated the project upon the ground that it would result in an obstruction to the navigation of the rivers. A resolution favoring the construction of this bridge passed the Pittsburgh Select Council by a majority of one and the Common Council by a majority of two. An opposing resolution was passed by the minority in both councils. It was freely predicted that the necessary subscription could not and would not be raised. Whether this was the cause of the failure of the enterprise, or whether the numerous railroads then projected usurped public attention and thus smothered interest in the tripartite bridge, would be difficult to state; at any rate, neither the necessary stock was subscribed nor was the bridge built.

In 1851 the act for building a bridge over the Monongahela at Birmingham was revived, but in 1853 was repealed, and a new corporation, known as the Birmingham and Pittsburgh Bridge Company was authorized to construct a bridge at Soho. The Sharpsburg bridge project, which had languished so long, was put in operation in 1855, and on September 27, 1856, the bridge was thrown open to the public. Its construction at this time was due to the Lawrenceville and Sharpsburg Plank Road Company. In 1859 the old Allegheny bridge was demolished and a splendid new one was commenced by John J. Roebling. In 1855 the Pittsburgh Bridge Company was incorporated and authorized to build a bridge over the Monongahela at the foot of Liberty Street, among the incorporators being E. J. Brooke, James Wood, Christian Zug, Caleb Foster and Clarence Shaler. It was provided that the bridge should be built ninety feet above low water mark, and that the span under which steamboats must pass should not be less than 300 feet in length.

The extraordinary success of the Erie Canal and the probability that it would rob Pittsburgh, and all of Pennsylvania, in fact, of a valuable carrying trade, to say nothing of depriving the State of a large share of the trade of the great West, were the primary causes of the action of the State to enter upon an extensive system of internal improvements, among which was an elaborate plan for canals. The Governor's message to the Legislature on December 3, 1818, announced in detail the contemplated scheme for public improvement. Among other things, he said the plan to connect the Ohio River and the Great Lakes with the tidewater of the Delaware had often been suggested and by many was believed practicable; that the Susquehanna and the Allegheny could be thus connected by four routes: 1. By the Juniata and Conemaugh. 2. By the Sinnemahoning and Toby's Creek. 3. By the north branch of the Sinnemahoning and Potato Creek. 4. By Pine Creek. Besides these, the Great Lakes could be reached by the Allegheny River and French Creek, or by Chetauque Lake and Conewango Creek; that the Kentucky and Ohio Canal Company (at the falls of the Ohio) had reserved 500 shares of its stock for each of the States, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and for the United States Government, and ended by recommending that the State should take suitable action in the premises.

"Another plan is on foot in that hotbed of projects, Cincinnati, which we

honestly confess adds another item to the amount of our present uneasiness, and this is a canal from the lakes either into the Ohio or the great Miami. We are aware that a hundred tongues will immediately exclaim, 'This is idle; the people of Cincinnati are going to the devil; they cannot pay their Eastern debt, and their present rag currency will end in utter ruin' " (f).

Pittsburg brought great pressure to bear to secure the canal. The newspapers here and the leading citizens fought hard for this coveted line of intercommunication. It was pointed out a hundred times how the Erie Canal would rob Pittsburg of the trade of the West, and the consequences to Philadelphia were forced upon the attention of the conservative citizens of that city in scores of pointed appeals. It was not the fault of Pittsburg that the canal was not ready for operation in 1819 instead of 1829.

"If the canal be opened by a fictitious capital a boat will float upon it as safely as if it were finished by the treasury notes of the United States, although bearing an interest of 5 per cent. Let individual bankruptcy occur, the property will only change masters, and these great establishments will be as important and as lucrative when bought at sheriff's sale as when in the hands of the original proprietors, although they may have cost millions in the construction" (g).

The great success of the Erie Canal when once put in operation caused the friends of the measure in this State to redouble their efforts. In 1820, though but partly finished, the Erie Canal tolls amounted to \$5,473.34. So prodigious became its business, it was announced in 1830 that the tolls had reached \$1,056,921.12. In 1841 they almost doubled the latter figure. It was completed in 1825, and its unqualified success gave a great impetus to canal building throughout the world. It paid large dividends, and the value of its stock went soaring. Then it was that this State was bitterly reproached by the press and citizens of Pittsburg for its apathy and shortsightedness—its total blindness to the highest interests of its citizens. It is difficult to describe the despair which took possession of all classes here when contemplating the neglect of the State government to parallel the action of New York with a canal line from east to west across this State. It was fervently believed by the majority that the trade of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and the lake country was permanently lost to this state—wrested from her by the more enterprising citizens of New York. So great became the demand for all sorts of canal stock in New York city, that when the Morris Canal and Banking Company was organized, and its stock placed on the market, fully \$20,000,000 was subscribed where but \$1,000,000 was for sale. Men stood waiting in line for days and desperate fighting ensued to secure front places.

By act of March 27, 1824, three commissioners were appointed to explore the proposed routes for a canal from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny; but the act of April 11, 1825, repealed this law and appointed five commissioners to consider making a navigable communication between various points in the State, among which was one between the Susquehanna and the Allegheny Rivers. Actual operations on the Pittsburg canal project were first begun under act of February 25, 1826; but it remained for 1827 to witness the passage of the general canal law of the State.

Previous to this a canal convention was held at Washington, D. C., November 6, 1823, on which occasion the western portion of the State was represented by Harmar Denny and James S. Craft. Another convention was held in 1826, at which time the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal engrossed the principal attention of the assemblage.

At a public meeting of the citizens of Pittsburg, held in January, 1827, a committee of three delegates, James Riddle, Henry Baldwin and Walter For-

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(f) Gazette, July 22, 1819. (g) Gazette, January 22, 1819.

ward, was appointed to represent the interests of Pittsburg at Harrisburg in regard to the location of the western section of the Pennsylvania Canal. It is probable that Pittsburg had never before been so united as it was on this subject. A permanent canal committee had been appointed at a public meeting of the citizens to watch and stimulate the progress of events. The probable connection of Pittsburg with Philadelphia and Baltimore by canal and with all the West by improved river navigation opened up a delightful prospect for the contemplation of all Pittsburgers.

The canal law had no sooner passed the Legislature than active steps were taken to carry its measures into effect. Surveyors were sent over the proposed routes, committees of the Legislature made careful examinations and exhaustive reports, and the entire line from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, besides many others, was accurately surveyed and described by the engineers. A disagreement occurred among the latter. William Strickland and D. B. Douglass, two of the engineers, reported that on the western division of the canal the route on the west side of the Allegheny River was much more practicable than the one on the east side, owing to an absence of bluffs which lined the latter. Nathan S. Roberts, the third engineer, reported adversely to the other two in many important particulars. It was found difficult, also, to get releases of land, especially through Pittsburg, on which to extend the canal. Late in 1826, and therefore previous to the passage of the principal law, the western branch of the canal was almost wholly under provisional contract.

The State by enactment permitted the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to extend a branch, or the main line, northward to Pittsburg. In January, 1827, Ohio incorporated the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal, popularly called the "Crosscut Canal," which was designed to extend the Pennsylvania Canal from Pittsburg westward into Ohio to tap the Ohio and Erie Canal and secure the trade of Ohio and Kentucky through Pennsylvania. This canal was incorporated by this State April 14, 1827.

Next to the existence of the canal itself, the most important question was on what route through the city of Pittsburg should the canal be run. One plan was to extend it down Liberty and Penn streets, another down Smithfield, and another in a tunnel through Grant's Hill, the objective point being the mouth of Suke's Run. The tunnel route was finally selected, and the contract for its construction was given out.

"Be it resolved by the Select and Common Councils, That the Board of Canal Commissioners be respectfully but earnestly requested to adopt the latter route (tunnel line ending at the mouth of Suke's Run), and in that event the faith and funds of the city be pledged; that the expense of making the canal, tunnel and bridges according to the report of the engineer, including damages to private property, as well as all other attendant expenses, shall not exceed the sum estimated by the engineer as the costs of the Liberty and Penn street route, with the addition of \$10,000 of damages to private property, allowed by the board in their resolution of February last" (h).

Early in 1827 the question of the western termination of the canal was seriously discussed by the citizens of Pittsburg and Allegheny, the latter insisting that to extend it through the former to Monongahela was an unnecessary and useless expense. But Pittsburg had in view a closer relation with the canal than across the Allegheny, and also had in view the extension here of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and designed a union of the two at the mouth of Suke's Run at some future time. Time proved that the building of the tunnel was a useless proceeding, wholly unnecessary and followed by no suitable recompense.

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(h) City Ordinance of May, 1827.

On May 25, 1827, Acting Commissioner A. Lacock called for proposals to be delivered at the house of George Beale, in Pittsburg, for constructing sections of the canal of about a quarter of a mile each from the mouth of Pine Creek, for the aqueduct of 1,100 feet, and for the tunnel.

In May, 1827, the canal commissioners adopted a resolution for continuing the canal down the west side of the Allegheny River to a point opposite Washington Street, there to cross and proceed by a tunnel through Grant's Hill to the Monongahela at the mouth of Suke's Run, the work to commence immediately.

By the last of June, 1827, all of the western division of the canal was under contract. The aqueduct was taken by LeBarron for \$100,000; and the tunnel and so on to Suke's Run by Meloy & Co., for \$61,000, but changes were afterward made. It was stipulated that both aqueduct and tunnel should be completed by March 1, 1829. Mr. Roberts had estimated the cost of the canal through the city on the three proposed routes as follows:

Tunnel route .....	\$85,767.49
Smithfield Street .....	65,033.28
Liberty and Penn streets.....	55,567.35

Many instances of the cheapness of freight rates from New York via the Erie Canal to this place were circulated just previous to this time, doubtless to spur the flagging interests of the citizens into action in the interests of the Pennsylvania Canal. In May, 1827, it was declared that one house here had secured shipments from New York via the Erie Canal at the rate of \$2.25 for 112 pounds (i)

In 1827 subscription to the capital stock of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was solicited, Alexander Brackenridge and James Correy signing the call. The act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to assist the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal with a stock subscription of \$1,000,000 was regarded with great favor by the citizens of this vicinity.

In 1828 the committee of the House on internal improvement submitted a bill which proposed a vast extension of the canal system of the State. It was designed to extend the canal from Lewistown to Frankstown; from Northumberland to Bald Eagle; from Northumberland to the New York State line; from Blairsville to Johnstown; the present line to Easton and from Pittsburg by the Beaver route to Erie on the lake. A railway was also proposed from Philadelphia via Lancaster to Columbia, and later to be extended to York. "The location of a railway across the Allegheny on the Juniata route and a contract for the necessary materials are also one of the objects of the bill" (j).

The laying of the foundation stone of Washington Lock No. 1, Pennsylvania Canal, May 3, 1828, was attended with great ceremony. It was the western termination of the canal. Masonic Lodges Nos. 45, 113, 165 and 173 conducted the proceedings, under the leadership of Magnus M. Murray, P. D. G. M. The local militia companies turned out and a large concourse of citizens assembled under a beautiful sky. Hon. James Ross delivered the oration of the day, an eloquent tribute to the historic men who had brought the grand enterprise to its (then) present state of completion.

"The Canal.—Yesterday morning the water had reached within six miles of Alleghenytown" (k).

By act of April 23, 1829, the Legislature authorized the acting commissioner of the western division of the canal to pay to James McAvey & Co., contractors for building the tunnel and canal through the city of Pittsburg, the full amount

(i) Gazette, May, 1827. (j) Mercury, May, 1828. (k) Gazette, May 22, 1829.



for labor already done; and in case the work should be abandoned by the contractors, to turn the completion of the same over to the authorities of Pittsburg "agreeably to the principles contained in the guarantee given to the Board of Canal Commissioners by said city." The guaranty of the city was that the canal through the city should not cost more than \$65,567.35; but by April, 1833, it had cost \$109,473.98. The State demanded the difference, which was refused, whereupon, by act of April 9, 1833, suit was ordered to be brought within three months if the sum was not paid sooner.

"The Canal.—The water has at length arrived within the bounds of Alleghenytown" (l).

The canal packet, General Lacock, under Captain Leonard, made its first trip, and the first made on the western division of the canal, late in June, 1829, the starting point being opposite Herr's Island (m).

"Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.—Major Roberts, the engineer, has just completed the location of the western section of this great improvement. It terminates at the eastern extremity of this city, at a point which permits its connection with the Pennsylvania Canal above the Monongahela locks and on a level with the tunnel and aqueduct" (n).

"The packet-boat General Lacock and the Pittsburg and Blairsville packet passed through the river locks—the former descending and the latter ascending—on the 9th. Yesterday the navigation of the canal may be said to have formally commenced, though some parts of it have been in profitable use for a considerable time past. A canal-boat laden with 130 barrels of salt arrived yesterday from the Kiskeminetas works" (o).

Three canal-boats arrived on September 14th, and five left the same day; one arrived the 15th and two the 16th; four departed the 15th, two the 16th and three the 17th (p).

"The 31st day of October, A. D. 1829.—This day forms an interesting epoch in the history of internal navigation in Pennsylvania. On that day the canal-boat, General Marchand, Captain Trout master, arrived at Pittsburg laden with blooms and with one ton and ten hundredweight of merchandise for Messrs. M. & F. Tiernan, of this city; B. Thompson, of Wooster, and R. W. McCoy, of Columbus, Ohio. This is the first arrival of merchandise from Philadelphia by the western section of the Pennsylvania Canal" (q).

In March, 1829, the contractor to build the canal tunnel under Grant's Hill having failed to complete the work, proposals were called for from contractors to finish that task. No sooner was the canal ready for operation than transportation companies put on their boats and began to ply between Pittsburg and Blairsville. In 1830 David Leech owned and conducted a line of canal-boats between Pittsburg and Blairsville, charging 20 cents per hundredweight for freight and 2 cents a mile for passengers.

In February, 1830, an important canal meeting was held here, from 500 to 700 men taking part in the proceedings. It was admitted that New York capital had built the Ohio and Erie Canal, and it was then argued that if the Pittsburg and Erie Canal should be built and the two then connected by the Mahoning Canal, Pennsylvania would get a large part of the Ohio and Kentucky trade. Strong resolutions in favor of the Beaver and Shenango Canal were adopted. Among the speakers were William Wilkins, Charles Shaler, W. W. Fetterman, J. B. Butler, Benjamin Bakewell and Joseph Patterson (r).

(l) Gazette, June 23, 1829.

(n) Gazette, July 24, 1829.

(p) Manufacturer, September, 1829.

(r) Gazette, February, 1830.

(m) Mercury, September, 1829.

(o) Gazette, August 11, 1829.

(q) Gazette, November 3, 1829.

"The great benefits of our canal are now beginning to be realized. With the exception of a comparatively small portion of land carriage, goods have been brought from Philadelphia to this city by water; 7,927 pounds of merchandise, consigned to Birmingham and Carlisle, arrived in this city from Philadelphia on Saturday last, having been but fifteen days on their passage. The freight was but \$2.25 per hundred, being \$1.25 lower than formerly" (s).

Opinions differed whether it was wiser to build a canal or a railroad from Pittsburg to Erie, from Pittsburg to some point on the Ohio and Erie Canal, or from Baltimore to Pittsburg; but all favored improvement for slackwater navigation on the Monongahela, if not on the Allegheny. The facility with which wheat and other Ohio products were shipped over the Ohio Canal to Lake Erie, thence to Buffalo and thence via the Erie Canal to market, did at this juncture of affairs cut off the Ohio trade from Pennsylvania. In 1830 wheat sold for more at Massillon, Ohio, than at the salt works fifty or sixty miles east of Pittsburg. As a fact, the connection of the Erie Canal with the lake system proved far more valuable than the connection of the Pennsylvania Canal with the Ohio River.

The construction of the Crosscut Canal was the most popular subject of the early '30s to Pittsburgers. Careful surveys were made and two routes were proposed: 1. By the Big Beaver and Mahoning rivers to the portage summit at Akron, 150 miles; and, 2, by the Little Beaver and Sandy rivers to the Ohio and Erie Canal at Bolivar, Ohio, 120 miles. The Ohio and Erie Canal was finished to Chillicothe in September, 1831; it did an enormous business from the start.

At first the Pennsylvania Canal seemed to languish, no doubt owing to the hard times of 1830-2. During the entire season of 1832 the tolls collected at Allegheny by William B. Foster, collector, amounted to only about \$884.32. The next year, however, business greatly improved; during the month of October, 1833, they amounted to \$802.74. The freight rates from Blairsville to Pittsburg were \$2.75 per ton, and salt per barrel from the Kiskeminetas 25 to 31 cents.

"Boats have passed the subterranean passage through Grant's Hill and safely debouched into the Monongahela River. The canal is also generally navigable and an inland trade is brisk. Some skeptical gentlemen have affected not to understand this underground project, but they may now not only see through it, but go through it in a canal-boat" (t).

In 1833 the canal convention took important action by appointing committees to report upon the feasibility of the western canal project. The committee of the canal convention, having made their investigations by personal visits to all points along the proposed routes, reported in November, 1833, that a railroad built from Pittsburg westward would have to depend wholly upon private subscriptions, and was, therefore, a hopeless project; that a canal built merely to connect the Ohio Canal with the Pennsylvania Canal presented the serious objection of two reshipments, one at each end; that putting the proposed railway out of consideration as impracticable, the committee had come to the unanimous decision that a canal built via the Ravenna summit should be recommended by them; that it should terminate at Akron; that an unbroken chain of canals would be preferable to a broken chain of canals and railways; that the canal proposed to pass via Sandy and Little Beaver creeks could not be adequately supplied with water. On this committee this city and county were represented by Richard Biddle, George Miltenberger, George Cochran, William Robinson, Jr., Charles Avery, Alba Fisk and William Leckey.

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(s) Mercury, May, 1831. (t) Statesman, August, 1832.

The amount of tonnage and tolls taken on the Pennsylvania Canal at Pittsburgh for articles going East from November 1, 1832, to November 1, 1833:

Months.	Tonnage.	Passengers, Miles Traveled.	Value.
November (1832) .....	470,320	6,152	\$330.72
December .....	401,020	18,246	228.05
January (1833) .....	215,593	645	60.10
February .....	closed	.....	.....
March .....	388,966	605	203.94
April .....	1,187,670	990	548.30
May .....	712,578	8,326	581.10
June .....	1,512,809	136	576.95
July .....	943,000	1,102	498.28
August .....	820,440	1,593	486.87
September .....	814,669	1,257	597.02
October .....	939,578	1,228	802.74
Totals .....	8,406,643	40,280	\$4,914.07

In 1833 the Legislature appointed commissioners to survey the damage done to private property by building the canal through Grant's Hill and report the probable expense of filling up the deep cut thereon.

Previous to the winter of 1833-4 during only one month of the year was the canal closed; the Erie Canal was closed from four to five months. This difference was widely advertised by Pittsburgh in order to benefit local trade.

A Pittsburgh manufacturer in September, 1833, after investigation, announced that if this city was connected by canal with either Erie or Cleveland the following articles could be furnished to the lake country from here cheaper than from New York over the Erie Canal: Iron, common steel, shovels, picks, hoes, mill screws, flint and common glassware, anchors, nails, chains, spades, mattocks, axes, window-glass, bottles, steam engines, chain cables, vises and screws (u).

A large meeting was held here in August, 1833, in the interests of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, on which occasion a memorial to Congress to assist the western division of this canal was first prepared. At this date the canal was finished as far west as Harper's Ferry.

The Pennsylvania Canal was not yet finished throughout its entire length; it was necessary to unload goods and carry them over the portage and then reship them. Portable canal-boats were finally used and iron canal-boats were talked of in 1833.

In 1830 the interruption by ice to navigation on the rivers was about thirty days; in 1831, sixty-two days, 1832 twelve days, 1833 five days, 1834 three days. Interruptions by low water in 1830 were 130 days, 1831 forty-four days, in 1832 109 days, in 1833 sixty-four days, in 1834 seventy-six days.

The great increase in business on the canal of 1834 over 1833 is seen from the following table of tolls collected (v):

Months.	1833.	1834.
March .....	\$203.94	\$907.05
April .....	548.30	1,324.77
May .....	581.10	1,855.92
June .....	576.95	2,539.47
July .....	498.28	2,720.60
Totals .....	\$2,408.57	\$9,347.81

(u) Gazette, October 1, 1833. (v) Gazette, August 8, 1834.

The Rochester and Olean Canal was strongly talked of in 1834. In July, 1834, \$10,000 worth of stock was conditionally subscribed here for the Sandy and Beaver Canal. The directors of the Sandy and Beaver Canal, in July, 1834, were Benjamin Hanna, Henry Löffler, Elderkin Potter, James Robertson, John Brown, James Hamilton and Benjamin Bakewell. This canal was rapidly completed. Late in the year the steamer Beaver formed a union with the canal packet-boat Alpha to carry freight and passengers from Pittsburg to Newcastle, whence stages branched in all directions. The distance of fifty-six miles was covered in twelve hours; fare, \$1.62½; freight, 20 cents per hundred.

On March 24, 1834, the first canal-boat to cross the mountains and reach Pittsburg arrived with goods from Philadelphia, thirteen days out. Goods usually arrived from Philadelphia under the previous conveyance in twelve days. The business over the canal so vastly increased in the spring of 1834, that the cars at the portage were inadequate to hold or convey the goods.

In 1834 the most important consideration before the citizens here was to build the canal from Pittsburg to Beaver and thus form a continuous system. The distance was a little more than twenty-five miles. The stock of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal and the Sandy and Beaver Canal was really subscribed before the doors for securing subscription under the act had been thrown open. This priority of subscription was made to prevent New York from buying up a majority of the stock and then stopping work on the Pennsylvania canals, in order that the Erie Canal might reap the benefit. The joining of the Pennsylvania and Sandy and Beaver canals was steadfastly pressed forward. At this time Philadelphia, for almost the first time in its history, had a violent attack of enthusiasm. That city actually seriously considered at this time the practicability and utility of a railroad from that point to Pittsburg, and discussed the question of building a branch from the Pennsylvania Canal to Erie. Baltimore, also, grew enthusiastic over a canal, or railroad, or both, to Pittsburg. The latter city greatly enjoyed this commotion.

"A new era is about opening on Pittsburg. Her high destiny is now more distinctly visible than before and cannot be defeated" (w).

When the stock of the Crosscut Canal, after ten years of hard work on the part of Pittsburg, was put on the market in Philadelphia in April, 1835, the rush of all classes to subscribe was something tremendous. All stock was sold at an advance of about \$4 per share. It was proposed at this time to extend the Philadelphia and Harrisburg Railroad to Pittsburg and was believed that the stock could all be sold immediately (x). No doubt this could have been done, had such a project been in readiness, and would have given Pittsburg its big railway ten years earlier.

In June, 1835, there were two daily canal packet lines and four daily lines of stages for the East in operation here. There were also four daily lines of stages and one daily steamboat packet line in operation for the North and West. The four big hotels and the innumerable small ones were crowded to their utmost capacity. There was sent East over the canal from April 1 to October 1, 1836 (y):

Bacon .....	3,619,068 pounds.
Lard .....	210,455 "
Feathers .....	49,875 "
Deer skins .....	85,472 "
Tobacco .....	4,144,255 "
Wool .....	816,177 "
Flour .....	39,578 barrels.

(w) Gazette, May 4, 1835. (x) Gazette, May 1, 1835.

(y) Manufacturer, November 23, 1836.





From November 1, 1836, to November 1, 1837, there were shipped East over the canal 50,068,010 pounds, and tolls to the amount of \$48,807.97 were collected.

Going East on canals.	1835.	1837.
At Buffalo, tons .....	32,426	44,157
At Pittsburg, tons .....	16,950	20,687
Excess at Buffalo .....	15,476	23,470

The canal season of 1837 extended from March 25th to December 16th; boats cleared, 2,416; pounds handled, 55,633,766; tolls collected, \$52,043.39. Thomas Fairman was collector at this time.

By October, 1837, there had been spent on the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal (Crosscut) about \$250,000. The eastern division was about half completed. It was a little over forty-four miles long, while the whole line was about ninety miles long. The panic of 1837 hampered and delayed the completion of this canal. Owing to the fact that commission merchants refused to receive goods and pay freight on the same soon after the panic struck the city, the canal transportation companies resolved in a body to suspend freighting because they received no money with which to pay tolls (z).

In 1838 a new express line of boats over the canal was established with many improved facilities and equipments to complete the journey between Pittsburg and Philadelphia in three and one-half days. Little & Linford were the proprietors. Portable canal-boats, brought into service in 1839, began to improve vastly the transportation eastward. In March, 1839, O'Connor & Co. of Baltimore put in operation their portable car body line of transportation between that city and Pittsburg via Susquehanna Railroad and the Pennsylvania canals, the time of transportation being twelve days. In April the trip was made in less than nine days (a).

The iron canal-boat Kentucky arrived here March 30, 1839, having come through from Philadelphia, deducting delays, in five days and six hours. She brought eighteen and one-half tons of goods for the merchants. She was a portable boat, built in three sections, which were detached at the foot of the Alleghany Mountains and passed over on cars constructed for that purpose. On the other side they were again attached and set afloat, and thus no transshipping of goods was required.

The following were the principal canal transportation lines here in 1840: D. Leech & Co. of the Western Line, H. & P. Graff of the Union Line, Taaffe & O'Connor of the Portable Car Body Line, John McFadden & Co. of the Portable Iron Boat Line, William Bingham of Bingham's Line, J. C. Reynolds of the Despatch Line, McDowell & Co. of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Line.

In the spring of 1838 the Pittsburg and Beaver Canal was surveyed and its cost estimated. It was put under contract soon afterward, was rapidly pushed forward, and in April, 1840, was open for business. The total cost of the western division of the Pennsylvania Canal up to this time was \$2,964,882.67. Up to 1841 the revenue was \$887,013.65 and the expenditures \$889,834.46, so that it did not pay expenses to say nothing of interest on the cost. On the contrary, the profits of the Erie Canal kindled astonishment here as elsewhere. Why this difference should exist was not known, because the trade on the Pennsylvania Canal was certainly large. By 1843 the western division of the canal had cost a total of \$3,949,617 for its 107½ miles.

In 1843 the canal aqueduct became impassable, whereupon the Legislature was asked to make the necessary repairs. This it failed to do, though the city

(z) Harris' Intelligencer, May 20, 1837. (a) Baltimore American, April, 1839.

was authorized to perform the work and reimburse itself out of the tolls, which was accordingly done. At no time did the canal repay the State for the expenditure. The tolls in 1846 amounted to \$88,264.41.

In March, 1854, the news was received here that the State Legislature was on the point of selling the "public works" to the Pennsylvania Railroad, which intelligence occasioned general rejoicing; but the announcement was premature. By August, 1855, two attempts to sell the works had been made and had failed. In both instances the Legislature fixed a price and the conditions for which the transfer would be made, but the railroad refused to buy or bid, although having unofficially suggested the terms offered. The railway considered it vital to its interests to get rid of, or get control of, the canal and portage railway, and offered to buy them at a figure equivalent to the value of the Columbian Railroad, providing the abandonment of the canal from Pittsburgh to Harrisburg could be secured. Its object was to get rid of a dangerous rival and at the same time secure a monopoly on the trade east and west across the State. It finally appeared that the requirement of the State that the canal should be kept in navigable condition throughout its entire length was the reason why the railroad would not buy. In order to force a sale upon its own terms the railroad, through its agents, bought out nearly all the transportation companies operating upon the canal and crippled the others, and was thus enabled to manipulate traffic for the benefit of the railroad line and to the detriment of the canal. To save the canal the board of managers raised the rates of toll, which act still further crippled the remaining transportation companies, who were forced to abandon the trade. In fact, many of the transportation companies began to operate as feeders for the railroad instead of for the canal. The traffic of the latter was thus reduced to a low limit and soon the State was willing to sell upon nearly the terms proposed by the railroad. It was a brilliant financial scheme, successfully carried into effect by the railroad, and resulted in the transfer of the canal to the railroad in 1857. Portions of the canal were operated for a short time, but during the rebellion were abandoned.

Late in the eighteenth century the subject of slackwater navigation was thoroughly discussed and well understood by the citizens here. About 1808-10 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint commissioners to view, examine and survey the Monongahela River, from its junction with the Ohio to the Virginia line, with the view of the construction of locks so as to render the river navigable at all seasons and to report on the probable expense of such an enterprise. Little or nothing seems to have been done under this law.

In 1817 (b) the Legislature incorporated a company to "form a lock navigation on the Monongahela River," and George Sutton, Anthony Beelen, Thomas Baird and others were appointed commissioners to open books for the subscription of stock. It was provided that when 500 shares should have been subscribed, the Governor should issue a charter to the "President, Managers and Company of the Monongahela Navigation Company." By this act dams were located at Bogg's Ripple, Braddock's Ripple (upper and lower), Peter's Creek, Baldwin's, Forsyth's, Brownsville, Smith's, Heaton's, Muddy Creek, Gilmore's, Little Whiteley, Geneva, Dunkard and Cheat River, and the dams varied in height from three feet three inches to four feet nine inches. The company was prohibited from issuing banknotes and was required to begin operations within five years.

It was argued by Samuel Brick, a member of the Pennsylvania Senate, in

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(b) Act of March 24, 1817.

a pamphlet issued in 1818, that Philadelphia lacked only seventy-five miles of having water navigation to the Pacific Ocean: From the Schuylkill to the Susquehanna (at Berwyck), twenty-three miles; Juniata to Allegheny, fourteen miles; round the Great Falls of the Missouri, eighteen miles; Madison River to the South Fork of Lewis River near South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, twenty miles; total, seventy-five miles.

"Is it soaring into the regions of fancy to suppose that at a future day our teas and silks will arrive from the river Columbia, through the Missouri, Ohio, Allegheny, Susquehanna and Schuylkill to the Delaware by the safe and sound steamboat conveyances? I think not. Nature has done her share; let art complete the work" (c).

In 1822 Solomon Kripps, Joseph Enochs and William Leckey were appointed commissioners by the Legislature to remove certain obstructions to navigation from the Virginia line in the Monongahela River, by "Making a slope or inclined navigation from the Virginia line to the Allegheny River," and \$10,000 was appropriated toward the stock of the State in the Monongahela Navigation Company. Other commissioners, among whom was John Walker of this county, were appointed by this act to view the work done by the previous commissioners and to report on the same. This act also provided that no other part of the \$10,000 should be paid till the company had settled all its accounts and all stock had been relinquished by the company and by individuals, after which the company was to expire. It was also provided that individuals owning dams on the river should have the privilege of charging toll for lockage.

At a large public meeting of the citizens of the five southwestern counties of Pennsylvania, held at Brownsville on September 13, 1829, active measures were taken to prepare the Monongahela for navigation from Pittsburg to the Virginia State line, in accordance with an enactment of the last Legislature, authorizing the canal commissioners to improve that river "at such time and in such manner as the Legislature may hereafter direct." James S. Craft represented Pittsburg at this meeting.

In September, 1833, a large convention was held at Greensburg by delegates from many counties of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia in the interest of the Monongahela River improvement. Among the delegates from Allegheny County were Messrs. Craig, Snowden, Eichbaum, Christy and Fetterman. A memorial to Congress was drafted, embracing elaborate plans for improving the above named river, and the enormous business of the Monongahela River country was fully set forth. The coal and iron trade here had become vast; twenty glassworks were located on that stream or its tributaries, as were also eight extensive paper-mills, 100 furnaces, fifty steam flouring mills and many industries. Congress was earnestly appealed to for assistance.

In February, 1833, William Howard, United States civil engineer, made an estimate of the expense of rendering the Monongahela River between Brownsville and Pittsburg navigable by means of locks for steamboats of 100 tons burden, as follows: Total for locks (eight), sluices, clearing banks, etc., \$243,286.

A large convention in the interests of the navigation of the Monongahela was held at Brownsville on January 21, 1835. The plans of Engineer Howard were examined and approved. Committees to urge the importance of the project were appointed and memorials to Congress were prepared and circulated. This whole vicinity was wide awake in those historic days on the project of slackwater navigation on the Monongahela River.

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(c) Gazette, August 4, 1818.



By act of March, 1836, a new company was incorporated to make a lock navigation on the Monongahela River and seventy-six men were named as the commissioners to open books for the subscription of stock to the amount of 6,000 shares at \$50 per share, and among them were Christopher Magee, Neville B. Craig, James Ross, Jr., Samuel Stackhouse, Thomas Bakewell, James Anderson, John Irwin, William Larimer, Samuel Church, Samuel Walker, C. S. Bradford and George Bell. As soon as 2,000 shares had been subscribed the Governor was authorized to grant the company a charter of incorporation. The State granted the company \$50,000, to be paid out of the bonus from the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, when the charter should be issued, and \$50,000 additional when \$100,000 had been paid in by others and had been expended on the works. In 1839 the Legislature enacted that all locks below Brownsville should be built 190x50 feet, and that the height from pool to pool should not exceed eight feet. The Monongahela Navigation Company organized for business on February 22, 1837, and it required strong efforts and considerable delay to secure the requisite amount of stock. John D. Davis was one of the agents. In 1840 the State subscribed \$100,000 to the stock of the company and became a stockholder under certain provisions. The first annual report of the company was issued in 1840 and showed that considerable progress had been made.

Sealed proposals for building two steamboat locks and two crib dams on the Monongahela River, the locks to be of cut stone 190x50 feet and the dams 600 and 700 feet long respectively, were called for by the chief engineer, W. M. Roberts, on June 25, 1840. By the spring of 1840, the work having been begun in 1835, there had been spent by the Monongahela Navigation Company on that river \$208,050, and it was then estimated that \$127,566.18 more would have to be spent to complete the work from Pittsburg to Brownsville, where the National Road crossed the river. The State was asked to help raise the \$127,566.18. In September, 1841, it was noted by the local press that Dams No. 1 and No. 2 on the Monongahela were nearly finished and that boats would probably pass them in about twenty days.

By July, 1842, the two lower dams were finished and No. 3 was nearing completion. The toll at this time on descending boats loaded with coal was \$1. In 1843 the time for the completion of the work was extended another seven years. In April, 1843, the Youghiogeny Navigation Company was incorporated. In 1846 the officers of the former company were: John B. Butler, president; Thomas M. Howe, treasurer; William Bakewell, secretary; John Anderson, Thomas Bakewell, J. W. Burbridge, George W. Cass, N. B. Craig, John L. Dawson, William Eichbaum, Samuel R. Johnston, James K. Moorhead and Rees C. Townsend, managers.

In 1845 there passed through Lock No. 1 20,734 through passengers and 19,443 way passengers. In 1848 the company was empowered to increase its capital stock \$200,000, to build additional locks above Brownsville, to elevate the dams still more, etc. At this time J. K. Moorhead was president of the company. From the start the enterprise was successful. Within four years after Dam No. 1 was opened it was found necessary to build there another lock 250x66 feet, capable of holding four boats carrying 1,100 tons of coal. In 1849-50 the Youghiogeny Company opened its first locks. In 1850 the receipts from freight amounted to \$28,587.95; coal, \$17,023.57; passengers, \$18,702.29. The number of clearances eastward was 2,513 and the number westward 3,209. In 1855 the company brought down the Monongahela 22,234,009 bushels of coal, of which 16,300,159 bushels were destined for points down the Ohio River, and 5,933,850 bushels were intended for use in this vicinity. In addition 5,175,196 bushels were loaded on boats below Dam No. 1,

so that a total of 21,475,355 bushels was sent down the river. This quantity, at twenty-five bushels to the ton, aggregated 858,214 tons. It was estimated that the quantity of coal consumed here was double the amount unloaded from the flats, or, in round numbers, 10,000,000 bushels.

Sent by river to ports below.....	858,214 tons.
Sent by canal to the East.....	13,485 "
Sent by railroad to the East.....	50,904 "
Sent by railroad to Cleveland.....	36,800 "
Sent by canal to Erie.....	140,211 "
Used here for manufacturing purposes, etc.....	414,014 "

Total sent to the market, 1855 (c).....1,513,628 "

During the year 1857 the tolls of the Navigation Company amounted to \$81,263.19. By this time the improvements had been extended to Geneva, or to within seven miles of the Virginia line. The total cost was \$893,771.36. The capital stock was \$651,000 and the bonds outstanding were \$181,000. During the year 28,973,596 bushels of coal had come down the river and 17,425,396 pounds of freight had been carried up the river. Boards to the amount of 5,671,924 feet and shingles to the number of 2,337,750 had been sent up the river. The company was in excellent financial and working condition at this time (f).

In August, 1827, at a meeting of the citizens, Mr. Baldwin delivered an address on the subject of a railroad from Baltimore to Pittsburg. He stated that the Legislature of Maryland had incorporated the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and that he believed that, owing to the importance of Pittsburg, the company might be induced to extend its line to this city, providing the citizens desired it and the Legislature of Pennsylvania would grant it the right. Resolutions presented by him were adopted requesting the Legislature to give the company permission to extend its line to Pittsburg. A committee consisting of Benjamin Bakewell, Walter Forward, Ross Wilkins, John S. Riddle, Charles Shaler, James S. Craft and Michael Allen was appointed to memorialize the Legislature to this effect (g).

On May 20, 1831, books for the subscription of stock in the Washington and Pittsburg Railroad were announced to be opened in Pittsburg, at the hotel of Nicholas Griffith, on June 23, the books to remain open for six days, \$4 to be paid down on each share. The commissioners who signed the call were Thomas H. Baird, Thomas M. T. McKennan, James Ruple, John K. Wilson, Isaac Leet, John Watson, John H. Ewing, Christopher Cowan, William Lea, James Herriott, John McKee, Ross Wilkins and Francis Bailey. This project was soon abandoned.

At a meeting held July 19, 1831, the project of building a railroad from Pittsburg to the Ohio Canal was considered. Benjamin Bakewell was chairman of the meeting and R. N. Havens and Lewis Peterson secretaries. The meeting was adjourned until the evening of the 20th, when resolutions were adopted declaring it to the interests of this city that immediate measures should be taken to ascertain the practicability of the construction of a railroad from Pittsburg via Beaver, the mouth of Little Beaver, thence to the most eligible point on the Ohio Canal. A committee was appointed to investigate the subject and report at a subsequent meeting. They were Benjamin Bakewell, Abishai Way, William Wilkins, Isaac Lightner, R. N. Havens, Samuel Church, O. Metcalf, William Robinson, Jr., Charles Avery, Abner Lacock and Benjamin Hanna.

Strong resolutions were passed by the citizens in December, 1831, in favor

(c) Commercial Journal, 1856. (f) Dispatch, 1858. (g) Gazette, August 31, 1827.

of a continuation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to this place. The eastern section had just been opened up and its success was so well assured that Pittsburg desired to share the advantages of the new method of conveyance. Michael Allen, Benjamin Bakewell, J. S. Craft, Jacob Forsyth and W. H. Denny were appointed a committee to correspond with the officers of the road.

In January, 1832, the railway from Baltimore to Frederick was in running order. Late in 1833 the Portage Railway in Pennsylvania was so far completed as to permit cars to run its entire length. The Cumberland Valley Railroad was pushed to the front in 1836. In 1836 the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad was eighty-two miles in length.

On July 22, 1836, a railway convention was held at Bedford, the delegates from this city and vicinity being W. W. Fetterman, George A. Cook, William Bell, W. W. Irwin, W. A. Simpson, R. C. Townsend, D. R. McNair, Robert Watson, Samuel Pettigrew, Cornelius Darragh, Benjamin Weaver, Samuel Fahnestock, George Wallace, M. B. Miltenberger, Henry M. Watts and Samuel P. Darlington. Resolutions were passed favoring the proposed railway from Philadelphia to Pittsburg and thence to Lake Erie.

At a public meeting held at Pittsburg, November 13, 1836, on which occasion Mayor Jonas R. McClintock presided, strong resolutions introduced by Cornelius Darragh were passed declaring that immediate measures ought to be adopted by the State to continue the railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburg; instructing the members of the Assembly from this county to use their best exertions toward securing an appropriation and the necessary surveys therefor; and authorizing the circulation of a memorial to the Assembly for signatures. The memorial recited the difficulties of the past season in securing suitable transportation eastward through the State, the danger that trade would be diverted to New York or Baltimore; that the railroad should be continued on westward from Chambersburg to Pittsburg; that the route should be at once surveyed, etc.

On December 15, 1837, another large railway convention was held here to consider the construction of a road westward from this place. The convention was almost unanimous in favoring the project. Numerous committees were appointed to consider and report on all features of the enterprise. This city was represented by the following delegates: Benjamin Bakewell, Charles Avery, Michael Allen, Josiah King, W. W. Irwin, Alex. Brackenridge, William Bell, S. P. Darlington, John King, Neville B. Craig, T. M. Howe, John D. Davis, William Robinson, Jr., William Ebbs, Samuel Church, M. B. Miltenberger, William Wade, James May, Lewis Peterson, Thomas Hartford, O. Metcalf, Benjamin Darlington, R. C. Townsend, Thomas Bakewell, J. R. McClintock, Thomas Williams, John Lyon, John Shoenberger, Frederick Lorenz, F. G. Bailey and James W. Brown.

In 1837 the Pittsburg and Laughlinsville Railroad, the Pittsburg and Connelville Railroad, the Sunbury, Erie and Pittsburg Railroad, the Pittsburg and Susquehanna Railroad, the Washington and Pittsburg Railroad, the Pittsburg and Beaver Railroad, the Pittsburg, Kittanning and Warren Railroad, and others were either projected or incorporated. The latter was authorized to make slackwater navigation on the Allegheny River.

In February, 1838, a strong memorial, in the preparation of which Pittsburg had borne a prominent part, was sent to the Legislature praying for a continuous railway from Philadelphia via Pittsburg and Beaver to Lake Erie. The object of Pittsburg was to gain and maintain the trade of Ohio, Indiana and the Great Lakes.

\* In November, 1838, the citizens again considered in detail the construction of the railway from Pittsburg to Chambersburg. At numerous times the con-

tinuation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to this city engrossed public attention. Railway conventions were the order of the day in a dozen different States.

At a large convention held here on May 21, 1838, the city councils were asked to subscribe \$1,000,000 to the stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, providing the same should be built through Cumberland, Connellsville and down the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers to Pittsburg (h).

In May, 1838, goods were sent from Baltimore to Pittsburg via the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad and the Pennsylvania Canal for \$1 per hundredweight. In October, 1838, the engineers reported the route of the proposed railway to Chambersburg practicable without the use of inclined planes.

"Pennsylvania Improvements.—By an official account recently rendered it appears that this State has expended in canals and railroads \$22,229,000. The works produced a net revenue of nearly five per cent. the last year, which will be increased at least six per cent. the present year. The money to make these improvements was procured at five per cent. interest, and notwithstanding the immense amount the State is already relieved from all burden on this great scale of improvement and at the same time reaping the immense advantage resulting from them; add to which it had increased the value of property in the State at least \$100,000,000" (i).

In February, 1839, a large meeting concerning the Chambersburg and Pittsburg Railway was held here, Mayor William Little presiding. The meeting was addressed by William McCandless, George Darsie, H. H. Van Amringe, E. D. Gazzam, A. W. Foster, Jr., and George W. Jackson. The following resolutions were passed:

"*Resolved*, That the project of a railroad from Pittsburg to St. Louis, as presented by the Governor to the Legislature of this State, evinces a liberal and patriotic spirit worthy of the chief magistrate of the Keystone State; and that, imposing and magnificent as the work may seem, the project is nevertheless entirely feasible and the improvement one on which the public interests depend.

"*Resolved*, That Pennsylvania in recommending this improvement to her sister States, should present an earnest of her cordial coöperation by passing a law for extending the Chambersburg Railroad to Pittsburg, as thereby only could the road from St. Louis be rendered fully effective and accomplish the chief object which the Western States would have in view, namely: An easy and uninterrupted communication with the Atlantic seaboard. "*Resolved*, That E. D. Gazzam, R. M. Riddle and H. H. Van Amringe be a committee to draft a memorial to the Legislature, and that Thomas Bakewell, James Findlay and George Darsie be a committee of correspondence" (j).

An amendment to the appropriation bill pending in the Legislature in February, 1839, provided that \$250,000 should be spent on the Chambersburg and Pittsburg Railroad. A called meeting of citizens in this city recommended the passage of this amendment. Great pressure was brought to bear upon the Legislature in the winter of 1840-41 to secure a continuous railway from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. The line soon began to be called the Central Railroad, and afterward the Pennsylvania Railroad. Little was done on railroad projects from 1840 to 1846, except to discuss them, though as fast as the charters expired they were renewed upon demand. By September, 1840, the number of railroads opened in Pennsylvania was thirty-six, having a total length, including those projected, of 850 miles. The amount of capital thus far spent was \$15,640,450 (k).

(h) Advocate, May, 1838.

(i) Niles National Register, February 3, 1838.

(j) Advocate, 1839.

(k) Niles Register, September, 1840.



"Pittsburg and Cumberland.—The whistle of locomotives among the mountains within 100 miles of Pittsburg makes the wealthy burghers prick up their ears, and already the subject of a railroad from Pittsburg to Cumberland is exciting no little interest. Build the road, Mr. Pittsburgers, and then we will see what can be done between Cleveland and the Iron City" (l).

"We are going to build it, Mr. Herald, and that quick, too, and we trust if our life is spared but a very few years, to take a locomotive trip to Cleveland on our way to Niagara Falls, Green Bay, or to some other summer resort on the Great Lakes. We will give you a call, then, Mr. Herald" (m).

On June 9, 1846, books were opened here for subscriptions to the stock of the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad. In two days 6,325 shares were sold (n). This seems to have been an extremely popular enterprise at that time. It is claimed that Pittsburg, angered at the apathy of Philadelphia in withholding its consent to the construction of the Central Railroad year after year, turned eagerly to any railroad that would give it an outlet through Baltimore or otherwise than through Philadelphia to the Atlantic. This claim will account for the following notice:

"Central Railroad.—The books were opened yesterday at the St. Charles Hotel. We understood that not a dollar of stock had been subscribed when the books were closed" (o).

The act to permit the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to cross into this State and extend its line to Pittsburg was passed in 1843 and reaffirmed early in 1846. About this time, also, Philadelphia, at last perceiving that Pittsburg was determined to have an outlet by rail with the Atlantic Coast, began to stir herself and affect to take great interest in the commercial prosperity of this city. However, the citizens continued to work hard for the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad, believing that in the end such action would result in an outlet over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Baltimore and the Atlantic. In fact, the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad, while ostensibly an independent project, was regarded as a continuation to Pittsburg of the northern branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and was, therefore, warmly favored by the citizens of this vicinity.

An early railway project was the construction of the Hempfield Railroad, as it was called, which was designed to cross the State from east to west and thus parallel the Central Railroad from thirty to forty miles south of the latter. Its design was to avoid Pittsburg and strike the Ohio River at Wheeling, and occasionally, when it seemed likely to succeed, the inhabitants here were frightened into spasms.

"We are sure they are in earnest now, and we rejoice that it is so, for the interests of Philadelphia and Pittsburg are so blended that Philadelphia cannot suffer a decline without injury to Pittsburg, and she must suffer unless soon connected with the Ohio River by railroad" (p).

At the legislative session of 1845-6 the representatives from this vicinity, smarting like their constituents over what they considered the neglect of the Commonwealth to give them speedy railway connection with Eastern markets, started again the old project of connecting Pittsburg with Philadelphia by a continuous railroad, and were successful in securing a charter, conditional upon going into operation within a certain time, providing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad failed to continue its line to Pittsburg. It was estimated that \$10,000,000 would be required to construct the line, though the law provided for the sale of only 150,000 shares of \$50 each. This action was thought by

(l) Cleveland Herald, March, 1843.

(n) Commercial Journal, June 10, 1846.

(p) Commercial Journal, January 1, 1846.

(m) Pittsburg American, April, 1843.

(o) Commercial Journal, July 9, 1846.



many here at the time to have been taken by Philadelphians to defeat the desired connection of Pittsburg with the Baltimore market. Much complaint resulted and the charter of the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad, which had lain dormant and dusty for two or three years, was brought out, heralded and made to apply to the proposed connection with Baltimore. Many enthusiastic meetings were held in which it was manifest that Pittsburg did not intend to relinquish its Eastern commercial privileges wholly to Philadelphia (q). In January of this year the citizens memorialized the Legislature to reenact the law of 1828 concerning the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and to repeal such portions of the law of 1839 as conflicted therewith.

This state of affairs resulted in a clash of interests at Pittsburg, because in 1846 the Legislature duly incorporated the Central Railroad, preparatory to its completion to this city. Philadelphia soon openly opposed the extension of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Pittsburg on the ground that it would carry the Western trade to Baltimore. The charter of the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad had been obtained only by hard work and its friends determined it should not be relinquished so easily. Strong efforts were made by the friends of the Central Railroad to divert the interest of the supporters of the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad to the Pennsylvania and Ohio (or Cleveland and Pittsburg) Railroad. This led to violent public opposition here. William Robinson, Jr., favored the Western Railroad; William Larimer, Jr., clung to the old Pittsburg and Connellsville Road. Both gentlemen were powerful in railway circles at that time. On December 6, 1847, the two factions of which these men were the leaders held public meetings and vehemently debated the question. A split occurred in the ranks of the adherents of the Pittsburg and Connellsville wing. Their meeting resolved by a vote of 3,947 yeas to 73 nays to accept the report of a special committee to transfer the stock of the old Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad to the new Pennsylvania and Ohio Railroad. The majority, having carried its point by such a handsome vote, elected its directors, as follows: William Robinson, Jr., William Ebbs, N. B. Craig, Thomas Bakewell, J. Bissell, J. K. Morehead, James Wood, Harmar Denny, W. M. Lyon, Joseph Pennock, Jesse Carothers and Frederick Lorenz. The majority claimed to be acting for the old Pittsburg and Connellsville Road; but this was vigorously disputed by the minority, which claimed to be the true representatives of the old company. The minority met and elected the following directors: Thomas Bakewell, E. D. Gazzam, Walter Bryant, W. J. Totten, John C. Plummer, G. G. Ashman, John Gebhart, William Larimer, Jr., George Hogg, John Fuller, Joseph Markle and Alexander M. Hill. The contentions resulted in the temporary relinquishment of the desire to unite the old road with the Baltimore and Ohio and in accepting a union with the Pennsylvania and Ohio Road under the supplemental act of the Legislature of 1847, whereby the corporate name was changed and the funds were directed to be transferred. The friends of the old road, however, still continued to fight for its construction and soon were stronger than ever, and many of them lived to see the cars running to Pittsburg over this line. On February 9, 1848, the directors of the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad met here and passed resolutions confirming all contracts for the construction of parts of the road and repealing its former action of transferring the charter to the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad. It was decided at this time to continue the line into Maryland as soon as permission to do so could be obtained from that State. The design was to connect the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with slackwater navigation on the Monongahela at Connellsville and thus furnish Pittsburg with an outlet

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(q) Niles National Register, June 6, 1846.

to Baltimore. The county of Allegheny was authorized to subscribe to the stock of the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad, which it did to the amount of 15,000 shares, in 1853, and this act was promptly accepted by the officials of that road (r).

Colonel William Robinson, Jr., of Allegheny was elected president of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Railroad at the great meeting held in Canton, June 15, 1848, and immediately after that date books for the subscription of stock were opened in this city by Lorenz, Denny & Robinson. In October, 1849, the surveyors and engineers established the route of this road.

On March 27, 1848, the act incorporating the Pennsylvania Railroad was passed. The question of taking \$1,000,000 of stock in this road was submitted to Allegheny County and was carried by a vote of 14,471 to 8,266. On the heels of this decisive action an immense convention was held in the court-house in June, 1848, on which occasion Judge Grier presided. The object of the convention was to ratify the popular vote and pass resolutions addressed to the County Commissioners, recommending the issuance of 20,000 thirty-year bonds of \$50 per share. Judge Wilkins was called out and addressed the convention at length, and among other things said:

"In all human probability I shall not survive to see the full effect of this improvement. I have no manner of interest in it further than to subserve the interests of my fellow-citizens and those who shall come after me. I may have been wrong in many things during my long life. I have been a politician and a lawyer, but my life has always been an active one. Sometimes I have been prostrated beneath the displeasure of my fellow-citizens and crushed under a weight of unpopularity; on other occasions I have been erect; yet in all, as God is my judge, I have never meant to deceive them. . . . What do I gain, what can I gain, my fellow-citizens, by urging this upon you? I see around me few who are as old as myself. I see many of the sons of my old clients and friends. As for myself, this is perhaps the last time I shall address you, and I hope that I may not have spoken in vain" (s).

This strong speech produced a powerful impression upon the audience. The old man was so feeble as scarcely to be able to stand erect. He trembled with weakness and emotion and almost broke down more than once, but made by far the most effective address of the convention, owing to the intensely dramatic surroundings and the overpowering general interest in the success of the road. Strong affection for the old lawyer was manifested.

The convention by a vote of fifty yeas to thirty-nine nays recommended the County Commissioners to subscribe the \$1,000,000 stock, which they accordingly did June 4, 1848, the same being accepted by the railway company June 25th. The bonds were issued and the building of the road was commenced.

The Pittsburgh and Wheeling Railroad was incorporated in 1849. The Little Saw Mill Run Railroad was established in 1850-1 and was designed to open up the vast coal beds on that stream. Early in 1852 the total cost of the three miles which constituted the road, including one locomotive and the necessary cars, was \$41,000. In April, 1850, the Pittsburgh and Erie Railroad was incorporated.

In September, 1851, the Chartiers Coal Railroad was put in operation and an excursion went from Pittsburgh to McKee's Rocks, where they took passage. In 1851 the Pittsburgh and Steubenville Railroad was brought forward for consideration before a big meeting. George Darsie, Lecky Harper, Edwin

(r) Post, 1854.

(s) Extract from speech of Judge Wilkins. See Commercial Journal, May and June, 1848.



M. Stanton and Harmar Denny spoke in favor of the enterprise. Resolutions were passed to the same effect.

In April, 1852, the County of Allegheny was authorized to subscribe to the stock of the Allegheny Valley Railway, formerly the Pittsburg, Kittanning and Warren Railroad. The county commissioners were petitioned by 3,988 citizens to subscribe 20,000 shares to aid this road. They finally subscribed for 10,000 shares. The following year they subscribed for 10,000 shares in the Pittsburg and Steubenville Railway upon petition of 1,064 citizens; also 3,000 shares to the Chartiers Valley Railroad, and 3,000 shares in the Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad. By 1857 the debt of the county amounted to \$8,000,000, of which \$5,500,000 was incurred in aid to railroads.

On July 1, 1850, the ground was first broken for the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad, which had been incorporated by act of April 11, 1848. Handcars ran west from Allegheny as far as Rochester on June 28, 1851. For this road seven first-class locomotives were contracted for—four in Philadelphia and three in Boston. In January, 1851, the mail from Philadelphia arrived here in thirty-one hours over the Central Railroad and the Good Intent Transportation Line. In January, 1851, William O'H. Robinson sold to the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad twenty acres in Allegheny for \$35,000. In February, 1851, the Central Railroad was completed to within a few miles of Pittsburg. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. were also nearing this city with its line. The Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad was being pushed forward with wonderful speed. The Erie Railroad in New York was nearly finished and Pennsylvania knew by sorry experience that it would be fatal to her interests to permit that road to gain the Western trade. People here so regarded the outlook. Therefore, all railroads were assisted and pushed forward with vehement speed. Public meetings were held, petitions circulated, stock subscribed—all done under feverish enthusiasm, to be mourned for later, whether wisely or unwisely, in sackcloth and ashes.

On March 17, 1851, the first boat left here to connect with R. G. Parks' Express Packet and Railroad Line and unite with the canal at Beaver and then communicate with the Cleveland Railroad. It was possible on this date to leave here at 9 a. m., and by 2 p. m. the next day reach Cleveland at a total cost of \$3.50 (1).

The laying of rails in Allegheny was begun May 12, 1851; by May 23d they were down as far as Manchester. Locomotives began to arrive here from Philadelphia over the Central Railroad with rails, ties, chairs, etc., for the Western road. By June 2, 1851, the rails were down nearly the whole way to Beaver, and on June 10th and 11th the grading and bridging contracts for the Ohio and Pennsylvania road were let at Wooster, Ohio. At this time the Pittsburg and Erie Railroad and the Pittsburg and Steubenville Railroad were pushed forward. This was a wonderful period. Railroads were building in every direction. Pittsburg had a half dozen or more such projects in active preparation. The old canal, over which the hopes and tears of Pittsburg had so often been spent, was already relegated to the background, and a new era, full of higher commercial and industrial possibilities, was dawning upon this busy city, and a realization of the wonderful improvement of modern times had fastened upon the local mind. Men were yet living here who, in the light of the marvelous advancements, could scarcely credit the evidences of their own senses. They came here with the canoe, the bateau, the ark, and here now was the locomotive that could whirl them to Philadelphia in less than twenty-four hours.

The contract required that rails from Pittsburg to New Brighton should

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(1) Post, 1851.

be down by July 1, 1851; to Massillon by November 15th, and to the intersection of the Cleveland and Cincinnati Railroad by October 1st. These contracts were completed on time, and the road was formally opened with a big excursion on July 30, 1851. At this time General Robinson was president; S. W. Roberts engineer, and among the directors were Frederick Lorenz, Captain Wood and Mr. Schoenberger, of this vicinity. On October 6, 1851, a regular passenger train began to run as far as New Brighton, leaving Pittsburg at 10 a. m., and returning at 4 p. m.; fare, eighty-five cents. The Allegheny Valley Railroad, designed to connect Pittsburg with New York State, was selling shares about this date.

On November 22, 1851, the locomotive Indiana arrived at the outer depot, near Pittsburg, from Philadelphia. On December 10, 1851, the road was formally opened with an excursion of the public to Turtle Creek, and on December 11, 1851, an "express" train was scheduled to leave the Liberty Street depot every morning at 6:30, bound eastward, run twelve miles to Turtle Creek, there to connect with stages; thence to Beatty's station, twenty-eight miles away; thence by rail to Philadelphia; all for \$11.

On November 24, 1851, regular "express" trains began to leave Allegheny, bound westward, for Enon Valley, forty-four miles distant; there a gap of sixteen miles was covered with stages to Salem; thence the railroad conveyed passengers directly to Cleveland.

"At the last session of the Legislature thirty-one new railroad companies were chartered, and seventy-eight new supplements to other railroad companies and ninety more for incorporating plank roads were passed" (u).

By act of April, 1854, the two railways were designed to be connected by a bridge across the Allegheny River. The contract was given to Henderson, Allston & Co., and the expense fixed at \$160,000. Two years later \$120,000 had been spent on the bridge and toward bringing the Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago Railroad across the river. Opposition in Allegheny had delayed the work. It was also proposed to extend the Pittsburg and Steubenville Railroad across the Ohio River at the mouth of Saw Mill Run, and then continue it over the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad tracks to Pittsburg. In 1855 James S. Craft was president of the Pittsburg and Steubenville Railroad.

During the month of October, 1855, Pittsburg shipped to Cleveland over the railroad 4,500 tons, among which were the following items: 54,696 bars of iron and steel; 12,016 bundles of iron and steel; 15,060 kegs of nails; 19,369 packages of glass; 3,463 packages of hardware; 3,763 kegs of white lead; 17,400 packages of sundry merchandise. During the first year of the operation of this road only 6,000 tons were shipped west over it; in 1855 about 30,000 tons were thus sent (v).

On September 12, 1855, a big excursion went from this vicinity to West Newton by boat and then over the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad to Connellsville to celebrate the completion of the railroad to that city. The Mayor, city councils, members of the press and many private citizens participated. On January 29, 1856, the Allegheny Valley Railroad was formally opened to Kittanning with a free excursion; 450 citizens made the trip. The cost of the road from Pittsburg to Kittanning was \$1,796,500 for the forty-four miles. The entrance of this railroad into the city was one of the most vexatious questions of that date. In November, 1856, a continuous line of railway was opened to Chicago; three lines were united and took the name Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago Railroad. So enormous was the freight business over the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1856 the company was obliged to enlarge its facilities, and accord-

(u) Dispatch, April, 1853.

(v) Commercial Journal, 1856.

ingly bought a tract, 259x386 feet, near the old Methodist burying-ground, to be used as a temporary storage or warehouse. The Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago Railroad experienced the same difficulty, and likewise overcame it by increasing its facilities. The locomotive Ashland, on which were four persons, ran across the Allegheny Railroad bridge for the first time on the morning of September 21, 1857; cars and trains soon followed. The following table shows the average of the freight business of the Pennsylvania Railroad in tons (w):

Tons Shipped.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.
Through, east.....	34,302	45,118	106,406	88,707	94,906
Through, west....	38,837	53,826	65,564	76,456	77,167
Local, east.....	10,152	13,321	127,614	196,230	238,127
Local, west....	18,797	47,966	65,302	92,599	120,220
Totals .....	102,088	160,231	364,886	453,992	530,420

In October, 1855, work on the Northwestern Railroad was rapidly progressing between Freeport and Butler, and likewise between the latter and Mercer. For the \$1,500,000 stock held by Pittsburg and Allegheny County in the Pittsburg and Steubenville Railroad, it was alleged that only \$750,000 was realized, owing to the depreciation in the East of the local bonds. The discount of \$300,000, or nearly thirty per cent., was looked upon with great alarm by the sagacious business men of this vicinity. The failure of General Larimer in 1854 revealed the fact that he was indebted to the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad to the amount of \$218,799, which sum was later reduced by the assignee to \$196,481. In order to assist the railway the Legislature enacted that the bonds of Allegheny County, held by the company, might be sold at a discount of twenty-five per cent. Pursuant to this act they were accordingly placed upon the market in the East, but even at that ruinous figure could not at first find a purchaser. The county and municipal credit here at this date and a little later was perhaps lower than at any other time in the history of this community. No wonder the people groaned under the enormous burden, and no wonder the party called the "Repudiationists" sprang into numerical and vigorous strength.

Many citizens at the outset had objected strenuously to the wholesale manner in which the cities and county bound themselves to aid the railways. In most cases they pledged themselves to pay interest on the bonds in case the railways were unable to pay. Several of the railways paid such interest for a time, and then failed to do so, while several could not do so from the start. This threw the burden upon the cities and county, until, in 1857, it was found necessary to levy an eight mill tax to pay current railway obligations. Hence arose the Repudiationists, the father of whom was Hon. Thomas Williams. This faction was the strongest political force in the county in 1857. The contest over the bonds marks an important epoch in the history of the county.

It may be said as a fact that the existence of the canal prevented the chartering of the Central Railroad for several years, because it was argued as unfair to parallel the canal with another public highway that was certain to rob it of much of its carrying trade. The difficulty was avoided by uniting the two highways. In 1857 the Legislature sold the public works (canals, Portage Railway, etc.); but, through the Supreme Court, the canal commissioners enjoined the State from making the transfer. It became a political question, and finally turned upon the partisan complexion of the Supreme Court. The Pennsylvania Railway was enjoined from purchasing such public works. At last all controversy was settled by the transfer of the property to the railroad.

(w) Commercial Journal, 1858.

## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

While the bill for incorporating the Pennsylvania Railway was pending in the Legislature many in that body feared the competition between that highway and the canal, and so at first refused to let the former have the use of the Portage Railway. On February 15, 1854, the mountain division of the railroad was opened for use, whereupon the Portage Railroad fell into disuse, though it had been employed since 1848 by the Pennsylvania Company. The Governor, by proclamation, August 1, 1857, transferred to the Pennsylvania Railway the canal and the Portage Railway, and the two latter were permitted to languish, and finally became extinct before or during the War of the Rebellion.

In 1860 the following railway indebtedness hung like a millstone around the neck of this community:

## ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

Pittsburg and Connellsville.....	\$ 750,000
Allegheny Valley.....	750,000
Pittsburg and Steubenville.....	500,000
Pittsburg and Cleveland.....	150,000
Chartiers Valley.....	150,000

## CITY OF PITTSBURG.

Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago.....	\$ 200,000
Pittsburg and Steubenville.....	550,000
Pittsburg and Connellsville.....	500,000
Allegheny Valley.....	400,000
Chartiers Valley.....	150,000

## CITY OF ALLEGHENY.

Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago....	\$ 400,000
Total .....	<u>\$4,500,000</u>

County assessment outside of cities.....	\$12,500,000
City of Pittsburg .....	10,500,000
City of Allegheny.....	3,000,000
Total.....	<u>\$26,000,000</u>



## CHAPTER VII.

COMMERCE—STORES OF THE INDIAN TRADERS—THEIR GOODS, HOW AND WHERE  
OBTAINED—EARLY MERCHANTS AND MERCANTILE PURSUITS—VARIETIES OF  
GOODS REQUIRED—IMPORTANCE OF THE TRADE OF THE GREAT WEST—THE  
NEW ORLEANS MARKET—EXTENT OF LOCAL MANUFACTURES—SELLING  
AND BARTERING—COMPARISONS OF PRICES—CHARACTER AND  
EXTENT OF TRADE BY WAGONS AND RIVERS—GREAT INCREASE  
OF COMMERCE IN 1812-15—THE HARD TIMES OF 1818-  
21—IMPORTANCE AND AGGREGATE OF THE REVENUE  
FROM THE CARRYING TRADE—ACTION IN OPPOSI-  
TION TO THE USE OF IMPORTED GOODS, ETC.

In very early times Pittsburg consisted of a motley collection of characters—Indians, hunters, traders, troops, professional men, adventurers, mechanics, law-breakers and a sprinkling of the few who, in the earliest directories, were denominated "gentlemen," a class that brought, or thought they brought, to the wilderness with them the cultured taste and elegant manners of the older districts of the East or of Europe. The few persons of real culture made haste to show their accomplishments and to assert their social superiority. The others, unmindful of a higher order of social life, pursued their wild Western ways and apparently lived as happily as their more refined neighbors. Social lines were strictly drawn and none was admitted to the select circle without the proper passport. Arthur Lee, who visited this place in 1784 and failed to reach the inner circle, libeled the inhabitants by insinuating that the town was destitute of good manners and refinement. He wrote only of whom and of what he saw—the wild borderers, the savages, the renegades, the adventurers. He did not write of the few of noble blood, refined manners and classical education. He may have written in a revengeful mood, not having been permitted to enter the best homes. And yet his assertions have worried the inhabitants of Pittsburg from that day to this. As a matter of history, the place was full of blacklegs and perhaps criminals, though here and there a home of love, purity, law and religion shone out like a star. Yes, the town was rough, wild, largely bad, but full of golden possibilities, because the seed of education, order and Christianity had been sown among the tumbleweeds which infested the border.

The earliest commercial transactions here were between the white traders and the Indians. The establishment of Fort Duquesne in 1754 and of Fort Pitt in 1758 insured the permanent location here of stores with general lines of merchandise. The character and quality of the goods suited the demands of the times. As late as 1786 tomahawks and scalping knives were kept for sale here (a). Immediately after the Revolution trade began to assume greater importance. Wagons began regularly to cross the mountains, carrying away the produce of the frontier and bringing back the merchandise needed in the new country. Boats began to ply regularly up and down the rivers on the same mission, and homes sprang up in all parts of Western Pennsylvania. It is said that James McBride and others descended the Ohio River as early as 1754 (b). As early as 1782 Jacob Yoder descended the Monongahela and Ohio rivers from

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(a) Gazette, 1786.

(b) Filson's History of Kentucky.

Fort Redstone to New Orleans in a flatboat loaded with produce (c). In the year 1784 sixty-three wagon-loads of merchandise arrived in Pittsburg from over the mountains. From October 10, 1786, to May 12, 1787, there floated down the Ohio River past Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, 177 boats, 2,689 people, 1,333 horses, 766 cattle, 102 wagons and 1 phaeton (d). This list did not include those which passed in the night unobserved.

Craig, Bayard & Co. were one of the leading mercantile firms in 1786 and before; they dissolved in July of that year, and stated that produce at its cash value would be received in payment of debts due the firm. Daniel Britt & Co. were prominent contractors and merchants, and called for wood ashes, and John and Samuel Calhoun conducted a general store in John Watson's house on Front Street. Britt & Co. called for ginseng, but stated that it must be dried slowly and not in an oven. It was a chief article of export—all the merchants wanted it. They advertised that all their goods were exchangeable for cash, flour, whisky, beef, pork, bacon, wheat, rye, oats, corn, ashes, candlewick, tallow, etc. Wilson & Wallace owned a general store next door to David Duncan's tavern on Water Street. John McDonald had conducted a general store here previous to September, 1786. William Hawting sold clocks and watches. Isaac Craig's saw-mill was in operation in 1786. William Tilton & Co. and William & Thomas Greenough conducted stores here then. Colonel John Gibson, who had been in business here for many years, still kept for sale "dry and wet goods" on the river bank, between David Duncan's and John Ormsby's and kept tavern for "man and beast." William Wilson of Wilson & Wallace was an auctioneer. He sold out the effects of a Mr. Volck, who had been an Indian trader here, and among the same were one and one-third dozen scalping knives. James Williamson was a merchant about this time. Alexander Fowler, who married Sally, daughter of the old settler, Devereux Smith, conducted a store in 1786. Thomas Greenough married Elizabeth, another daughter of Devereux Smith. Charles Richards kept a bakery. The store of General James O'Hara, where both "dry and wet goods" were dispensed, had long been a familiar feature here. William Rowley, Freeman & Leverin, G. Fowler and E. Butler were merchants here early in 1787. Barnebas McShane removed his tavern from Black Horse Alley to the Harp and Crown on Third Street in the summer of 1787. The *Gazette* kept for sale state laws, history of the Revolution, the New Testament, Dilworth's spelling-books, New England Primers with the Catechism, Dutch quills, ink-powder, sealing-wax, wafers, etc. A large general store was conducted by John Wilkins & Co. in 1787. Andrew Watson kept tavern. David Kennedy owned a general store here in 1787; so did John and William Irwin. Alexander and William Fowler, who had been partners in merchandising here, dissolved in October, 1787. William Amberson managed a big store here in 1787. Gregg & Baker sold jewelry, particularly "Pascall's golden drops," whatever they may have been. Their advertisement sounds like a modern patent medicine announcement. Blain, Wilkins & Co. were prosperous merchants in 1787. They and others complained grievously over the scarcity of cash and said that no further credit would be given by them without some cash as well as produce. M. Curtis sold hats. William Braden and Thomas Wylie were partners in merchandising in 1787-8; they dissolved in March, 1788. Adamson and Josiah Tannehill, merchants, dissolved partnership in April, 1788. In 1788 Elliott, Williams & Co. conducted a large store in the old building at Front and Ferry streets, formerly occupied by Devereux Smith. Craig, Bayard & Co., Daniel Britt & Co., Isaac Craig & Co., Turnbull, Marmie & Co., were large and prosperous mercantile

(c) *Gazette*, May 13, 1834.

(d) From journal kept by the Adjutant of the post.

houses here in the autumn of 1788. In 1789 Adam Funk, W. H. Beaumont and Gray & Forbes also were in business here (e).

"If we had more dairymaids and fewer fine ladies, more graziers and fewer distilleries, more artists and fewer hunters, a good breed of horses and fewer packers, the country would be more prosperous" (f).

"It ought to be a great object with the State of Pennsylvania to encourage and cultivate the town of Pittsburg. It will be a means which will bind the two extremes of the State together. The greater part of those who settle here are from that city, or the counties within the State and below the mountains. These have connections in trade or manufactures with those whom they have left behind. A town of note at the confluence of these rivers must for ages secure the trade of the Western country to Pennsylvania" (g).

"From the 6th of July last to the 10th instant the following peltry was brought up by one trader in this place from the Indians and mostly paid for in whisky and flour: 2,173 summer deer skins, 74 fall do., 48 fawn, 94 bear, 37 elk, 84 beaver, 387 raccoon, 29 fox, 219 muskrat, 29 fishers, 14 martens, 15 wildcats, 17 wolves, 16 panthers, 67 pair moccasins. What must the whole Indian trade of this place amount to during that time or for one year—what the advantages of the Indian trade to this town and the country adjacent!" (h)

Farmers came west of the Alleghanies to raise grain, vegetables and stock. They soon found that the large droves of cattle and hogs from the back settlements in Virginia and the Carolinas cut them out of the markets of Alexandria, Baltimore in part and Philadelphia in part. This was a sore disappointment. Stock raised by slave labor could and did undersell the stock of Western Pennsylvania in the markets of Baltimore and even Philadelphia. The result to the farmer here was that instead of raising live stock on a large scale for market, he settled down, raised only enough for home demand and waited and hoped for better times. They did not raise grain in large quantities, because there was no demand except at home. This refers to the time immediately succeeding the Revolution and previous to 1790. Rye was raised for the distilleries. There was no demand for grain for shipment. It did not pay costs to raise more than was needed by the farmer and his merchants. Often flour per hundredweight sold here for \$1, sometimes for a French crown, and \$1.50 was deemed a high price if paid in cash. In goods a hundredweight of flour often brought twelve shillings sixpence. Half a crown per bushel was the usual price for corn. Rye was invariably turned into whisky. Beef was often sold for \$2 and pork held at a guinea cash per hundredweight, but in goods they brought from twenty shillings to \$3. It was the practice of the farmers to trade all the produce they possibly could to the merchants for their goods. The merchants were obliged to accept the situation and market the produce. About all the money the farmer needed or got was enough to pay his taxes and for his land. Commerce at this time (1783-90) was confined almost wholly to barter; in fact, balances were often settled in an exchange of property. Country linen and woolen goods were invariably a legal tender, or at least an acceptable tender. Several families in Pittsburg were disposed to be aristocratic and would not wear country clothing, but donned imported dress goods and broadcloths and held themselves aloof from the society of their country cousins, as well as from many of their fellow townsmen, and it was true that blood and breeding ruled society.

It was found unprofitable during the period referred to to ship the product of the farms to New Orleans, owing to two important facts: 1. The long time

(e) Items from sundry issues of the Gazette.

(f) Gazette, 1787; Vide supra as to society here in early times.

(g) Gazette, 1787.

(h) Gazette, August 19, 1786; also Gazette, May 20, 1831.

consumed in making the trip; 2. The methods adopted of wearing out a seller at New Orleans by holding off from buying until expenses had eaten up profits. The Spanish and French down there were too tricky and unreliable. A market, such as it was, could always be had East, but no capitalist had the temerity then to buy grain on a large scale in the Western country to be shipped by wagon East, as the risks were too numerous and great. Besides, there were better investments for capital. Farmers continued to raise only enough for home consumption, and merchants made what they could out of their goods. This community, therefore, was not famed for its commerce until after the merchants were called upon for supplies for the Western country, when it was seen that goods manufactured here could be sold as well West as those manufactured farther East and shipped to Pittsburg to be distributed. And thus manufactures were commenced and have continued down to the present time.

As soon as it was settled that Western Pennsylvania, particularly Pittsburg, must look to its manufacturers and not to its agriculturists, it had no more trouble. Prosperity came on the wings of the wind and the waves of the rivers. Nails were floated down the river and met an eager market in the swiftly growing settlements of Ohio and Kentucky, and more were called for. Hatchets, axes, hoes, andirons, spades and numerous other products of iron were demanded of Pittsburg and were not long withheld. The demands of the great West pointed the road of prosperity, wealth and fame to Pittsburg, and from a thousand sources down-stream came the demand for innumerable forms of iron, for tons of coal, for many varieties of glass, for cotton and woolen goods, for flour and for many other articles, which, be it said to the credit of the first residents, Pittsburg was not long in supplying. But the town was slow in learning her destiny. Furnaces and forges began to spring up over Western Pennsylvania after 1790, but no permanent one was put in operation here until 1805-6, and only two were in operation during the War of 1812. Not a rolling and slitting mill was running here until 1818-19, though this was long after they had sprung up in various parts of Western Pennsylvania. The annual trade in Pittsburg in 1815 amounted to over \$2,600,000 and was largely made up of the hand-made products of iron and steel, as no rolling and slitting mills had been set going. One had been built by Christopher Cowan in 1811-12, but, according to the best accounts, it did no rolling and slitting. Immense quantities of bar-iron, rolled in the Juniata country, were handled by the Pittsburg merchants.

The first stock board was established here in 1799 (i), but what it succeeded in accomplishing to benefit commerce cannot be learned. The proposal of Spain to shut off the commerce of the Mississippi River from the Ohio Valley for twenty-five years greatly disturbed the people of this vicinity late in the eighteenth century, but the purchase of Louisiana by the United States in 1803 settled the question—to the intense relief of Pittsburg.

In 1800 the merchants dealt largely in flour, whisky, bar-iron, castings, country and Irish linens, pork, beef, etc. The Indian wars of 1791-2, the whisky insurrection of 1794, the establishment of the O'Hara glassworks in 1797 and the McClurg foundry in 1805, the enormous increase in the manufacture of iron, the construction of boats, and the constantly increasing trade on the rivers, may be said to have been the commencement of the enormous commercial growth of Pittsburg. In 1800 Oliver Ormsby, Mahon & Sharp, Thomas Jones, James Dunlap, Scott & Trotter, Prather & Smiley, George Stevenson, James Hogg, Jeremiah Barker & Co. and others conducted stores here. William Eichbaum's tavern stood on Front near Market, and Richard Hancock's tavern stood where Mrs. Mary Murphy had formerly entertained the public. William Morrow also

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(i) Commercial, February 16, 1865.



conducted a tavern at this time. The traffic on the rivers in 1800 consisted of dry goods, flour, whisky, apples, beef, pork, ginseng, cotton, nails, glassware, corn, tobacco, castings, salt, buffalo robes, peltry, sugar, lard, bacon, venison, country linen, harness, shoes, saltpeter, hemp and cordage, guns, etc. According to the report of the commandant at Fort Massac, near the mouth of the Ohio River, there passed that place from the 1st of March to the 31st of May, 1800, 276 boats from Kentucky, the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, Tennessee and the Northwest Territory, destined for Natchez, New Orleans and other places on the Mississippi.

During the holidays of 1800-1 market prices in Pittsburg were as follows: Beef, 3 to 5 cents per pound; pork, 3 to 4 cents; mutton, 4 to 6; veal, 4 to 6; venison, 3 to 4; flour, \$1.25 to \$1.50 per hundredweight; buckwheat flour, \$1 to \$1.20; Indian meal, per bushel, 23 to 44 cents; potatoes, 25 to 33 cents; turnips, 20 to 25 cents; apples, 50 to 75 cents; oats, 20 to 25 cents; butter, 10 to 13 cents; hogs' lard, 5 to 7 cents; eggs, 7 to 12 cents; turkeys, each, 40 to 60 cents; geese, each, 25 to 33 cents; ducks, each, 12 to 17 cents; fowls, each, 7 to 10 cents.

In 1801 Tarascon Brothers, James Berthoud & Co. conducted here a large store; they grew out of the previous establishment of James Berthoud. William Steele, Alexander McLaughlin, Joseph Davis, William Christy, Andrew Willock, Abner and Jesse Barker, John Hamsher, Isaac Gregg (in Judge Brackenridge's building) and others conducted stores. In 1801 James Berthoud opened an establishment of his own on Water Street, near Henderson's Ferry. In 1801 Thomas Baird had been here nearly fourteen years, and Dr. Gazzam over eight years (j).

In 1802 John Hanna, Denny & Beelen, B. S. Spitzer, Scott & Trotter, David Evans, John and Alexander Willis, William Woods & Co., Robert Simpson, David McIlhenny, William Christy, William Cecil, John Johnson, John Gilliard, Joseph Davis and others conducted stores or shops here. From the start great interest was taken in securing and maintaining the New Orleans market, which was regarded as the natural outlet for the products of Pittsburg. John Wilkins, Jr., in a circular letter, addressed the farmers, millers, merchants and manufacturers of the Western country (k), to the following effect: That inasmuch as they could not at all seasons understand the state of the market at New Orleans, owing to the distance of that city and the long time necessary for the passage of news between the two points, they were at the mercy of traders there, who could and did compel them to hold their goods on their boats until expenses had eaten up all the profits; that \$60,000 had been lost to the Western country in 1802 by this means; that therefore he would suggest the formation of a company with a capital (say) of \$100,000, which should establish agents and warehouses at New Orleans and other places along the rivers to protect the interests of the members; and that a meeting should be held in Pittsburg September 29, 1802, to organize such a company. If such an organization was effected, that fact is lost to history.

In January, 1803, came the news that the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans had closed that port against the people of the Western country. Great consternation ensued here, because many people were in arrears to the government for excise and other debts and taxes and could not discharge the same unless a market was afforded for their wares. An Eastern market was out of the question, owing to the high rates of carriage over the mountains and the low price of products, and a shutting off of the Western market meant ruin. Public meetings were held in Western Pennsylvania; and a petition addressed to the President and Congress was circulated in this vicinity, declaring that "protection and allegiance were reciprocal;" that the immediate interposition of the Government

(j) Gazette, 1801.

(k) Open letter in Gazette, September 17, 1802.

would be relied upon; that the people now had the right to demand of the Government protection in the prosecution of lawful commerce; that the Government should either take the people's produce at a reasonable price or relieve them from contributions, taxes, etc.; that delay was critical; "and that imperious necessity may therefore compel us, unless relief is afforded, to resort to measures which we may deem calculated to insure protection to our trade, though they may result in consequences unfavorable to the harmony of the Union" (l). Strong grounds were thus taken; but what effect they had on the Government would be difficult to decide. One thing is certain: The purchase of all of Louisiana, as before stated, immediately followed, and the New Orleans market was thrown open to all the Western country, of which Pittsburg was then a prominent center. Many people of the Western country had favored taking forcible possession, if necessary, of the Mississippi River and New Orleans.

"The authority at New Orleans ought to have been compelled to open this port to us. The pressing wants of our citizens demand such a measure. Justice would have defended it. . . . The outrage should have been complained of, and, at the peril of war, regulations insisted upon that would place the support of half a million of people above national or individual perfidy" (m).

In 1803 the manufactures amounted to \$266,000; produce brought to market, \$92,000; exports, \$180,000; imports, \$250,000; balance against the city, \$70,000. The latter fact caused Zadoc Cramer to warn the citizens to be more prudent and import less and manufacture more (n).

Many of the earliest and best stores were opened by agents of Philadelphia or other Eastern merchants. A comparison of prices in Pittsburg and New Orleans in June, 1803, shows that a fair profit was made by the shipper, if no unnecessary delay ensued. But the prices then prevailing in New Orleans under the French were much lower than they had formerly been. Cotton, negroes, flour and other commodities had depreciated one-third in value. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the importance of the New Orleans market in the opinions of the inhabitants of Pittsburg of that day.

"The position of New Orleans certainly destines it to be the greatest city the world has ever seen. There is no spot on the globe to which the produce of so great an extent of fertile country must necessarily come" (o).

Canals and railways were then unknown, and commerce sought and mainly depended upon waterways. Pittsburg was situated on navigable water, which connected it via New Orleans with the great markets of the world. Is it any wonder that the people of this place, shut off from the East by the mountains and a road that was impassable half the year, used extreme measures to maintain an open Mississippi and a free market with New Orleans?

In 1800, 723 barrels of salt were shipped from Erie, Pennsylvania. In 1803 the shipment amounted to 2,736 barrels, nearly all of which came to Pittsburg down the Allegheny. In 1805 the quantity reached 7,589 barrels. In 1809 it reached 14,346 barrels, nearly all, as usual, coming to Pittsburg. In 1807 over 3,000,000 feet of boards came down the Allegheny; and in 1808 nearly 5,000 barrels of salt came down from Onondaga, New York (p). In 1810 Christian Lauderburn, from his factory near Connellsville, sold to the Skeltons of Pittsburg 60,000 pounds of Spanish brown manufactured by himself from native earth. Immense quantities of flour, whisky, hardware, queensware, pork, beef, tobacco, lumber, hemp, grain, etc., were handled by the merchants here from 1807 to 1812. In fact a season of extraordinary commercial prosperity, except per-

(l) Gazette, February 3, 1803. (m) Gazette, March 25, 1803.

(n) Pittsburg Intelligencer, 1841.

(o) Thomas Jefferson in letter to C. C. Claiborne, July 7, 1804.

(p) Niles Register, 1814.

haps for one or two years, was enjoyed from 1803 until the close of the War of 1812. As early as 1810, perhaps earlier, petroleum oil was brought here by the gallon from Oil Creek. "It comes from a spring on which is an oil similar to Barbadoes tar" (q).

"There are fifty stores, generally well assorted and supplied, and which divide the retail business of the town and adjacent country in tolerably good proportion. Some, however, have rather a superiority of custom, the owner of one of which, a man of veracity, assured me that he received in ready money, one market day with another, \$150, and that he had once taken \$180, besides the credit business. Either as a trading or manufacturing town I think Pittsburg, for situation, is not excelled in the United States, and that it bids fair to become the emporium of the center of the Federal Union" (r).

In early times numerous maple sugar camps were conducted along the Monongahela River, and large quantities of the sugar found their way to Pittsburg. An average tree produced annually about four pounds of sugar, worth thirteen cents per pound. Numerous flouring-mills lined the banks of the same stream, and shipped abroad immense quantities of flour, which was justly celebrated in the markets of the world.

The manufacture of hemp into ropes enriched the State of Kentucky "much faster than if its citizens had discovered a gold mine." The quantity of spun yarn for ropes and hemp which passed through Pittsburg for the Baltimore and Philadelphia markets in 1810 was as follows:

	Pounds.
Through T. & J. Cromwell's warehouse, May 1, 1810, to November 14, 1810.....	308,944
980 creels of yarn, average 9,000 pounds each, hemp.....	882,000
C. Cowan's warehouse, 83 creels of yarn, 900 pounds each.....	74,000
G. Anshutz warehouse, 254 bales of hemp.....	24,000
James Adams' warehouse, spun yarn, in two months.....	90,000
Total spun yarn and hemp.....	1,378,944

This commodity was worth per pound fifteen cents, total \$206,841.60. The quantity of bar-iron and castings sold in Pittsburg in 1810 was 1,307 tons, worth \$182,980, as follows:

	Tons.
G. Anshutz, bar, rolled and slit iron.....	332
Castings.....	75
C. Cowan, castings.....	50
Sundry iron.....	300
T. & J. Cromwell, castings.....	100
Sundry iron.....	150
Produced by others, estimated.....	300
Total.....	1,307

In 1810 the most important items of trade here were as follows: Anshutz, bacon and pork from Kentucky principally, handled 25 tons; Cowan, sundry bacon, 25 tons; the fifty tons valued at \$11,000. Cotton handled by Anshutz, Cowan, Cromwell and others, 240,000 pounds. Cut and wrought nails and Juniata iron, Anshutz 50,000 pounds, Cowan 40,000 pounds, others 20,000 pounds; all worth \$18,700. Tobacco by Cromwell, Cowan and others, 20,000 pounds, worth \$2,600. Glass handled by Cromwell, \$10,000 in value. Of the above all the nails were

(q) Navigator, 1812.

(r) Cumming, 1808.

manufactured in Pittsburg (s). It was carefully estimated that in 1810 the trade passing through Pittsburg annually amounted to \$1,000,000, and the sale of Pittsburg manufactures amounted to \$1,000,000 more; total, \$2,000,000. Down the Ohio were sent glass, paper, apples, cabinet work, furniture, saddlery, boots and shoes, and up the Ohio came sugar, furs, tobacco, cotton, lead, hemp, etc. From January 1, 1813, to January 1, 1814, a gentleman living four miles east of town counted 4,055 wagons loaded with merchandise going to Pittsburg (t). Large numbers of boats unloaded their cargoes here in addition.

"Our merchants in town import of foreign productions, which are the great sore of our country, and will be so as long as the balance of trade is against us on the sea, probably about \$1,000,000 in amount annually, which are vended here principally for cash. Of this it is possible they may be enabled to pay one-fourth in articles of barter, such as country linen and flour, leaving a balance of trade against Pittsburg and in favor of Philadelphia and Baltimore of \$750,000 annually, which must be paid in specie or an equivalent" (u).

"Besides the fine situation of Pittsburg for manufactories, another circumstance encourages much the settlement of industrious tradesmen in it, which is the cheap, plentiful and various market. There are two market days weekly, and the common prices of necessaries are: Good beef, from 2½ to 4 cents per pound; pork, 3½; mutton, 4; veal, 3; venison, 3 to 4; bacon, 6 to 10; butter, 10 to 18; cheese, 8 to 12 cents; ducks, 25 cents each; geese, 33 to 37; turkeys, 40 to 75; flour, \$1.75 to \$2.50 per hundredweight, or from \$3.50 to \$4 per barrel; corn, 33 cents; potatoes, 40; turnips, 18; Indian meal, 40; onions, \$1; white beans, \$1; dried apples and peaches, \$1; green apples and peaches, 40 cents; eggs, 10 to 18; fresh fish, 3 to 6 cents; maple sugar, 10 to 12 cents; whisky, per gallon, 30 to 40; peach brandy, 75 to 80; beer, \$5 to \$7 per barrel; cider, \$3 to \$4; 700 country linen, 40 cents, and tow cloth, 33 cents per yard; salt, usually \$2.50 per bushel, which is occasioned by its being supplied from the Onondaga salt works, in the upper part of the State of New York, whence it is brought by water, with a few portages, through part of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie and down French Creek and the Allegheny to Pittsburg, which is a great article of trade, giving employment to several keelboats on the river" (v).

"In the last two or three years the markets have risen considerably: Beef, 6 to 7 cents; flour, \$4.50 per hundredweight, or \$9 per barrel; potatoes, 75 cents per bushel; cabbage, 6 cents each head; butter, 25 to 50 cents per pound; fowls, 50 cents per pair; ducks, 50 cents; geese, 75 cents to \$1.25 each; turkeys, 75 cents to \$1 each; venison, 5 cents per pound; pork, 7 cents; hogs' lard, 11 cents; mutton, 7 cents; veal, 6 cents; cheese, 18 to 25 cents; eggs, 25 cents; onions, \$1.25 per bushel; Indian meal, \$1 per bushel; soup beans, \$1 per bushel; fish, 4 to 5 cents per pound" (w).

During the boating season of 1812, Maysville, Kentucky, at the mouth of Limestone Creek, shipped to Pittsburg 1,000 tons of Kentucky produce—salt-peter, tobacco, hemp, spun yarn, cordage, gunpowder, etc. J. A. Tarascon and James Berthoud owned large mills and warehouses near Louisville, Kentucky.

"Mr. Lambdin, one of the board of inspectors for the borough of Pittsburg, said that about 7,000,000 feet of boards and scantling passed inspection for 1812, worth at a low estimate \$63,000. He also said that 300 frame and brick houses were built in 1812, but this is likely an overestimate" (x).

The enormous pine and hemlock swamps far up the Allegheny River con-

(s) Navigator, 1811.

(u) Navigator, 1811.

(w) Navigator, 1812.

(t) Gazette, November, 1814.

(v) Cumming, 1808.

(x) Navigator, 1813.



tinued for many years to supply the Pittsburg market with boards, scantling, shingles, etc.

"It is not extravagant to suppose that the day is not far distant when its [Ohio River] whole margin will form one continuous village. The various productions of the most extensive and fertile part of the United States must eventually be sent to market on this river" (y).

A. J. Lewis & Co., David Logan & Co., G. & C. Anshutz, Isaac Harris, John Wilkins, N. Richardson, William McCandless, William Mason, John M. Snowden (books), Cramer, Speer & Eichbaum, James Wiley, Jr., R. Brown & Co., conducted mercantile establishments of various sorts in 1812-13. The merchants in those days ordered their goods twice a year—in the spring and fall. On those occasions immense stocks were accumulated before Western merchants arrived to make their purchases and shipments. Pittsburg merchants never experienced a more profitable period than during the War of 1812. Their stocks sometimes doubled in value on their hands. Approved bills at sixty days were taken for cash. Country linen rose to three shillings per yard. George Evans & Co. offered 75 cents for wheat and 50 cents for corn and rye per bushel at their steam flouring-mill in 1812. In September, 1813, they offered \$1 for old wheat and 90 cents for new. At the latter date A. J. Lewis & Co. had on hand 99,385 pounds of New Orleans sugar, and N. Cunningham & Co. 28,000 pounds of Spanish wool. Brown sold large quantities of New England cloths. Isaac Bean of Pittsburg, agent of the Harmony Company, offered for sale 6,000 gallons of highwines. Peebles, Tweedy & Co. conducted a large hat store; R. E. Fleeson a wholesale and retail grocery; he called for 10,000 pounds of yellow butter (z).

The direct tax of the Government took effect December 31, 1813. Notes, bills, bonds and paper were stamped before usage.

In March, 1814, the Pittsburg Steam Mill (Evans') offered \$1.25 cash for wheat, and 62½ cents cash for corn and rye per bushel. War prices soon prevailed everywhere, for in May, 1814, the prices rose to \$1.50 for wheat, \$1 for rye and 87½ cents for corn.

On April 16, 1814, prices stood as follows: Beef, 9 to 10 cents; bacon, 15 to 16½ cents; pork, 10 cents; flour, per hundredweight, \$4; flour, per barrel, \$6.50 to \$7; Indian meal, per bushel, \$1; oats, 45 to 50 cents; butter, 37½ to 50 cents; potatoes, per bushel, \$1; wheat, \$1.37½; corn and rye, 75 cents (Pittsburg gristmill).

"Robinson & Barber of Pittsburg advertise in the Baltimore papers the cargoes of six keel-boats expected from New Orleans with 380 barrels and 28 hogsheads of sugar, 201 bales of cotton and 6 barrels of indigo. The house of Richard Brown & Co. of Pittsburg advertise in a Winchester, Va., paper 510 barrels of New Orleans sugar and 205 bales of cotton for sale" (a).

Bosler & Co., from April 1 to September 1, 1814, imported from New Orleans 1,403 barrels of sugar—365,672 pounds; 15 boxes white Havana cigars—4,769; 129 barrels of coffee—19,604 pounds; 380 bales of cotton—128,793 pounds; 28 bales Spanish wool—13,244 pounds; 100 kegs quicksilver—7,000 pounds; 30 seroons and 30 barrels of indigo and logwood—7,800 pounds; 60 barrels of rum—7,800 pounds.

The extent of the commerce of Pittsburg in 1814 was little known to the country east of the mountains. The war had engrossed public attention and at the same time had multiplied home industries of every description and stimulated commercial pursuits to a wonderful degree. In 1814 the freights of one merchant of this place, up and down the Ohio, amounted to \$60,000. Up to this

(y) Navigator, 1811.

(z) Navigator.

(a) Niles Register, July 9, 1814.

time the freightage on the rivers had been limited to the capacities of the keel-boats and barges. Navigation by steam completely revolutionized the system and improved its facilities to a degree difficult to fully comprehend at this day. The possibilities were seemingly boundless and opened to the comprehension of the river merchants of that date such an extent of trade as to kindle into life industry, skill and capital without limit.

"It is difficult to repress the expression of feelings which arise toward the person to whom we owe it that this mode of navigation, so often before attempted and laid aside in despair, has become practical, but it is unnecessary to give them vent. The obligation which the nation, I had almost said the whole world, owes to him will be freely acknowledged by history" (b).

During 1813 the following estimates of the number of boatloads and wagon-loads received at Pittsburg were made: 350 boats loaded with 3,750 tons of saltpeter, salt, lead, peltry, sugar, cotton, etc.; 1,250 tons of hemp, 3,750 tons of hempen yarn; 4,000 wagon-loads of dry goods, groceries, etc.; 1,000 wagon-loads of iron.

"Verily this looks something like a seat of commerce. The exports must also have been immensely valuable. Pittsburg is not the only place of business on the Western waters. Many other towns have great exports and imports, and several are likely to be in a very few years what Pittsburg is now. Pittsburg, sometimes emphatically called the 'Birmingham of America,' will probably become the greatest manufacturing town in the world" (c).

In 1812 the ironmongery manufactured in Pittsburg was estimated to amount to 396 tons, worth \$174,240. The value in 1814 was estimated at \$300,000; and the whole value of the products of iron could not be much less than, if it did not exceed, \$500,000.

"Died recently, in Pennsylvania, Mr. Conrad Hawk; he was the first man who drove a wagon over the Alleghany Mountains, being driver in the expedition under General Forbes, which took Fort Pitt in 1758. When we recollect that from 4,000 to 5,000 wagon-loads of goods have been delivered at Pittsburg in one year, we may estimate the change that has occurred since its first wagon was driven across the Alleghanies" (d).

In October, 1815, one of the merchants of Pittsburg advertised for sale 99,385 pounds of New Orleans sugar; other merchants offered for sale amounts nearly as large. They also had on hand large quantities of cotton for the numerous carders, spinners and weavers in this vicinity. Large quantities of red lead were kept for sale. At that time an immense section of country poured its trade into this place to exchange for the products of New Orleans.

It was during the war of 1812-15 that coal in quantity began to be mined and brought to Pittsburg from the south side of the Monongahela. At first it was ferried over, but after the completion of the first bridge across that stream in 1818 it was brought over on that structure. In 1818 there came large demands from Cincinnati for coal, to be used in the large glass and iron factories there. Put down in that city it was worth twenty cents per bushel. This demand from Cincinnati, as well as from Louisville, New Orleans, St. Louis and many other Western points, greatly stimulated the production and shipment of coal here. In July, 1818, wagon-loads of goods bound from Philadelphia to Pittsburg were deliverable under contract in twenty-two days, though the actual time required was less than this.

In July, 1818, work on the first Allegheny bridge was commenced. At that time a bridge on that river was not considered so important as one across

(b) Pittsburg Correspondence in National Intelligencer, April 22, 1814.

(c) Niles Register, May 28, 1814; a remarkable forecast.

(d) Niles Register, April 1, 1815.



the Monongahela; because an immense trade came to the city from toward, and within the boundary of, Washington County; much greater, in fact, than from the country across the Allegheny.

In May, 1818, market prices in Pittsburg were as follows: Beef, 8 to 10 cents per pound; pork, same; veal, same; mutton, same; butter, 25 to 31 cents; eggs, 12 to 18; fish, same; bacon, 12; crackers, 7; coffee, 35 to 37; Steubenville broadcloth, \$8 to \$11 per yard; Pittsburg broadcloth, \$7.50 to \$9; flour, \$5 to \$5.50 per barrel; wheat, 75 to 87; rye, 50; barley, 75; corn, 50 to 62; oats, 33 to 37; Juniata iron, \$200 to \$210 per ton; lumber, 75 cents to \$1.75 per hundred feet; nails, cut, 15 to 19 cents a pound; nails, wrought, 22 to 25; writing paper, \$3.50 to \$4.50 a ream; peach brandy, 75 cents a gallon; salt (Conemaugh), \$8 per barrel; cigars (American), \$2.50 per 1,000; sugar (New Orleans), 20 cents per pound; sugar (country), 16; loaf sugar, 34; lump sugar, 32; tallow, 12 to 15 cents; tobacco (Kentucky), 15 to 18; tobacco (country), 23 to 25; wool (Merino, clean), 40 to 62; whisky, 40 to 50 cents (c). It will thus be seen that high prices still prevailed.

In 1818-19 among the large mercantile houses here were Bosler & Co., ironware and groceries; James Riddle & Co., iron, steel, glass, etc.; McClurg & McKnight, dry goods; William & John Hill, dry goods, queensware, etc.; H. Bonnet & Ronaud, dry goods; William Eichbaum, Jr., books, etc.; Samuel Shannon & Co., shoes; J. Teale, straw bonnets; Miller & Wilson, iron and groceries; R. Patterson & Lambkin, books, etc.; Isaac Harris, dry goods and groceries; Francis McBean, dry goods, hardware, etc.; William Kepner, copper and tin ware; Pugh & Doyle, commission house; Ormsby & Doane, groceries; Roseman & Wright, furniture; Foster & Doane, groceries; Armstrong & Ewing, groceries; T. & G. Algeo, general merchandise; Irwin & Henry Wallace, iron, salt, etc.; William Robinson, Jr., groceries; January, Winans & January, commission; Abishai Way & Co., dry and fancy goods; Anshutz & Rahm, iron and steel; John Gibson & Co., salt and groceries; Miller & Wilson, ironware; G. T. Beyer & Co., groceries and liquors; I. Doane, hardware and groceries; Joseph Hill & Co., druggists; Allen & Grant, groceries; H. Langtry & Co., queensware, hardware and saddlery; Samuel Edgar & Co., groceries; C. Latshaw & Leech, groceries.

"Mercantile pursuits have become so much the rage and offer such temptations for the expenditure of hard-earned gains that our country is fast approaching to that state of perfect exhaustion that all nature abhors. The consumption of foreign produce and foreign manufactures is enormous. . . . Those old-fashioned articles, silver and gold, are now the only thing we can offer in exchange for the loads of finery that are disgorged upon us from the East. . . . Nature intended Pittsburg for something more important than to be the mere depot of Eastern merchandise. The immense beds of coal, the inexhaustible forests that fringe the borders of our rivers, the majestic stream that flows from our doors, all combine to prove that Pittsburg was formed for the metropolis of a great tract, as the soul of a flourishing country" (f).

From a commercial point of view Pittsburg was much interested in 1818 in the question of the annexation of West Florida to the United States. It was thought that Mobile and Pensacola would probably rival New Orleans in the magnitude of trade. In any event Pittsburg regarded the acquisition as desirable, because it would afford an expansion of her territory of trade. The vast differences in climate, productions and local interest were yet to be revealed and felt. No one here doubted that the prediction of Jefferson, that New Orleans would become one of the greatest commercial cities in the world, would be verified.

"In our last we mentioned that there was nearly one million of merchandise

(e) Gazette, May 22, 1818. (f) Gazette, July 3, 1818. (g) Gazette, October 30, 1818.



lying at our shores. A merchant of Lexington has since informed us that it amounts to near three millions. *We must certainly clear out the river*" (g).

"On Saturday last we counted thirty large keel-boats, besides flat-bottoms, loaded with goods, anchored in the Monongahela, or lying along the shore" (h).

"The embargo on our vessels is at length happily raised, and three millions' worth of merchandise has within a few days floated off on the rapidly swelling bosom of the Ohio. It may appear somewhat paradoxical, but Pittsburg is delighted to have her shores deserted. The large fleet of boats which has for some months been lying before our city might serve to give strangers a just conception of the immense importance of our situation, yet its protracted detention gave a melancholy feature to this proof of our greatness; we fear the effects of it will be severely felt in the cities and in the West. However, in all cases of gloom where our country is concerned our motto is, *Sperate*. The beautiful steamboat James Ross has weighed anchor for New Orleans; she will take in freight at several places between this and Louisville. May success attend this gallant vessel in her voyage of 2,000 miles across our immense continent" (i).

Large quantities of buffalo robes were disposed of here during the War of 1812. In 1818 one merchant of Pittsburg, an agent of the Government, sold to distant merchants \$23,500 worth of revenue stamps. Prices of produce continued very high in 1818, and store goods of all kinds were low. Thus the farmers during that year fared much better than the merchants.

"Our shores exhibit one of the most animating scenes of bustling emigration we have ever witnessed. The beach of the Monongahela has been for several days completely lined with flatboats destined for the Illinois and other districts below the falls of Ohio. The great body of emigrants now are of a different kind from those which we have been accustomed to see in this place. It is composed of English, who appear to come full-handed, as we term it" (j).

"In Pittsburg alone, without including the neighboring towns (which would probably produce as many more), there are perhaps thirty mercantile establishments which alone remit to the cities every year \$35,000 each for goods; this amounts to upwards of a million; add to this the rest of the mercantile expenditures of this place and probably the sum sent over the mountains from this place will not fall far short of one million five hundred thousand dollars, of which Pittsburg and its vicinity pay, say, one million; at all events the Western country pays the whole. Suppose then, our transporting trade, which is calculated to yield us one million five hundred thousand dollars a year, diverted to Virginia and Maryland, what must become of us? It is a melancholy fact that, leaving manufactures out of the question, we have not a single article of staple exportation. The country below us destroys every dependence on agricultural products. Without manufactures the country will be drained of every cent of paper and specie in a short time; with them we may set the Cumberland Road and the whole nation at defiance" (k).

"'Farewell, poor Pittsburg!' exclaimed a wiseacre in one of the Cincinnati papers lately, speaking of the establishment of a foundry there."

"'Farewell, Orleans,' may be pronounced with more reason by some city to the east of it before many years, if our Government do as they ought to do—*retain Florida*" (l).

Among the commercial articles in this market in 1818 were veneers of mahogany from Mexico; dress goods from England; silk goods from France; sugar and cotton from New Orleans; spices from the East Indies; tobacco in

(h) Gazette, November 17, 1818. (i) Gazette, December 11, 1818.

(j) Gazette, September 29, 1818.

(k) Gazette, October 13, 1818; see chapters on Transportation.

(l) Gazette, August 21, 1818.

various forms from Virginia, Kentucky and Cuba; muslins from England, India and the Eastern States of the Union; cigars and fruits from Spain and its colonies; tea from China; iron from the Juniata, England, Sweden and Russia; salt from the Conemaugh; plaster-of-paris from Canada, etc.

During the spring and summer of 1818 twenty-two steamboats were employed in trading between New Orleans and towns on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and their tributaries. The down cargoes were cotton, tobacco, cordage, etc., and up were dry goods, hardware, groceries, etc. Fourteen of these boats ran between Louisville and New Orleans. In 1818 seven steamboats were in process of construction at Pittsburg (m).

"During the suspension of manufactures we have been only kept alive by our transporting trade, from which we have derived a million and a half a year. If our manufactures be not reëstablished, woe to Pittsburg! Woe to the neighboring country! They will have exhausted the cup of adversity to the very dregs" (n).

"What little silver, small change, was brought into circulation by the sunshine of the last resumption of specie payments has taken a second plunge into the wooden chests of our sagacious peasantry, and if we know anything of the character of our worthy country folks it will require some as yet undiscovered process in chemistry or philosophy to relieve the dear little pieces from this, their second stage of bondage. The country folk get along very well, for if the balance of trade is against them they make you take eggs for the amount; but the merchants, to be on a footing of equality, must adopt some rule of protection. They are completely stumped since the fifty-cent city tickets have become illegible. We will be much obliged for some plan to overcome the difficulty. Cut money or bullion might answer the purpose, providing we can procure any, which, by the by, is somewhat doubtful. Our merchants might tender ribbon to settle such differences. Unless something can be done the whole business of trade must shortly be conducted by exchange, for in another year there cannot be a dollar in circulation if the diminution goes on" (o).

In the summer of 1819 Steubenville broadcloth was worth in Pittsburg from \$8 to \$11 per yard, while Delaware broadcloth could be bought for \$4.06 per yard (p). A manufacturer denied that Steubenville broadcloth cost so much and said that if wool could be sold for fifty cents, washed on the sheep's back, the cloth could be sold at \$3.75 per yard.

"It is doubted whether he would not even then prefer buying British cloth at \$12 to \$14 per yard, to the pleasure of wearing a coat manufactured in his own country of equal quality and of one-half the price" (q).

"Will it be believed abroad that for some time past the supply of butter has actually failed, and that what little has been exhibited for sale has been sold from thirty-seven to fifty cents a pound? That veal is from ten to twelve cents, beef ten cents, and potatoes eighty-seven cents a bushel?" (r).

The merchants generally of the city kept domestic manufactures for sale, such as cotton cord, linen linsey, window-glass, rosin soap, starch, sole leather, nails and tobacco.

"The times are indeed alarming. Our difficulties are increasing every day. Many have already failed, and hundreds more are on the very verge of bankruptcy and ruin. But a little more pressure and they, too, must fail. And we all know that the failure of one often undermines the foundation and lays the train for the ruin of perhaps ten or twenty more; and thus the evil spreads

(m) Cramer's Almanac, 1819.

(o) Gazette, May 18, 1819.

(q) Gazette, August 10, 1819.

(n) Gazette, October 6, 1818.

(p) Gazette, July 30, 1819.

(r) Gazette, March 23, 1819.

far and wide like a devouring flame. The cry with everyone now is, something must be done and done immediately" (s).

"Presentments.—The grand inquest of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, have presented, as a grievance, the great scarcity of specie in their immediate neighborhood, as well as in the country generally, by which means real as well as personal property is diminishing in value and labor and industry of every class in the community is reduced to such an alarming degree that the most resolute and enterprising hearts cannot under such growing and severe pressure feel easy and comfortable. This they attribute to the enormous and fearful balance of trade against our country originating from the great influx of foreign goods manufactured in foreign countries and imported into this and thereby causing the gold and silver which ought to be in circulation in the country to be shipped abroad therewith to purchase foreign fabrics. From a consideration of these and other circumstances they have

"Resolved, Unanimously, that the grand inquest of Allegheny County, aforesaid, individually pledge their words and their sacred honor that, for the time to come, they will neither purchase nor wear any woolen clothes nor any linen or cotton goods which shall have been manufactured by any foreign nation; and further, that the inquest as aforesaid recommend to their fellow-citizens throughout the county of Allegheny the adoption of similar resolutions" (t).

In January, 1819, wheat was worth \$1, corn and rye sixty-two cents. In December, 1819, wheat was quoted at seventy-five cents, rye at fifty and corn at forty-five. In March, 1820, wheat was worth only fifty cents, corn forty and rye forty-five. In 1821 prices reached the bottom. In May, 1821, the price of flour per barrel was \$1, whisky, per gallon, fifteen cents, good pine boards twenty cents per hundred, sheep and calves each \$1. It required a bushel and a half of wheat to buy a pound of coffee, a barrel of flour to buy a pound of tea, and twelve and a half barrels of flour to buy a yard of superfine broadcloth (u).

The Pittsburg Manufacturing Association, organized for commercial purposes in 1819, answered the expectation of its founders in affording facilities for the interchange of commodities—supplying raw materials to the mechanic and manufactured articles to the farmer and country merchant in exchange for produce. Beyond this it did not go. The Legislature of 1819-20 chartered the association, which greatly increased its facilities for benefiting the community. This association did not confine its operations to the handling of Pittsburg manufactures only, but kept for sale in its large warehouse the flour of distant mills, broadcloths of the Steubenville Woolen Factory, cotton goods not made here; in fact, a general warehouse where supplies of every description could be obtained. George Cochran of Richard was the first agent of the company at Pittsburg. Of the stock about \$4,000 had been paid in by April, 1819. A board of managers conducted the affairs of the institution. In 1820 more shares were subscribed and the paid-in fund still further increased. After 1824 ten per cent. dividends were declared annually during the life of the company. It is said that this company, after 1823, handled annually \$60,000 worth of Pittsburg manufactures. In 1826 John Hannen was president; Thomas Hazleton, James Marshall, Thomas Fairman, Alexander Miller, Jr., John Sheriff, John Spear, Benjamin Bakewell, James Arthurs, Jr., Thomas Liggett, managers; S. R. Johnson, secretary; Abner Updegraff, treasurer; George Cochran, agent.

It will thus be seen that commerce here flourished from 1792 to 1799; then seems to have languished until 1803, when it again improved until 1807, and

(s) A citizen in Gazette, August 27, 1819.

(t) Niles Register, December 1, 1821.

(u) Western Address Directory, 1837.

then again languished, with short periods of revival, until 1812, when it arose to an unexpected and extraordinary height. Everybody seemed to make money during this wonderful period. It was made with such ease that business men were led to speculate with an utter disregard of a return to normal conditions. As a matter of fact, commerce suffered a decline to the other extreme, until the year 1821 may be said to have witnessed the commercial death and annihilation of this community.



## CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCE CONTINUED—THE REVIVAL OF TRADE IN THE TWENTIES—STATISTICS SHOWING THE WONDERFUL ADVANCEMENT IN BUSINESS—THE EXPANSION OF TRADE INTO NEW FIELDS—THE IMMENSE TRAFFIC BY WAGONS—OPENING OF THE COAL TRADE—COMMERCE ON THE RIVERS—NEW COMMERCIAL RELATIONS CREATED BY THE CANAL—EFFECT ON TRADE RELATIONS CAUSED BY THE CANAL—THE BOARD OF TRADE AND THE MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE—THE PANIC OF 1837—SHIPMENTS ON THE CANAL—IMPEDIMENTS TO RIVER COMMERCE—ENTERPRISE OF THE MERCHANTS—MANY NEW BUSINESS VENTURES—EFFECTS OF THE MONONGAHELA IMPROVEMENTS ON COMMERCE—THE WONDERFUL STIMULUS GIVEN TO COMMERCE BY THE CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS—THE DISTRESS OF 1854—STATISTICS AND MISCELLANY, ETC.

The year 1823 witnessed a slight improvement in commerce over the dreadful depression which prevailed here in 1821.

In 1823 there were measured by Shott, Crawford & Liggett at Pittsburg 3,222,784 feet of boards and 15,000 feet of scantling. There were also handled here 650 tons of hay, 395 cords of wood, 570 cords of bark, 3,061 barrels of whisky, 149 barrels of oil and seventeen barrels of brandy (a). Business had begun to improve in some directions, and others were added on the following year.

"Pittsburg is full of bustle and business. The arrival and departure of steamboats takes place almost daily. Vast quantities of valuable products have been brought down the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers during the present season, and a few days since the American left Pittsburg for Brownsville, being the first steamboat that ever navigated the first named river" (b).

"Our rivers are now in fine navigable order. The recent rise of the waters has given renewed life and vigor to our commercial operations. Within a few days past property of various descriptions has been brought to this market exceeding at the lowest estimate half a million of dollars. The shores of the Allegheny River alone are covered with arks and flatboats, upward of a hundred in number, richly freighted for this market. Within the last week there have safely arrived by this channel, on a moderate calculation, 7,000 barrels of salt, 500 tons of bar-iron, 500 tons of pig metal, besides other articles of merchandise" (c).

In 1825 there were sent in one package from Kittanning 6,000 pounds of butter to New York via Lake Erie and the Erie Canal (d).

During the fiscal year ending April 1, 1826, there were inspected in Pittsburg 13,739 barrels of salt, valued at \$17,172, and 3,163,690 feet of boards were measured, besides a large quantity of shingles, scantling, lath, logs and hewn

(a) Cramer's Almanac, 1825.

(c) Niles Register, November 19, 1825.

(b) Niles Register, April 23, 1825.

(d) Mercury, March 28, 1825.

timber, all of which, including the boards, were worth \$22,818. The salt and lumber merchants of Pittsburg in these transactions realized a profit of \$11,500 (e).

During the year 1826 there were received at Pittsburg from the East 9,300 tons of merchandise, which were estimated to be worth at least \$150 per hundredweight; total nearly \$2,800,000. Good times had indeed set in for all classes. In 1827 there passed eastward from and through this place 12,000 boxes of glass and these shipments continued to grow. The following were the exports of Pittsburg for the year ending April 1, 1826:

Iron.....	\$398,000
Nails.....	210,000
Glass.....	105,000
Paper.....	55,000
Porter.....	18,000
Flour.....	10,500
Castings.....	88,000
Wire work.....	8,000
White lead.....	17,000
Steam engines.....	100,000
Tobacco and cigars.....	25,800
Bacon, 860,000 pounds.....	51,820
Cotton yarn and cloths.....	160,324
Axes, scythes, shovels, sickles, etc.....	49,000
Whisky, 4,200 barrels, at 22 cents per gallon.....	29,832
Dry goods exported to the North and West.....	480,000
Groceries and foreign liquors exported to North and West.....	625,000
Saddlery and other products of leather.....	236,000
Miscellaneous exports of beeswax, feathers, candles, soap, cordage, coal, country linen, cider, apples, etc.....	214,000
Total.....	\$2,881,276
Balance of trade in Pittsburg's favor, 1825-6 (e).....	662,276

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\$2,219,000

For the year 1825-6 (ending April 1st) the following goods were imported:

Merchandise of various kinds.....	\$1,332,000
Groceries and liquors.....	813,000
Drugs, stationery, etc.....	74,000

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Total.....\$2,219,000

Of the groceries \$339,000 worth were domestic, and of the merchandise \$425,000. Of the sales \$22,465 were of books and \$179,500 were at auction. There were sold of these imports during the same time totals as follows (f):

Merchandise of all kinds.....	\$932,000
Groceries and liquors.....	801,000
Drugs, stationery, etc.....	62,000

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Total.....\$1,795,000

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Leaving on hand ..... 424,000

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Total.....\$2,219,000

"Iron blooms and pig metal are included, but I think \$1,000,000 a very

(e) Pittsburg in 1826; Samuel Jones.

(f) Pittsburg in 1826; Samuel Jones.

moderate estimate for carriage alone. For some years back I have preferred getting cotton from Tennessee up the Ohio and sending it overland to Philadelphia and Baltimore. In the year 1821 I had some shipped via New Orleans. Cost of insurance two and a half per cent. from that eastward and \$1 a bale for shipping prevented me from sending any more that way. The average of what I have sent eastward for some years is from 300 to 400 bales. This year it has been somewhat less than former years. Of bacon and lard alone from 600 to 700 tons must go eastward this year. Ohio tobacco is a very considerable article; one house sent 1,400 hogsheads last year from Wheeling and this year there will be much more" (g).

	Tons.
Dry goods received from Philadelphia and for sale here...	1,250
Groceries received from Philadelphia and for sale here....	4,050
Shipped of Eastern goods by commission merchants.....	4,000
Sent eastward.....	5,300
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Total east and west.....	14,600
9,300 tons from eastward, carriage at \$50 per ton.....	\$465,000
5,300 tons sent eastward at \$25 per ton.....	132,500
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Total.....	\$597,500

"A great quantity of Ohio tobacco has been forwarded by this port for the Baltimore market, where it commands a higher price for exportation than any other offered. On Wednesday last, at the Monongahela wharf, we saw a keel-boat from Zanesville unloading fifty hogsheads of it averaging nearly 1,000 pounds each" (h).

"It is supposed that upward of \$500,000 worth of lumber has descended the Allegheny River this season" (i).

It was estimated that 50,000,000 feet of boards would come down the Allegheny River in the spring of 1828. Also shingles, square timber, sawlogs, tanbark, etc., to the value of \$100,000, all having an aggregate value of \$400,000 (j).

"Last year (1826) I bought in this place about 50,000 pounds of wool at all prices from eighteen cents to ninety-five cents per pound, amounting to nearly \$20,000. This wool was grown in Allegheny, Washington, Beaver and Fayette counties of this State, Brook and Ohio counties of Virginia, and Belmont County of Ohio. The amount paid to the different wool growers varied from \$5 to \$2,400, which was the largest sum paid to any one person for a single crop of wool, but there were many whose crops exceeded \$1,000" (k).

"About 2,600 persons with \$2,000,000 of capital are employed in the factories of Pittsburg. The Senate of Pennsylvania has passed a bill permitting the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to enter that State providing a branch shall be made to Pittsburg, and as it is important to Baltimore as well as Pittsburg that these cities should be 'joined together,' we hope and trust that such an act passed by Pennsylvania will be cheerfully accepted by the managers of this company. Pittsburg is, and must more and more become, the center of a vast and valuable business—the place of deposit for mighty quantities of the produce of the soil and industry of Western Pennsylvania and of the rich

(g) Pittsburg commission merchant to member of House of Representatives, January, 1827.

(h) Pittsburg paper, May 25, 1827.

(i) Kittanning Columbian, April, 1827.

(j) Warren Gazette, April, 1828.

(k) Abishai Way in Pennsylvania Democrat, July 25, 1827.

southeastern section of Ohio, and enjoys many other natural advantages. Pittsburg is, even now, supplying iron for the navy of the United States. We wish every success to the industry of her enterprising people and desire an extension of domestic competition" (l).

The reader must not suppose that the Pittsburg of 1812, or 1815, or 1826, or 1836 was a dull inland town of little commercial force or importance. It was full of sagacious, tireless business men who crowded every avenue which might lead to financial success. Commission merchants were as keen then as now, and produce brokers lost no opportunity to make money. The immense carrying trade was one of the greatest sources of local revenue.

In 1828 Allen & Grant advertised for sale 109 bales of cotton, 97 barrels of mackerel, 30 hogsheads and 20 barrels of New Orleans sugar, 20 barrels of molasses, 90 hogsheads of leaf tobacco, 20,000 pounds of pig lead and 4,000 pounds of bar lead. H. McShane advertised for sale 4,000 raccoon skins, 20 hogsheads of Kentucky leaf tobacco and 30 kegs of manufactured tobacco. Isaac Harris offered 50 barrels of mackerel, 100 hogsheads of sugar, 100 barrels of rye and apple whisky, 4,500 yards of flannel, linen, etc.; R. Lindell & Co., 2,000 muskrat skins, 2,000 raccoon skins, 50 bear skins, 30 bales of cotton; Riddle & Forsythe, 20,000 pounds of lead, 50 hogsheads of tobacco, 11 hogsheads of New Orleans sugar, etc.; A. Way & Co., 3,000 pounds of sole-leather; James H. Cresson & Co., 50 crates of Liverpool queensware; Thomas G. Gaylord, 600 crates of queensware; James H. Davis, 25,000 muskrat skins.

In the autumn of 1828 all prices had climbed to an unusual and agreeable height. The building of the canal gave an extraordinary growth to the commerce and population centering here. The canal contractors found in the early fall of 1828 that there were but 200 barrels of flour in stock here, whereupon they promptly bought it all, and the price immediately rose to \$8 a barrel, but in October went down to about \$5.

"Fifty-four boats measuring an aggregate of 7,705 tons have made 276 arrivals and 284 departures during the last year, and transported during the same time 34,350 tons, consisting principally of goods manufactured in Pittsburg and the neighborhood and not a few of the boats with their engines were built there and sold abroad, thus going to swell the amount of commerce" (m).

For the year ending December 23, 1829, there were gauged here 10,641 barrels of whisky, 922 barrels of molasses, 357 barrels of flaxseed oil, 96 barrels of apple brandy, 82 barrels of cherry bounce, 106 barrels of tar, 13 barrels of Seneca oil, and altogether 12,540 barrels of various other commodities. In that time the salt inspector branded 7,820 barrels.

Two merchants here each imported 1,200 to 1,500 crates of queensware in 1829. Immense quantities of merchandise were brought over the mountains and heavy cargoes of sugar, molasses, fish, cotton, rice, tin, flour, pork, whisky were brought up the river by the "Snag Marine Corps."

In March, 1830, the *Erie Gazette* stated that from ninety to one hundred flatboats would soon leave French Creek for Pittsburg, each loaded with an average of twenty-seven tons of hay, oats, potatoes, salt, staves, bark, shingles, lumber, etc., worth in Pittsburg \$500. If the number of boats were one hundred the value of the cargoes was \$50,000. These boats all started from the space of twenty-two miles on French Creek.

In 1833 flour was worth \$4.25 to \$4.50, but in February, 1834, had fallen to \$2.62½ when sold in large quantities. In December, 1833, a gentleman counted nearly one hundred boats loaded with coal on the Monongahela between this

(l) Niles Register, February 23, 1828

(m) Niles Register, July 26, 1828.



place and Brownsville. In April, 1834, wheat was worth 56 cents, rye 50, corn 40, barley 40, oats 28, new whisky 23, old 35 and brandy 62.

Auctioneering wholesale stocks was a practice which injured the regular trade of Pittsburg merchants. Large shipments of foreign goods were obtained and sold at low prices for cash, and new stocks obtained and the method repeated, thus enabling the commission merchant to repeat his sales several times to the regular merchant's once. In 1833 nearly \$2,000,000 worth of wool passed eastward through Pittsburg.

In October, 1834, there arrived in Pittsburg over the canal nearly 1,800 tons of merchandise and produce in two weeks. During the last two weeks of that month the freight sent away on the canal amounted to almost 5,000,000 pounds, being about 1,000 wagon-loads. The total canal tolls collected here for the year ending November 1, 1834, were \$16,704.99. The first week in November there were sent East over the canal nearly 900 tons of freight (u).

"The total value of coal annually shipped from the Monongahela and from the banks opposite Pittsburg may be estimated at about \$100,000, is rapidly increasing in amount and must continue to increase, as the use of coal is becoming more general below" (o).

In January and February, 1834, the financial pressure in Pittsburg was very severe. One large manufacturing establishment was in a dilemma, not knowing whether to try to operate half time or close the works entirely (p). In March, 1834, owing to the low stage of water in the rivers, there were lying at the wharf here unable to leave for the West, where it had been sold, about 1,000 tons of all kinds of merchandise, while the purchasers fretted and prayed for rain. At this time lumber sold here at \$4 per thousand feet.

"Two large covered boats have arrived at Pittsburg from Jamestown, New York, one of them laden with patent window-sashes, the other with patent wooden buckets and keelers, and an excellent market was found for each, 200 dozen of the sashes being bought by a merchant of Galena, at the lead mines on the Upper Mississippi, being in all 2,000 miles of water navigation when they arrive there. The owner of the buckets, etc., was equally successful, and both boats would return with full cargoes of window-glass, nails and paints, etc., the productions of the industry of Pittsburg! There is also a patent sash and a bucket factory at Fallstown, in Beaver County, Pennsylvania" (q).

"One mercantile house in our city sells upward of a thousand dozen of window-sash per annum, with a rapidly increasing demand" (r).

"In order to give an idea of the amount of business now done in Pittsburg, the following statement has been procured from correct sources" (s):

Books and papers sold yearly.....	\$ 450,000
Drugs, medicines, paints, etc.....	175,000
Hardware .....	400,000
White lead.....	150,000
Beer and porter.....	80,000
Lumber .....	350,000
Pork .....	300,000
Glass, green and cut.....	250,000
Sales of eight rolling-mills, nine foundries and seven engine factories.....	1,600,000
Cotton business .....	300,000
Building and finishing steamboats.....	300,000

(n) Gazette, November 3, 1834.

(p) Niles Register, February 8, 1834.

(r) Gazette, April, 1835.

(o) Gazette, December 1, 1834.

(q) Niles Register, May 2, 1835.

(s) Manufacturer, May, 1835.

Brush business.....	\$ 20,000
Copper and tin business.....	75,000
Grocers and liquor dealers.....	2,000,000
Wholesale and retail dry goods.....	2,800,000
Plows, wagons, shovels, etc.....	100,000
Coal.....	250,000
Furniture and leather.....	250,000
Total annual business.....	\$10,000,000

In June, 1835, salt became somewhat scarce and increased in price to \$2 per barrel. For several years previous to this it had languished and sold as low as \$1 per barrel of 280 pounds net, the barrel costing twenty-five cents and the freight twenty-five cents per barrel. In early years, when brought over the mountains on horseback, it had sold for \$12 to \$15 per bushel. In the thirties about 75,000 barrels passed through Pittsburg annually. It came here from the Conemaugh, Kiskeminetas, Kanawha, Monongahela, Onondaga, etc. (t).

Hard times were experienced here in the latter part of 1833 and all of 1834 and many merchants failed. The finances of the country were in a turmoil and the canal had transformed carriage facilities and created new trade relations. In 1835 trade revived and in 1836 was better than it had been before since 1830. In 1835 the canal company was obliged to put on double the number of boats daily eastward. From March 16, 1835, to June 22, 1835, inclusive, there were received from the East by canal 30,234,065 pounds of freight, and sent East by the same conveyance 16,653,429 pounds. Invariably before the canal opened in the spring large numbers of wagons competed for the conveyance of freight. So great had grown the trade with Philadelphia in the spring of 1835 that that conservative city at last fully awoke to the importance of retaining it. There is no doubt that the greater enterprise of the New Yorkers in building the Erie and the Ohio and Erie canals had wrested from Philadelphia the larger portion of the immense trade of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, etc. Had Pennsylvania early built its canal to Pittsburg, thence another to Lake Erie, it is reasonable to conclude that the immense trade of the Western country would have poured through Pittsburg into Philadelphia and Baltimore. The construction of railways has since to a large extent retrieved the error of that period. The pouring of the large trade of the Ohio and Erie Canal northward into Lake Erie, thence through the Erie Canal into New York, was for many years an eyesore to Pittsburg, and led to bitter feelings here against Philadelphia. Pittsburg had urged for years with all the energy in her power that Pennsylvania could and should secure this vast market of the West for the benefit of her tradesmen. The tardy action of Philadelphia was responsible for the diversion of much of this trade to New York.

During the week ending April 17, 1835, there were sent East over the canal, among other things, 3,126 barrels of flour, 1,222 half boxes of window-glass, 40,870 pounds of ginseng and 20,109 pounds of pearlash. From seventy to eighty canal-boats departed eastward daily. The business done here in the spring of 1835 in all departments of trade had never been exceeded. In one week nearly 1,100 tons arrived here on the canal and the crush was a sight to behold (v).

For three weeks before March 13, 1835 (before the canal had opened), it was estimated that seventy wagons arrived from Philadelphia and Baltimore

(t) "Old Merchant" Gazette, June 30, 1835.

(v) Numerous issues of the Mercury, Manufacturer, Gazette and other papers of 1835.

daily with merchandise, each carrying 4,500 pounds (w). The goods were stored in warehouses, where they were inspected and bought by Western merchants and shipped down the Ohio. From March 20 to July 1, 1835, there went east 22,785 barrels of flour, 5,189,534 pounds of bacon, 2,552,319 pounds of tobacco, 284,716 pounds of lard, 201,145 pounds of furs and peltry and large quantities of other commodities. On all these shipments it was estimated that \$30,000 was saved in freightage. The great increase in trade led to the formation, in 1836, of the first Board of Trade in Pittsburg. Among the first members were B. H. Fahnestock, T. W. Burbridge and T. B. Wainwright. The Board convened for the first time for the transaction of business on January 14, 1836, but was not chartered until April 3, 1837.

"The steamboat Moravian left Pittsburg a few days ago with the largest cargo ever carried from it. A large part of it consisted of pine boards, planed, tongued and grooved, which had been brought down the Allegheny River from the State of New York and were destined for the Illinois River, 1,600 miles off" (x).

From April 1 to October 1, 1836, there were exported eastward on the canal from Pittsburg 3,619,068 pounds of bacon, 210,455 pounds of lard, 39,578 barrels of flour, 49,875 pounds of feathers, 85,472 pounds of deerskins, 4,144,255 pounds of tobacco and 816,177 pounds of wool (y).

In 1836 there were shipped down the Ohio River bulk articles to the amount of 146,400 tons; and the steamboat tonnage for the same time reached 74,734 tons. The amount of lumber from the Allegheny River passing through the Pittsburg market in 1835 was 9,000,000 feet, and in 1836 was 7,028,814 feet. In 1834, 24,381 barrels of salt were inspected here; in 1835, 18,273 barrels, and in 1836, 17,460 barrels (z).

In the fall of 1836 the following commission merchants were doing business here: Allen & Grant, Lewis Hutchison & Co., Jacob Forsyth & Co., Butler & Crutcher, Hanna & Poindexter, Hutchison & Ledlie, Moses Atwood, John D. David, T. S. Clarke & Co., May & Andoe, McShane & Kellys.

In 1836, during the busy season in the spring, it required 250 drays and carts to do the necessary hauling. Constant employment was given to 100 teams of four, five and six horses at this time, also, in hauling coal from the mines and flatboats to the factories, ships, residences, etc. It was noticed that business had swelled to an almost incalculable amount (a). Philadelphia did not become a customer of Pittsburg for coal until a short time before 1836. Before that date large quantities had gone down the Ohio River. All that went East had to go via Pittsburg.

"There are not less than 100,000 barrels of flour in the towns upon the Ohio River, from Pittsburg to its mouth, waiting a clear river and a good stage of water, to be sent to market" (b).

FROM MIDDLE OF FEBRUARY TO APRIL 20, 1836.

	Boat Arrivals.	Boat Departures.
Louisville and Cincinnati.....	89	89
New Orleans.....	11	8
Wabash River.....	5	6
Nashville.....	7	10
St. Louis.....	18	34
Kanawha.....	1	0
Illinois.....	3	1

(w) Gazette, March 13, 1835.

(y) Western Address Directory, 1837.

(a) Gazette, many issues, 1836.

(x) Niles Register, April 16, 1835.

(z) Western Address Directory, 1837.

(b) Cincinnati Post, January 27, 1836.

	Boat Arrivals.	Boat Departures.
Independence, Mo. ....	1	3
Florence. ....	0	1
Galena. ....	0	2
Peoria. ....	0	1
Fort Smith or Coffee. ....	0	1
Marion (c). ....	0	1
Totals. ....	135	157

"The manufactures and mechanical products and sales of all kinds of goods, foreign and domestic, by all our manufactories, wholesale and retail, and commission merchants, may be estimated at from \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000. The value of every description of foreign and domestic goods received in transitu from the Eastern cities and passing through the hands of our commission merchants for all parts of the West and South may be estimated at between \$60,000,000 and \$70,000,000, and perhaps it will not exceed the truth to say that the whole of the goods manufactured or imported and sold in our city, or passes through or by, amounts to the enormous sum of about \$100,000,000. In this calculation two of our most extensive commission houses, who have been consulted, concur with the writer. Canal lines for the transportation of merchandise: Western Transportation Company, daily, lines 2; Western Dispatch Company, daily lines, 1; Ohio and Kentucky Company, daily lines, 2; Union Company, daily lines, 2; Pittsburgh Company, daily lines, 2; Pennsylvania and Ohio Company, daily lines, 2; People's Company, daily lines, 1; Reliance Company, daily lines, 2; total regular canal lines, 14. Canal daily passenger lines: Good Intent Company, 1; Pioneer Company, 1; Leech & Co., 1. Total passenger canal lines, 3. The following is a list of regular steamboat, freight and passenger lines: United States Mail Line, 1; Good Intent Company, 1; Ohio Pilots' Line, 1; St. Louis Line, 1; Louisville Passenger (to commence soon), 1; Line to Beaver, 1; Line to Wellsville, 1; total steamboat lines, 7" (d).

The panic of 1837 fell like death upon the commercial interests of Pittsburg. Many of the merchants had conducted a credit business with the Western country and could not collect a cent. This forced them to beg time of their creditors in the East. In February, 1837, it was estimated that there was due the local merchants in money which they could not collect \$10,000,000 (e). Money was very scarce and the pressure extremely severe, and worse times were coming. Manufacturers began to close down, merchants to collect and settle up, and all to meet the coming crisis. The Merchants' Exchange, which met in Irwin's building, could afford no relief; neither was the Board of Trade of any service to the distressed business men. When the pressure first came in January, 1837, the chaos in commercial circles began to be felt. In May cotton, which a short time before had sold here for seventeen cents a pound, was offered for eight cents. The Monongahela Navigation Company, on May 25, resolved to suspend operations for sixty days. All the banks suspended specie payments. Money became so scarce that prices of all kinds doubled or trebled in value, and Pittsburg, Allegheny and the boroughs passed ordinances authorizing the issue of shinplasters to relieve the situation. In the fall of 1837 trade here had revived somewhat. The retail grocery trade was good, and wholesale trade fair; iron, nails and glass trade was good; dry goods, hardware, shoes, bonnets, queensware, looking-glass trade fair. Money was still very scarce, but the Pittsburg merchants had weathered the storm better than almost any other

(c) Daily Advocate, April, 1836.

(d) "Old Merchant" in Gazette, November 10, 1836.

(e) Harris' Intelligencer, February, 1837.



Western city. The Upper Allegheny River trade was good, and immense quantities of pig-iron began to come down from Venango County. One man brought down by boat 700 patent buckets from Jamestown, New York (f).

In 1838 the Board of Trade was quite a pretentious body. They managed a reading-room in the Merchants' Exchange, on Fourth Street, where newspapers from all parts of the United States could be seen. The membership fee was \$5 per annum. It was this year that friction matches in large quantities began to fill the stores here. In February, 1838, large numbers of pheasants were offered for sale in the local markets. It was declared that their flesh was poisonous, as they fed on laurel. On March 3, 1838, there were lying at the wharf here thirty-eight steamboats, waiting for the opening of the rivers, and from the 10th to the 19th of March, inclusive, 107 steamboats arrived and departed. The great scarcity of money seriously hampered trade, and the sale of dry goods in packages interfered much with regular merchandising. During the week ending April 4, 1838, there were sold here 97,600 pounds of bacon, 11,000 barrels of flour, 430 barrels of ale and porter, 46,500 pounds scorched salt, 980 boxes of window glass, 24,000 pigs of lead, 27,000 pounds of castings, etc. Wheat stood at \$1 per bushel. There were cleared at the Allegheny Canal office eastward from March 27 to May 5, 1838, products as follows:

Flour.....	43,650 barrels.
Wheat.....	7,324 bushels.
Bacon.....	2,890,229 pounds.
Tobacco.....	1,024,061 pounds.
Hemp.....	431,672 pounds.
Cotton.....	410,495 pounds.
Wool....	129,747 pounds.

In 1838 the Allegheny River trade was very brisk, with three steamers, which usually towed keel and other boats, and carried both passengers and freight. In fact the trade on this river in 1838 nearly doubled that of any previous year, and immense quantities of lumber came down; the common worth \$7, clear \$14, pine boards.

"In conversation with an extensive lumber dealer from Warren, who has been long engaged in the trade and has a general knowledge of the business, he stated as his opinion that of boards and planks there came annually down the Allegheny River upwards of 100,000,000 feet, exclusive of immense quantities of pine and oak logs, joists, scantling, shingles, lath, etc." (g).

"Several of our wholesale hardware and queensware merchants import their goods direct from the British manufactories, via New Orleans and the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, or via Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York and the Pennsylvania Canal. One of our wholesale merchants left Pittsburg about three months since, visited the British manufactories, bought an extensive supply of hardware and arrived with his goods a few days since. All our wholesale dry goods, hardware, grocery, queensware, shoe, bonnet, looking-glass and other stores and our manufacturing establishments are actively preparing for an early fall business, and it is pleasing to witness the return of activity after the dullness of the summer season" (h).

In September, 1838, occurred a large sale of Durham cattle on the stock farm of Mr. Denny, near Pittsburg. Over forty cattle, some with pedigrees as long as the moral law, were sold at auction.

"The wharves present at this moment one of the most animated and animat-

(f) Gazette, 1837.

(g) Harris' Intelligencer, July, 1838.

(h) Harris' Intelligencer, August, 1838.

ing scenes we have witnessed in a long period of time. Twenty steamboats lie at the landing taking in cargo for Louisville, St. Louis, Nashville, New Orleans and 'intermediate ports,' as the phrase goes. The whole of our broad levee, from the bridge to Ferry Street, is closely dotted with drays and wagons, hurrying to the margin of the river from every point of access, burdened with the valuable products of our factories or with Eastern goods. Some half dozen of the steamers are puff-puff-puffing away ready to start. The margin of the wharf is absolutely covered to the height of a man with freight in all its varieties; higher up on the streets and footwalks, the fronts of the great forwarding houses are blocked up by piles of boxes, bales and barrels, in beautiful disorder. Shippers, porters, draymen and steamboat clerks blend their hurried voices at once; one is actually deafened with their cheerful din and rush of business. Verily the scene is a pleasant one—to all for whom business has a charm. Our sanctum is a marvelously dull and weary place after a visit to the river. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of our manufactures from the fact that the larger iron houses have 800, some 1,000, some as high as 1,200 tons each of iron and nails, ready for shipment to the West. A few days, however, will rid us of the surplus which has accumulated so largely only in consequence of the protracted suspension of steamboat navigation" (i).

"At noon to-day we counted eleven steamboats engaged in taking cargoes. The Philadelphia has bills up for departure this afternoon. The others will go to-morrow or next day. Nine other boats lie at the wharf ready to commence taking in freight as some of the eleven depart. Other boats may be soon expected from below and above, so that all the merchandise now here will soon be shipped. We have not for a long time seen our business men look so cheerful and busy" (j).

Two large New Orleans boats arrived at Pittsburg in one week in November, 1838, loaded with 500 bushels of potatoes, 8,000 pounds of cheese, window-sash, patent buckets, tubs, keelers, etc., all finding a ready sale to the enterprising owners (k). Wholesaling was lively in November, 1838, principally in dry goods, groceries, hardware, queensware and particularly in boots and shoes, which special branch showed a marked increase over previous years. Iron and nails were on the rise (l). In consequence of the very low stage of water in the Ohio River in the summer of 1838 freight rates between Pittsburg and Cincinnati advanced to \$1 per hundred and cabin passenger rates to \$8 (m).

"The number of boats cleared from Pittsburg eastward since the opening of canal navigation at Pittsburg on March 25th last to the morning of May 9th is 716, loaded with the products of the West, viz.: Flour, bacon, lard, tobacco, hemp, furs, skins, wool, feathers, wheat, corn, iron, nails, castings, Pittsburg manufactures, stone, coal, etc., the tonnage amounting to 19,139,259 pounds and tolls amounting to \$14,028.26. The number of boats that have arrived from Johnstown and intermediate ports in the same time is 713, loaded with foreign and domestic goods, viz.: Dry goods, hardware, queensware, groceries, liquors, drugs, marble, burr-blocks, blooms, castings, salt, etc., the tonnage amounting to 30,166,173 pounds. There are ninety-six boats regularly registered plying on the canal from Pittsburg to Johnstown and back, and about twenty-five transient boats, making in the whole on the Western division about 121 boats. Each boat on an average is manned by a captain, two steersmen, a cook and two drivers, making on the whole number of boats 847 persons. The following regular lines are comprised in the above list and ply daily between Pittsburg and Johnstown.

(i) Advocate, November 8, 1838.

(j) Gazette, November 7, 1838.

(k) Harris' Intelligencer, November 16, 1838.

(l) Harris' Intelligencer, November 16, 1838.

(m) Cincinnati Republican, August 2, 1838.

viz.: Pennsylvania Packet Boat Company; Express Packet Line; Pioneer Packet Line, Little, Linford & Hays, agents; Western Transportation Company, same agents; Union Transportation Company, H. & P. Graff, agents; Bingham's Transportation Company, William Bingham, agent; Pilot Transportation Company, James Paul, agent; James O'Connor & Co.'s Patent Portable Car Body Line, Taaffee & O'Connor, agents; Pennsylvania and Ohio Line, McDowell & Co., agents; Mechanics' Line, Samuel M. Kier, agent; Despatch Line, J. C. Reynolds, agent; Reliance Freight Line, John McFaden, agent; Hollidaysburg Line, J. C. Rea, agent. Judging from all the facts in my possession the business on the Western division of the Pennsylvania Canal has so far this spring increased fully twenty-five per cent, and will doubtless continue in the same ratio" (n).

"The New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore markets are now well provided with supplies of fresh spring goods, the stocks of which are daily improving. Pittsburg will have in a very few days a large and excellent assortment of all kinds to meet the spring demand. One gentleman who keeps a wholesale variety store in Wood Street has received from Philadelphia, via Chambersburg, by the railroad and wagons, thirty packages in about twelve days, and our wholesale merchants generally are getting on goods by this conveyance; so that we will soon have a good supply in market" (o).

During the winter of 1838-9 there were fifty-five steamboats laid up here; but all went out before March 1, 1839. Forty steamboats were here at once on February 28, 1839, and thirty of them were discharging cargoes, or getting ready, and two were idle, and one was in the floating dock repairing, and eight were new boats which had never turned a wheel. All except one lay below the Monongahela River bridge. From February 12th to 28th inclusive there were 102 arrivals and 94 departures of steamboats. During the same time eight keel-boats and twenty-two flatboats from the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny rivers unloaded here (p). Ready-made clothing was no doubt kept for sale in limited lines and quantities almost from the start, but it remained for the canal era to develop exclusively ready-made clothing houses here. A. Phillips & Co.'s was one of the first establishments. Their factory was in Philadelphia. There arrived here on April 2, 1839, the steamboat Maine from the Illinois River, with 170 casks of bacon for shipment over the canal.

"This parcel of bacon is but part of 1,000 hogsheads put up at the same place, designed for the Philadelphia market by the same route. This is the first instance known to us of a large shipment of the produce of that part of Illinois being diverted from the New Orleans route, hitherto its accustomed channel. The cost of transportation from Beardstown to Pittsburg is no more than it would have cost to New Orleans—say 50 cents per 100 pounds. The cost hence to Philadelphia will be 87 cents per hundred pounds" (q).

In January, 1839, bacon was quoted at 10½ cents a pound; hogs at \$7 per hundred; flour at \$6.12 per barrel; beef cattle at \$7 per hundred; wheat, \$1.20; oats, 56 cents; barley, \$1; butter, 18 to 20 cents; whisky, 48 cents. In the spring of 1839 six steamboats ran up the Monongahela, three arriving and three departing daily. James May was secretary of the Board of Trade Association in the spring of 1839. During the week ending April 4, 1839, Pittsburg merchants bought 268,000 pounds of bacon (r).

"Manifest of cargo on board steamboat Corvette, John Hogarty, master, from

(n) Report of Absalom Morris, supervisor western division Pennsylvania canal, to W. J. Wheaton, surgeon U. S. A., president of the Medical Board which met at Pittsburg spring 1839, to decide on the most suitable place for the location of a national Marine Hospital.

(o) Harris' Intelligencer, February 9, 1839. (p) Harris' Intelligencer, March 2, 1839.

(q) Advocate, April 3, 1839.

(r) Daily Advocate, April 4, 1839.



Cincinnati, March 27, 1839: To J. Painter & Co., 131,504 pounds pig-metal; J. Wilkinson, 24 boxes candles; Irvin & Robinson, 20 boxes of soap; Hutchison & Ledlie, 325 hogsheads bacon; J. Butler, 30 boxes of soap; James Ward, 2 casks of bacon; William Johnson, 57 casks bacon" (s).

"Corn.—Large quantities of this article continue to arrive from the Ohio, the Wabash and even from Peoria, Illinois. The Embassy, which arrived here yesterday, brought 1,600 bushels from the Wabash. A gentleman here said yesterday: 'The quantity of boards and plank that has already arrived and stopped, or been taken past this city for the lower markets, already exceeds 25,000,000 feet, besides large rafts of logs, scantling, shingles, etc. The lumber trade of this noble river annually exceeds 50,000,000 feet of boards and plank, and enough other timber to reach the value of \$1,000,000 annually. Owing to the drouth last fall the usual quantity was not sawed, and the price has advanced about 33 per cent. One extensive concern in this city bought and dried near 2,000,000 feet up the Allegheny and brought it down this spring" (t).

On June 22, 1839, there were in port here on both rivers fifty-six steamboats, "the largest number," said the *Intelligencer*, "ever seen here at one time," and besides these there were a large number of keel and flat boats, arks, rafts of lumber, etc. (u). By the spring of 1839 trade with the Wabash River had greatly increased, though previously it had been almost wholly controlled by Louisville and Cincinnati. In 1839, for the first time in noticeable quantities, goods were sent to Iowa Territory, to Santa Fé and other remote Western parts; in fact, it was a common sight to see Santa Fé traders on the streets of Pittsburg.

"We have had a great season of business—nothing before like it, and every indication is that after a partial suspension of a few weeks everything will go forward again with renewed energy. Our manufacturers of all kinds are pushing on with great activity to renew their exhausted stocks in time for the fall business. Among our artisans there are no dull times" (v).

The faith which Pittsburg had for so many years of commercial prosperity placed in the Ohio River was severely disturbed by the terrible drouth of 1838. The river sank so low that only keel-boats could run upon it for several months, thus limiting to a marked degree and to inadequate means the immense trade which was the sustenance of this hungry commercial center.

"The difficulties and disappointments thus produced excited general attention to the matter, and the noble Ohio was stripped of all the honors which twenty years of faithful service had earned, and the project of a canal along its bank even to Cincinnati was seriously discussed in some quarters. . . . The Ohio has now been navigable without interruption for almost five months, and during that time from 600 to 900 steamboats, with their various cargoes, have arrived here from the most distant ports—from the Falls of St. Anthony on the north, New Orleans on the south, Peoria on the Illinois, Delphi at the head of the Wabash, and various other widely separated rivers and towns. As many, or probably more, have departed freighted with the products of our own and foreign countries to supply the wants of the rapidly increasing millions of our fellow citizens between our city, the Rocky Mountains on the west, British possessions on the north and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. This much has the Ohio already done for us this season, and it is uncertain how much longer it may continue to serve us. The two seasons together, one of drouth, the other of a good stage of water, are calculated to attract public attention to the importance of improving the channel of the river" (w).

"Sperm Oil.—The Pittsburg *Intelligencer* estimates the quantity of sperm oil

(s) Gazette, April 5, 1839.

(t) Harris' *Intelligencer*, April 12, 1839.

(u) Harris' *Intelligencer*, June 22, 1839.

(v) Daily Advocate, July 11, 1839.

(w) Gazette, July 1, 1839.



sold annually in Pittsburg to be from 500 to 600 casks each, amounting to about \$100,000" (x).

"Silks.—Harris' *Pittsburg Intelligencer* states that one of the stores in that city will in a short time be supplied with domestic manufactured silk goods for the accommodation of the public (y).

"Among the arrivals yesterday was the *Paris* from Beardstown, Illinois, having on board, among other articles, seventy-five tons of bacon, to be sent eastward by the canal; also, the *Detroit*, from the Missouri River, with 2,200 bags of corn" (z).

In 1839 Peoria, Ill., and vicinity began to rival Pittsburg in the production of coal for Western use. Kingsland & Lightner opened up the trade of that locality in 1839. Previously, coal from Pittsburg, used in St. Louis, cost 50 cents per bushel, but soon good coal could be taken there from Peoria at a cost of 15 cents a bushel. The establishment of Kingsland & Lightner in St. Louis alone consumed 10,000 bushels annually.

During the year 1839 there arrived here 652 steamboats, and departed 662 steamboats; arrived 336 keel-boats and departed 335 keel-boats; arrived 359 flat-boats and departed 358 flatboats; tons imported by them, 63,943½; tons exported, 84,915.

During the month of March, 1840, there arrived in Pittsburg 175 steamboats; and from the 1st to the 17th of April, 102. In May, on one occasion, more than forty canal-boats stood at the wharves taking on loads of flour, tobacco, bacon, etc., destined for Philadelphia and Baltimore. The iron steamboat *Valley Forge* left Pittsburg May 26 for Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis and St. Anthony's Falls.

"The number of boats cleared since the opening of navigation (on March 16th) to the 30th of June, inclusive, is 1,109, and the amount of tonnage since October 31st is 44,853,318 pounds and the tolls \$28,066.96. The amount of tonnage here since the opening of navigation is 19,676,983 pounds. There are about 120 boats plying on this division of the canal. The regular lines are as follows: Pennsylvania Packet Company, Western Transportation Company, Union do., Bingham's do., Patent Portable Car Body Line, Mechanics' Line, Dispatch do., Reliance do., Hollidaysburg do., North American do., C. W. Caldwell, agent; Baltimore, Pittsburg and United States Line, H. Devin, agent; Pennsylvania and Ohio Line, McDowell & Co., agents" (a).

"We present this week the aggregate of the business on the Pennsylvania Canal arriving at and departing from the port of Pittsburg for about four months, viz.: From the 16th of March, the time the canal opened, to the 14th of July (some only reporting to the 1st of July), furnished by the different canal transportation companies to John B. Bakewell, Wilson McCandless and Hilary Brunot, a committee of councils, and William Ingham, collector, for the use of the board for selecting a site for the marine hospital for the United States on the Upper Ohio River:

Flour.....	106,171 barrels.
Whisky.....	1,032 barrels.
Window and other glass.....	33,431 boxes.
Dried apples.....	1,500 bushels.
Wheat.....	86,616 bushels.
Coal.....	17,867 bushels.
Tobacco in hogsheads.....	513,435 pounds.

(x) *Cleveland Herald*, October, 1839.

(y) *Niles National Register*, November 23, 1839.

(z) *Gazette*, April 24, 1839.

(a) Report of William Ingham, canal collector, July 9, 1840.

Bacon in hogsheads.....	9,812,431 pounds.
Mess pork.....	6,138,300 pounds.
Cotton in bales.....	377,719 pounds.
Lard in kegs.....	1,474,610 pounds.
Butter in barrels.....	38,568 pounds.
Buffalo robes and deerskins in bales.....	287,334 pounds.
Wool in sacks.....	203,356 pounds.
Feathers in sacks.....	44,537 pounds.
Hemp bales.....	45,049 pounds.
Ginseng sacks.....	92,240 pounds.
Rags.....	55,741 pounds.
Sole leather.....	12,411 pounds.
Venison.....	4,340 pounds.
Castings.....	15,130 pounds.
Dry goods, groceries, hardware and other miscellaneous.....	4,591,911 pounds. (b)

In 1840 there arrived here 1,393 steamboats and departed 1,413 steamboats; keel-boats arrived with merchandise, 385; flatboats arrived with merchandise, 377; flatboats arrived with coal, brick, sand, etc., 913.

In January, 1841, Thomas Bakewell was elected president of the Board of Trade; Lewis Peterson and John D. Davis, vice-presidents; Josiah King, secretary; James Marshall, treasurer. In January, 1841, navigation opened on the rivers, and in a few days 350 tons of iron and nails were sent out (c). In April, 1841, it was noted that a parcel of tobacco from Maysville, Ky., was carried by boat to Pittsburg for 20 cents per hundredweight, and thence taken by wagon to Baltimore for 85 cents per hundredweight. This was considered very low.

"The Susquehanna Railroad has proved itself a most efficient and important medium of transportation between Baltimore and Pittsburg. We learn from the *Commercial Journal* that the five transportation lines whose operations are conducted on this road and the Pennsylvania works have conveyed the following amount of merchandise and produce from the 16th of March to the 1st instant: From Baltimore, 1,274,317 pounds; from Pittsburg, 1,922,765 pounds" (d).

In the spring of 1841 the trade to Lake Erie via the Crosscut Canal was beginning to attract attention; also to Bucyrus, Akron, Cleveland and other points in Ohio.

"The Valley Forge.—This iron steamer is now doing a good business and we have in our office her last two manifests from Pittsburg to Nashville and back again. She was loaded for Nashville and intermediate ports with a list of near two thousand packages, 139 consignees, 27 cabin and 93 way passengers, and her manifest is ten feet long—a pretty good length, we think, for one steamer. Her return cargo was 323 bales of cotton, 49 hogsheads of tobacco, six kegs and two boxes of specie, 17 packages sundries, 15 tons way freight, 81 cabin and 40 deck passengers and ten consignees" (e).

"Our freight lines are now forwarding Western produce to Baltimore and Philadelphia—for bacon, pork, butter, lard, tobacco, etc., 62½ cents per 100 pounds; cotton, 56½ cents per 100 pounds, and flour, \$1.25 per barrel" (f).

"Within a few years the transportation of freight and passengers between this city and Beaver has assumed a great degree of importance. A few years ago the business was done by a keelboat or two, which made occasional trips. Then

(b) Harris' Intelligencer, July, 1840.

(c) Harris' Intelligencer, January 15, 1841.

(d) Niles National Register, May 22, 1841.

(e) Harris' Intelligencer, April 20, 1841.

(f) Harris' Intelligencer, April 30, 1841.

a steamboat ventured into the trade, but for some time met with indifferent success. Now, however, two steamboats, the *Cleveland* and *Fallston*, leave our wharf daily with heavily freighted keel and canal boats in tow, and generally with a goodly number of passengers. In the last two months about 2,000 tons of freight have been carried by these boats, consisting of produce from Ohio and the counties of Mercer, Beaver and Erie, seeking a market through the Crosscut and the Pennsylvania canals, and of goods for those regions bought with their products. The immediate trade between Pittsburg and Beaver, of course, greatly adds to the amount of business. The *Cleveland* and *Fallston* (which we may here remark, and we speak from personal knowledge, are commanded by obliging and efficient officers) connect with separate lines of canal boats on the Beaver Division, and freight and passengers are sent forward with the least possible delay" (g).

The question of improving the navigation of the Allegheny River by slack-water works as far up as Franklin and thence of constructing a canal to Lake Erie was discussed with great seriousness in 1841. The immense—almost overwhelming—trade that poured through Ohio to Lake Erie set the thoughts and wits of the citizens of Pittsburg at work. What a wonderful advantage it would be for Pittsburg could the bulk of the trade be diverted through this city to Baltimore and Philadelphia, was the prevailing thought. Unexpected forces and conditions were already at work to settle the question.

"Package and freight boats arrive regularly on the Pennsylvania Canal with 20 to 25 tons each, Eastern goods, on the freight boats, and it will be seen that the business on the Crosscut to Cleveland is good for the season. Our rivers are all as low as they have been for forty years, yet keel-boats arrive and depart daily. Freight to Maysville and Cincinnati is at \$1.12½ and Louisville \$1.25, with an upward tendency. We have been sadly disappointed by the long dry and warm weather, but on consulting among our oldest merchants and steamboat captains they all concur in the opinion that the equinoctial storms will open navigation" (i).

"The coal trade of Pittsburg and the immediate vicinity is very large and amounts in the course of a year to a million or near a million of dollars, and is every year increasing with the population and the great Western demand. In Harris' Directory of 1837 it was estimated at 11,324,000 bushels, at 5 cents, worth \$565,200. A few days ago we went on the Minersville Turnpike and were astonished to see the very large number of carts, two, three, four and six horse teams constantly going and coming on that road alone; and this is only one of the many roads adjoining, as well as boats engaged in supplying our cities and manufactories. On consulting John Herron we were informed that about two hundred loads daily pass on the Minersville Turnpike. This gives employment to a great many poor and industrious men, who, with their carts or wagons, go out twice or thrice a day, purchase the coal at the pits for 3½ cents, pay the cash down, haul it to the city and sell in loads, from 18 to 84 bushels each, at 5½ to 6½ cents a bushel or from \$1.12½ to \$5.00 a load, thus giving all classes a chance for constant supply at a fair price" (j).

It was specially noted in March, 1842, that many traders from Santa Fé and other points in the far West were in Pittsburg to buy supplies. Messrs. Otero, Armego and Perea, from Santa Fé, bought here forty large packages of harness for 172 mules and 26 large wagons suitable for Western roads and trade. They spent here about \$5,000 in gold. The goods were shipped by steamboat to Fort Independence, and thence across the wild prairie to their destination.

(g) *Mercury and Democrat*, June 9, 1841.

(i) *Pittsburg Intelligencer*, September 10, 1841.

(j) *Pittsburg Intelligencer*, January 5, 1842.

From the fact that these traders had inspected the markets of New York and other cities, and had finally made their purchases in Pittsburg, it was inferred that this city could more than compete with the East for the far Western trade. The harness was purchased of R. A. Hartley and the wagons of Cyrus Townsend & Co. This was but one of many such purchases (k).

"The trade and commerce of this city with Santa Fé, Chihuahua and the leading towns of Mexico are gradually increasing. Six-horse wagons are constructed in Pittsburg, loaded with assorted goods from New York and Philadelphia, transported to Independence in Missouri, and then driven across the country to Mexico, where they are sold and paid for in specie or the best funds" (h).

"Santa Fé Traders.—The following gentlemen arrived Saturday on the North Carolina for the purpose of procuring Pittsburg manufactures for the Santa Fé trade: Messrs. John C. Armigo, Nesta Armigo, Joseph Golreis, Mitteana Edriscio, Micatante Otaro, Lantrange Floris, Ambrose Armigo, Francis Chacis, Jaachim Parah and Philip Chacis" (o).

"Eleven Santa Fé wagons, made by Cyrus Townsend, started yesterday from Pittsburg. They had been ordered for the Santa Fé trade" (p).

## COMPARATIVE TABLE.

	April 4, 1839.	July 13, 1842.
Bacon, assorted.....	9½ to 10 cents	2 to 2½ cents.
Lard.....	10 cents	4 to 4½ cents.
Butter, keg.....	16 cents	5 to 6 cents.
Butter, roll.....	22 cents	6 to 7 cents.
Oats.....	62½ cents	20 cents.
Blooms.....	\$100.....	\$50.
Pig-iron.....	\$ 42 .....	\$20.
Lead.....	6 cents .....	3 cents.
Whisky.....	43 to 45 .....	13 to 15 cents.
Molasses.....	46 .....	26 cents.
Salt.....	\$ 2.12 .....	\$1.00.
Clover seed.....	11.50 to \$12.00 ..	4.00 to \$4.50.
Dried peaches.....	2.50 to 4.00 ..	1.75.

"Tobacco.—9,303,766 pounds of tobacco have been shipped at Pittsburg through the Pennsylvania Canal this season up to the 30th of June, being one-third more than to the same period last season" (m).

"Between Saturday morning and Sunday evening at 5 o'clock there were twenty-seven arrivals and thirteen departures of steamboats, all freighted, and many of them with remarkably large cargoes. We were curious to add up the imports of molasses and sugar alone during the thirty-six hours ending at 4 o'clock yesterday, and found them 5,002 barrels molasses and 769 hogsheads of sugar, all designed for sale in our market. Forty-two steamboats lay at our wharves yesterday afternoon, eleven of them new and in greater or less degree unfinished. Those who enjoy a peep of busy life may be eminently gratified this morning by a stroll on our wharves. Thirty steamers, that were yesterday as still as churches, will have begun with the dawn to pour out their multifarious masses of pork and pig-metal, bacon and tobacco, molasses and lead or corn, or to take in their mountains of iron, nails, glass, plows and wagons; and there will be such a stirring and animating panorama, such a tempest of excited and noisy draymen, such a din of discordant sounds, as will satisfy the most hardened lover of busy scenes" (n).

(k) Chronicle, March, 1842.

(h) Pittsburg Intelligencer, July, 1841.

(o) Commercial Journal, April 6, 1846.

(p) Commercial Journal, April 29, 1846.

(m) Niles National Register, July 29, 1843.

(n) Commercial Journal, March 9, 1846.

"A day or two since we spoke of the immense number of wagons and other vehicles constructed in Pittsburg to fill orders from Santa Fé. Mr. Townsend himself has filled orders to the amount of \$26,000 for that place this spring. He has just made for the Governor of New Mexico, Santa Fé, one of the most beautiful specimens of carriage we have ever seen. Its cost is \$1,000. Mr. Hartley of Wood Street has, during the present season, furnished harness for 320 mules for the same destination. During the last fifteen years the Santa Fé merchants and traders have ordered their wagons, harness, etc., from this city" (s).

The following were the clearances on the canal for the years mentioned:

	Flour, barrels.	Bacon, pounds.
1840 .....	144,942	7,165,807
1841 .....	101,192	9,587,032
1842 .....	113,976	13,284,716
1843 .....	130,780	23,004,722
1844 .....	110,355	19,105,845
1845 .....	82,033	15,155,338

In 1841 the tonnage of dry goods, groceries, drugs and dyestuffs, oils, foreign liquors, fur and peltry, window-glass and whisky on the canal amounted to 15,005; but in 1845, on the same articles, fell to 12,378. In 1842 high rates of toll on many articles were reduced, and in subsequent years further reductions were made. In 1842 the tonnage of hardware, queensware, fish, German clay, coffee, copper, tin and hemp was 4,257; but in 1845, on the same commodities, reached 16,819. In 1844 the tonnage of hardware, coffee, fish, tin, copper, tar and rosin was 10,527, and in 1845, 13,504. A reduction in toll was made in 1845 over that of 1844. The most remarkable difference was noticed in the tonnage of certain other articles of commerce. In 1844 the tonnage of dry goods, drugs and medicines, muslins, foreign liquors, hides and furs and peltries was 16,223, but the following year, on the same articles, it fell to 12,242. The year 1845 was one of unusual prosperity, in spite of this showing (q).

The following table shows the quantity of wool, in pounds, sent East on the canal previous to June 15 of each year, the price varying from 18 to 22 cents per pound:

1840 .....	143,205	1843 .....	180,620	1845 .....	327,232
1841 .....	78,325	1844 .....	407,029	1846 .....	327,464
1842 .....	90,923				

"The importance of the Allegheny River trade is now strikingly evident. From the Hand Street bridge to the Point, the whole wharf on that river is covered with pig-metal, railroad iron, lumber, staves, other productions of wood in the rough, hay, etc., all of which has lately arrived from up the river. The steamboats which arrive and depart daily are loaded on their upward trips with merchandise and Pittsburg manufactures, and crowded with passengers" (r).

A large public meeting was held November 12, 1846, to organize a Merchants' Exchange, the old one having died several years before. J. H. Shoenberger was chosen chairman of the meeting, and J. McFadden and W. R. Murphy secretaries. Thomas Bakewell, Joshua Hanna, William Larimer, Jr., Morgan Robertson and Jesse Carothers were appointed a committee on resolutions. It was resolved that the wants of the community demanded the construction of a building for a mercantile exchange, that a joint stock company should

(s) Commercial Journal, May 5, 1846.

(q) Gazette, February 2, 1846.

(r) Gazette, April 3, 1846.



be formed; and a committee of two to each ward was appointed to solicit subscriptions.

During 1847 there were measured in the city 21,192,252 feet of lumber. The Allegheny wharfage amounted to \$2,320.16, and the Monongahela wharfage to \$15,527.85. There were gauged 11,681 barrels of molasses, 6,929 barrels of whisky and 1,765 barrels of oil.

There passed through Pittsburg, in August, 1847, wool to the amount of 500 tons, in one lot, consigned to Bingham & Co. of Philadelphia. It was the largest single lot ever received in the Quaker City up to that date.

"Since the 1st of August, 614 coalboats have left Pittsburg, averaging 600 bushels of coal each—in all 3,684,000 bushels, worth at our wharf \$110,520" (t).

During 1847 there arrived at the Monongahela wharf 171 flats and flatboats, 593 keel and canal boats, 1,019 full priced steamers and 2,159 fractional priced steamers that arrived oftener than once a week.

In March, 1848, the Orinoco Steam Navigation Company of South America ordered in Pittsburg two steamers, the largest of 400 tons burden.

Up to 1816 pig-iron sold in Pittsburg at \$60 per ton, wheat \$1.50 per bushel, and labor was worth \$20 per month. In 1820-21 pig-iron sold at \$20, wheat 25 cents, and labor was worth \$6 per month. In 1836 pig-iron was \$55 to \$60, but in 1842 fell to \$17.50 to \$18. Wheat fell from \$1.50 to 40 cents a bushel, and labor fell from high rates at cash to little or nothing. From 1842 to 1846 seventy-five new furnaces were erected in Western Pennsylvania, but from 1846 to 1849 only three new furnaces were built. From 1845 to 1847 pig-iron sold here at \$32 to \$37, and in August, 1849, was only \$20 (u).

In January, 1848, the Board of Trade had a total membership of 217, a gain of 64 over the previous year. The receipts for 1847 were \$1,018.75; balance on hand, \$755. Thomas Bakewell was reelected president. At this time the board was stronger than ever before, and a building for its exclusive use was talked of.

The Allegheny River wharfage for 1849 was \$2,746.02. The amount of lumber received was 15,916,839 feet; the amount of iron, etc., 10,213 tons; shingles and lath, 6,031,000 feet; staves and hoop-poles, 230,000 feet; steamboats cleared, 154; common flats, 1,300; flatboats, 477; keel and canal boats, 226.

"The past season has been the most trying and severe upon all classes of our business men that has ever been known. The panic of 1832-33, and the commercial revulsions of 1836-37 and 1841-42, although greatly more fruitful of disaster in the crushing of business establishments and business men, were infinitely less injurious to our mercantile and manufacturing interests than the quieter but searching and exhausting difficulties of the period embracing the past spring, summer and the first month of autumn. The wonder is that there has been so little breaking up of large houses—indeed, there has been none, and that circumstance is highly honorable to the punctuality and integrity of our business men, as it is creditable to their reputation as substantial, stable and responsible dealers. First, while our rivers were in fine navigable condition, our large packet steamers plying and our transient boats running everywhere, they were overtaken by the influence of the cholera panic—the pestilence raging then at the Southwest, at St. Louis and Cincinnati with fearful violence. The alarm flew, and, almost as if by magic, travel was banished from the rivers, and our boats, from absolute want of employment, one by one dropped in home and were laid up. The river trade was then suspended out of season, and the great source of demand for our manufactures was shut off. Then, designing

(t) Commercial Journal, December 8, 1847.

(u) Commercial Journal, 1849.

demagogues having excited false fears about our city and county scrip, which was our chief circulating medium, filling the channels of business; and having denounced it as worthless, illegal and likely to be repudiated, down it went; and the sudden discredit which overtook it left our business men *minus the great part of their active cash capital*, and business got another stunning blow in the want of circulation. This was distress upon distress. There appeared to be no money at all. But did the mischief stop there? The cry then arose that cholera was in our midst, and it soon appeared that we had sporadic cases of the pestilence, yet enough to create a panic. If business were at a standstill before, this made the prostration complete. So wore on the summer. When cholera disappeared and men were disposed to engage in active pursuits and push their business enterprises to returns of profit, we found ourselves shut in, cut off from market. The Ohio River, lower than it had been for twenty years, was *shut up*—cutting us off from the West. The Pennsylvania Canal, too low for freight boats, cut us off from the East. Produce that should have paid our merchants' and manufacturers' debts already due was excluded from our market. Manufactures and stocks of goods on hand here, representing heavy investments of cash, were locked up without buyers. So passed July, August and September, and a part of October. Such a state of things—such a combination of disasters—never happened, we dare say, to any community in so brief a space of time. The loss has been monstrous. Millions would be required to replace the aggregate losses to the various business and industrial interests of this city. Yet, to the honor of our business men, we repeat, not a considerable failure occurred. And now they breathe free; the rivers are up, all the avenues of trade are open and pouring in their tribute to the common prosperity. We have learned how utterly, and, as the case may be, how disastrously dependent we are on the Ohio River and the canal for our importance and prosperity in manufactures and trade. We have learned that we *may* lose more money in a single season than would complete our Pennsylvania Railroad to Beaver, securing us 'Iron Rivers,' East and West, open and navigable at all seasons. The million of dollars the people of Pittsburg lost this year by low water and the prostration of business would make the railroad to Beaver and pay all the subscriptions to the Central Railroad asked for by that company" (v).

In April, 1850, there were shipped eastward over the canal 12,538,300 pounds of bacon, 2,481,300 pounds of tobacco, 1,525,400 pounds of lard and lard oil, 1,224,400 pounds of coal; and there were brought here over the canal 5,312,200 pounds of dry goods, 2,518,500 pounds of hardware and cutlery, 1,609,900 pounds of groceries, 1,384,000 pounds of coffee, 3,322,700 pounds of pig-iron, 2,726,900 pounds of blooms.

James O'Connor & Co., in about thirty days in March and April, 1851, received and cleared 115 cargoes of produce and merchandise, paying in tolls therefor about \$17,000 (w).

## PENNSYLVANIA CANAL.

	Tonnage.	Toll.
"1847. From opening to June 1.....	75,555.386	\$52,572.40
1848. From opening to June 1.....	63,661.278	50,974.46
1849. From opening to June 1.....	68,429.521	50,736.74
1850. From opening to June 1.....	69,094.143	66,654.62
1851. From opening to June 1.....	92,302.833	65,230.62

"Respectfully yours,

ALEX. SCOTT,

"Ass't Collector" (x).

(v) Commercial Journal, November 2, 1849. (w) Commercial Journal, April 17, 1851.

(x) Tonnage which cleared from Pittsburg and tolls collected on the canal. Commercial Journal, June 4, 1851.

In November, 1851, large quantities of lumber came down the Allegheny River and sold for \$9 for common and \$18 for clear, "a higher price than we have ever heard of before in the Pittsburg market." At this time the hotels and taverns were crowded (y). On Friday night and during all of Saturday, November 21 and 22, 1851, one hundred rafts of lumber arrived here from up the Allegheny; large quantities of pig-metal came down also. The following is a statement of leading articles received at Pittsburg from the East by canal for the two years, 1850 and 1851, from the opening to November 1st, together with articles sent from Pittsburg eastward during the same period (z):

## IMPORTS.

Articles.	1850.	1851.
Agricultural products, pounds .....	737,250	441,117
Leather.....	120,564	524,500
Chinaware.....	2,446,093	4,121,200
Coffee .....	9,382,595	11,374,315
Drugs and medicines.....	865,300	1,436,600
Dry goods.....	27,270,543	32,918,351
Groceries.....	9,162,336	11,830,621
Hardware and cutlery....	13,506,835	11,935,335
Liquors, foreign, gallons....	30,525	2,701
Paints, pounds.....	387,964	293,703
Hats and shoes.....	3,948,850	4,693,345
Iron, in pigs.....	21,136,768	14,960,212
Iron castings.....	154,600	865,163
Bar and sheet iron.....	1,147,176	1,693,000
Nails and spikes.....	1,126,747	137,600
Steel .....	85,600	626,700
Tin.....	708,600	884,800
Fish, barrels.....	17,352	21,302
Slate for roofing, pounds.....	652,600	833,000
Tobacco, manufactured.....	2,439,289	1,609,600
Tobacco, leaf.....	129,800	257,900
Blooms, etc.....	12,463,300	12,403,535
Marble .....	641,300	1,026,060
Oils, except lard, gallons.....	18,940	386,578
Tar and rosin, pounds.....	1,014,900	2,342,700

## EXPORTS.

Articles.	1850.	1851.
Hemp.....	755,728	1,357,644
Tobacco, unmanufactured.....	15,204,194	18,191,932
Feathers.....	481,831	424,745
Wool .....	4,108,432	3,268,088
Hogs' hair.....	636,400	607,792
Seeds, bushels.....	874	904
Chinaware, pounds.....	11,800	1,750
Earthenware.....	278,232	355,280
Glassware.....	1,193,908	1,068,611
Groceries.....	2,411,617	1,478,628
Whisky, gallons.....	384,887	446,275
Coal, tons.....	15,604	7,611

(y) Commercial Journal, November, 1851.

(z) Commercial Journal, November 6, 1851.

Articles.	1850.	1851.
Iron castings, pounds.....	574,992	806,914
Bar and sheet iron.....	4,031,450	4,437,913
Nails and spikes.....	2,269,000	1,853,412
Bacon.....	38,495,265	32,520,000
Beef and pork.....	5,600	6,949
Butter.....	619,600	387,898
Cheese.....	1,501,185	156,383
Flour, barrels.....	72,072	200,538
Lard and lard oil, pounds.....	4,641,362	6,506,831
Cotton.....	1,084,600	703,080
Dressed hides.....	98,130	201,282
Leather.....	440,587	715,938
Furs and peltries....	183,137	274,289
German clay.....	87,400	416,000
Dry goods.....	265,839	532,158
Rags....	628,307	677,066
Number of boats cleared....	3,643	4,384
Tolls.....	\$102,308.20	\$112,528.92

In March, 1852, a branch of the mercantile agency of B. Douglass & Co. of New York was established here, but at first met with considerable opposition, business men not fully understanding its purpose.

"We had a Board of Trade with a Merchants' Exchange in Pittsburg, and it dragged out a feeble and precarious existence for a good many years, and died a miserable death. The cause is very obvious. Our merchants have no just appreciation of the necessity of coöperation and united action to sustain their common interests and secure their trade against competition from without" (a).

"The grass is not growing in our streets, although the New York Merchants' Club of thirty-five directed all their goods and the most of their influence around to Baltimore and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; nor are our wharves silent although the same remorseless band pitted Wheeling against Pittsburg, and John Randolph did say our river was dry one-half of the year and frozen the other. Such another spectacle of the crowding of trade, bustle, activity and business as the wharves at Pittsburg present is not to be met with anywhere, we venture to say, out of New York City itself. The fact differs so widely from the prediction of our enemies, and the fear of our friends, that we lack gall to discuss aright the New York conspiracy. There has been lying on our table since Monday a detailed statement of the imports of provisions, produce, flour, etc., by the river during the preceding thirty-six hours, which we designed publishing at large. We must now restrict our exhibit to a few leading items of this import, but that will abundantly show that our local and transit trade have not suffered from our New York assailants. Received by river during thirty-six hours preceding Monday evening: Bacon and bulk pork, casks 1,491, tierces 864, barrels 1,834, boxes 2,074, pieces 23,904; lard, barrels 1,576, kegs 1,071, tierces 276; flour, 8,106 barrels; grain, sacks, 1,671 in all; sugar, hogsheads, 510. Cotton, whisky, hides, hops, dry fruits, candles, glass, lead, paper and cattle fill out the list to an aggregate that in earlier days would have been considered a monstrous week's business. But the canal lines and the Pennsylvania Railroad have been able to carry off these freights without causing delay at Pittsburg. This branch of our trade certainly has been augmented beyond calculation; and, indeed, we doubt if ever Pittsburg afforded such indications

(a) Commercial Journal, March 22, 1854.

of general prosperity as are present now, let observation take what direction it may" (b).

In 1853 there were slaughtered in Pittsburg and vicinity, in round numbers, 11,500 hogs, and in 1854 14,000. The number slaughtered in Wheeling in 1854 was 22,763.

In February, 1854, an organization of business men was effected, a constitution and by-laws adopted and officers were elected, under the charter of the old Board of Trade. As a branch of this the Merchants' Exchange elected John Shipton president; W. S. Haven secretary, and John D. Scully treasurer.

During five days in March, 1854, there left here on barges towed by steamers 2,772,000 bushels of coal, the greatest quantity in that length of time ever taken from the city up to that date (c).

In 1854 the whole amount of wool and woolen yarn received from Pittsburg in Philadelphia, by railroad, said the *Ledger*, was 3,975,469 pounds. The quantity received from January 1 to August 8, 1855, showed an aggregate of 9,758,674 pounds, or an increase of 5,783,205 pounds, or 2,891 tons.

"The report of the Board of Trade, setting forth the exports of this city for the year 1854, gives a very flattering view of its manufacturing and commercial importance. We know of no city in the Union that has suffered more severely during the past year than this. The long continued drouth rendered the river unnavigable for five or six months, making it impossible to get into the market the greater part of our heavy fabrics. Later in the season the vast amount of freight that accumulated in the storehouses of our railroads almost precluded the possibility of sending even those articles that would pay for this method of transportation to market. Then, in the midst of the best season—in September—the pestilence came into our midst and in a few weeks carried off a thousand of our population, and for a time put a complete quarantine upon us, so that for nearly a month business of all kinds was almost entirely suspended. What with the failure of the crops, the state of the river, the cholera, the stringency of the money market and the contraction of business from all these causes, there has been much less activity in every department than in a year of average prosperity. The Board of Trade of this city was established about a year since, and their report, of which we gave an abstract yesterday morning, being their first, we have no means of knowing the amount of exports, the value of steamboat property, etc., of preceding years. Owing, however, to the causes above enumerated, it must have been comparatively greater than during the year 1854. And yet it is no small item for that year, in spite of opposing circumstances. Of the article coal alone, there has been shipped from this port 23,738,906 bushels, worth three millions of dollars; iron and nails to the amount of \$7,500,000; glass and glassware, \$2,050,000. The aggregate value of the various articles manufactured in this city for the past year is \$20,970,338. Our population in 1850 is set down at 46,600. It is now not far from 55,000. This, together with the population of Allegheny City and Birmingham, will amount to 100,000. There are but few drones in this hive. The atmosphere is not favorable to white kids, nor the street to patent leathers. Carpet knights have always been at a discount in Pittsburg. The major part of our exportations must have been done during the former and latter portion of the year, for during the heat of summer the river was almost dry. Here are the fabrics of our looms and rolling mills, the products of our mines and our farms, waiting and waiting for six or eight months in the year, while ruin stares our merchants in the face, and even penury and want stand knocking at the door of many a dwelling; sometimes they go in" (d).

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(b) Commercial Journal, March, 1854.

(c) Commercial Journal, January, 1855. (e) Commercial Journal, December 5, 1855.



The great drouth of 1854 led the Board of Trade, in January, 1855, to memorialize the Legislature to improve the navigation of the Ohio River by a system of locks similar to those in use on the Monongahela River, and published the following statistics to sustain their request:

Steamers arriving and departing annually, first class.....	<u>1,712</u>
Steamers arriving and departing annually, second class....	<u>3,634</u>
Keels, barges and flats, do.....	<u>3,230</u>

Total.....8,576

Merchandise trade on rivers, estimated tons....	<u>740,460</u>
Lumber, tons.....	<u>50,000</u>
Other products departing, tons.....	<u>847,400</u>

Total.....1,637,860

Coal shipped, bushels.....	<u>\$23,738,906</u>
Lumber in rafts, departing.....	<u>1,225,000</u>
Iron and nails shipped.....	<u>7,500,000</u>
Castings.....	<u>700,000</u>
Stoves.....	<u>300,000</u>
Springs and axles.....	<u>566,000</u>
Shovels, forks, picks, axes, etc.....	<u>390,000</u>
Locks, latches, scales, etc.....	<u>350,000</u>
Iron safes.....	<u>60,000</u>
Steam engines for cane mills, etc.....	<u>500,000</u>
White and red lead, litharge.....	<u>640,000</u>
Cotton yarns and sheeting.....	<u>949,000</u>
Glass, flint.....	<u>650,000</u>
Glass, window.....	<u>800,000</u>
Glass bottles.....	<u>600,000</u>
Wagons, carts, carriages, etc.....	<u>350,000</u>
Plows and other farming implements.....	<u>75,000</u>
Furniture.....	<u>100,000</u>
Salt in barrels.....	<u>80,000</u>
Soda ash, 2,000 tons.....	<u>130,000</u>
Ale, beer, porter, malt, etc.....	<u>780,000</u>

In the spring of 1855 over one hundred rafts of timber on the Allegheny broke from their anchorage opposite Herr's Island, swept down against the canal aqueduct piers, were torn apart, forming an immense gorge, and were gradually carried down the river. Thousands of logs were lost. An immense crowd turned out to witness the thrilling sight.

During October, November and December, 1854, and January and February, 1855—five months—the following shipments occurred:

Flour imported, barrels.....	<u>87,888</u>
Flour exported, barrels.....	<u>60,690</u>
Wheat imported, bushels.....	<u>344,844</u>
Wheat exported, bushels.....	<u>14,125</u>
Corn imported, bushels.....	<u>174,874</u>
Corn exported, bushels.....	<u>7,080</u>
Oats imported, bushels.....	<u>169,892</u>
Oats exported, bushels.....	<u>1,522</u>

For the week ending with Saturday, December 1, 1855, there were transported eastward per Pennsylvania Railroad:

Flour, barrels.....	26,444
Wheat, bushels....	69,754
Rye, bushels....	11,154
Barley, bushels .....	3,509
Total.....	110,861

From September 1 to December 1, 1855, there were shipped eastward by the same conveyance the following produce:

Flour, barrels.....	243,187
Wheat, bushels.....	625,248
Rye, bushels.....	141,012
Barley, bushels.....	24,533
Total.....	1,033,980 (c)

The question of investing in railroad stock was involved in doubt, distrust and much serious opposition here. One class opposed the building of railroads eastward in order to prevent thereby merchants of the West from going there to trade. Another opposed railroads westward, as they could bring to Pittsburg, it was claimed, no new customers. Both classes urged that railroads would reduce Pittsburg to a wooding or watering station. In 1855 one merchant who opposed all railroads was enjoying double his former trade, owing to the construction through this point of such highways. The wholesale dry goods and hardware dealers lost during the first year or two of the railway era a considerable trade, which went East; but within a very short time, instead of going there purchasers stopped and bought in Pittsburg. The trade of every merchant here was much increased by the building of the railways. The greatest benefit was general, affecting all departments of trade and swelling the annual business done to an enormous degree. In the early '50s Fifth Street was transformed from a row of small shops to a large and commodious line of stores, filled with all the products of the industry of man. The trade of the jobbers by the autumn of 1856 had swelled past all moderate expectations. Their business done in the spring of 1856 surpassed that of any other previous year. It was the boast here that the local heavy houses duplicated New York invoices, adding no more than railroad freights. At the same time house rents, store rents and clerk hire were lower here than in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Philadelphia or New York. The jobbers carried immense supplies and steadily fought their way for commercial supremacy with the other large cities. The manufacture of bonnets, cloaks and mantillas had increased here to an enormous extent by September, 1856. Mason & Co., on Fifth Street, made large quantities of these goods, including silks, shawls, etc. The cotton and woolen jobbers on Wood Street were afraid of no competition—were able to undersell the same line in other cities. Motive power and the necessities of life, two very important industrial elements, were lower here than in any other American city of the same size. That much of this wonderful prosperity was due to the railroads was not doubted then, nor can it be controverted in history (f).

"Notwithstanding the searching prostration of business and the vast aggregate of bills of exchange returned protested on our manufacturers and mer-

(f) Commercial Journal, September 30, 1856.

chants, which they have been compelled to take up, scarcely a failure has occurred. We have heard of but four instances of suspension of payment announced, and three of these, at least, are of houses whose assets far exceed their liabilities. . . . Not two actual failures have occurred in Pittsburg since the revulsion commenced in September, and there were none before that we can recall within a year. What city can say as much?" (g).

This table shows the whole amount of coal taken out for export and home consumption:

Years.	Bushels.	Years.	Bushels.
1845 .....	4,850,780	1852 .....	14,560,000
1846 .....	7,975,000	1853 .....	15,950,875
1847 .....	9,555,780	1854 .....	17,955,960
1848 .....	9,820,560	1855 .....	22,875,450
1849 .....	9,950,000	1856 (h).....	10,000,000
1850 .....	12,500,200	1857 .....	28,973,596
1851 .....	12,750,000	1858 .....	26,500,000

The following table shows the amounts shipped below by river during the same years:

Years.	Bushels.	Years.	Bushels.
1845 .....	2,660,340	1852 .....	9,960,950
1846 .....	5,236,500	1853 .....	11,590,730
1847 .....	7,200,450	1854 .....	14,635,580
1848 .....	7,150,350	1855 .....	18,560,158
1849 .....	7,145,150	1856 .....	8,165,196
1850 .....	8,560,180	1857 .....	25,684,550
1851 .....	8,250,120	1858 .....	24,696,669

In 1845 the cash receipts for coal shipped to New Orleans and ports between it and Louisville, at 20 cents per bushel, were \$254,712. In 1857, between the same ports, and at the same price, the cash receipts for coal amounted to \$1,712,302.60, showing a tremendous increase. Between Pittsburg and Louisville the net receipts in 1845 for coal sold were \$17,123.37. In the coal trade the number of miners at work in and around Pittsburg was estimated at 2,000; outside men and on the river, 500; men employed in the coalboating trade, 500; the amount of wages paid these men amounted yearly to over \$1,800,000; the capital invested in the Pittsburg coal trade was over \$2,000,000. The estimated cost of one towboat and necessary barges was \$44,000. The amount of capital invested in the coal business in 1859 stood second only to the iron business, which embraced more than any other in Pittsburg. The capital absorbed in the iron business of Pittsburg amounted to \$3,280,000. In 1857 this interest employed 4,623 hands, whose yearly wages amounted to \$2,000,000. In the glass business, in 1857, there were thirty-four glasshouses, which employed 1,982 hands, whose wages were, for the year, \$910,116. The coal trade was, therefore, second in position to the greatest interest—the iron industry. As to the steamboat business, its immense increase from its first commencement, 1811, to 1859 was evident (i).

(g) Commercial Journal, November 21, 1857.

(h) The year 1856 was remarkable for continued low water, which explains the small amount taken out and shipped.

(i) Commercial Journal, January, 1859. Statistics prepared at a meeting of steamboat and railroad men.

## CHAPTER IX.

MANUFACTURES—FIRST INDUSTRIES—BOAT BUILDING—DISTILLERIES AND MILLS—  
THE NAILERS—O'HARA'S GLASSWORKS—MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURES—THE  
COTTON INDUSTRY COMMENCED—INDUSTRIES OF 1808-12—STATISTICS—  
WONDERFUL PROSPERITY DURING THE WAR OF 1812—HARD TIMES OF  
1817-21—THE TARIFF—COMPARISON OF THE MANUFACTURES OF  
1815, 1817 AND 1819—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED—OPPOSITION TO  
IMPORTATIONS—EFFORTS OF HENRY BALDWIN—PUBLIC  
ACTION TO SECURE RELIEF—BANKRUPTCY AND RUIN.

Undoubtedly the first manufacturing carried on here was the brickmaking, stone cutting and log sawing connected with the construction of the forts, redoubts, officers' quarters, etc., of Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt. Brickmakers came with the army of General Forbes, in November, 1758, and not improbably with the French army of Contrecoeur, in April, 1754, and others no doubt came with the first few families to arrive here in 1760, or soon afterward. The two sides of the second Fort Pitt which faced the land were revetted with brick. The officers' quarters consisted of a long brick building, later used as a malt-house. The upper stories of the Grant redoubt of 1760 and the Bouquet redoubt of 1764 were also of brick; so was the archway over the gully which drained a pond on Liberty Street. At a little later date other buildings of brick were erected. Soon after the breaking out of the Revolution the British commander at Fort Pitt, Major Charles Edmonstone, acting under orders from General Thomas Gage, sold all the materials composing Fort Pitt and other Government structures here to Alexander Ross and William Thompson. The bill of sale enumerates 1,244,160 brick, besides the brick in the Government House, square and cut stones in the walls of the fort, 2,026 pickets, 4,250 feet of walnut scantling, 499 feet of plank, 16 double frames of barrack-rooms, 2,380 feet square timber, 2 redoubts, 8 stacks of chimneys (more brick?) and a square log house fifty feet long. This lumber and cut stone mentioned with such particularity in this bill of sale were manufactured here, and, therefore, brick-kilns, saw-mills and stone-quarries must have been the pioneer manufacturing establishments of Pittsburg. No doubt rude gristmills and rude distilleries were built and put in operation at the same time. Previous to the year 1770 Jonathan Plummer erected the first distillery building in Pittsburg. It stood a short distance above where the arsenal is now located. In October, 1770, George Washington stopped here and drank some of the whisky made by Mr. Plummer.

In 1784 Craig, Bayard & Co. set in operation a distillery here as partners of Turnbull, Marmie & Co., of Philadelphia, and also built a sawmill up the Allegheny and salt works down on the Big Beaver.

The *Gazette* said: "This town must in future time be a place of great manufactory; indeed the greatest on the continent, or perhaps in the world" (a). The editor went on to say that the carriage of all kinds of freight across the mountains from Philadelphia was sixpence for each pound weight, and that this fact alone would soon compel the inhabitants here to do their own manufacturing. He continued: "The manufacturing them will therefore become more an object here than elsewhere. It is a prospect of this, with men of reflection, which

(a) *Gazette*, August 26, 1786.

renders the soil of this place so valuable." Evidently it may be concluded from the last sentence that land in and around Pittsburg at that early day (1786) was, by comparison very high.

An important consideration should be borne in mind in comparing old manufacturing establishments and conditions with those of recent times: That the union or association of means and efforts was then almost wholly lacking here. It is true that the citizens of this place had come from the East and were familiar with industrial enterprises where wealth and skill were united for the accomplishment of larger and better results in manufactures; but the development of such associations at Pittsburg was slow and on a limited scale. Individuals and families were almost wholly independent of their neighbors and contemporaries in the struggle for life. Families raised their own food and made their own shoes, caps, clothing, or, at least, could do so, and, in a large measure, did so. A little money was necessary to pay taxes and to buy land; but even these requirements were thought burdensome and unrighteous by those Western Pennsylvanians who instigated and maintained for a time the whisky insurrection of 1794, and they were numerous in and around Pittsburg. There can be no doubt that the salvation of the farmers here was due to the freedom of the exchange of commodities. But the manufacturers did not fare so well. They were forced to find a market that would yield them a partial supply, at least, of cash, because their employes were dependent upon money with which to procure supplies. However, this was at a later date. Individuals did the earliest manufacturing. There were coopers, silversmiths, tanners and curriers, tailors, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, weavers, spinning-wheel makers, nailers, reedmakers, brewers, potters, wheelwrights and many others, some having a few journeymen or apprentices to help them. No doubt the early manufacturers, so far as they found a market in this vicinity, received a considerable quantity of produce for their wares, their greatest source of cash being from settlers passing through here and destined for homes farther west. These required nails, axes, knives, cloth, spinning-wheels, and many other articles made or for sale here, for which they left cash.

Even the earliest settlers here, and those who immediately followed them, looked with supreme confidence upon the future of Pittsburg as a manufacturing center. It was realized that this point would never become a great agricultural district; but here was coal, stone, timber and clay, and near by was iron; and here were the great rivers ready to convey to the bustling markets of the world any manufactures which might be sent adrift down their eager currents. Canals and railroads were unknown, but Pittsburg was as certainly connected by water with West Indian and European markets as were Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. It thus came to pass that when, in 1786, it was reported that Congress contemplated relinquishing to Spain for twenty-five years the trade of the lower Mississippi, including New Orleans, great alarm was manifested by local manufacturers and property holders, and earnest remonstrances were forwarded to Congress (b).

In 1783 Jacob Haymaker rented of John Ormsby a house and an adjoining boatyard on the bank of the Monongahela, "nearly opposite to the town of Pittsburg," where for upwards of five years he carried on the business of boat-building "with great success." These were, no doubt, keel and "Kentucke" boats.

In 1786 John Scull, editor of the *Gazette*, began to print and keep for sale various kinds of legal blanks—bonds, declarations, judgments, arbitration bonds, powers of attorney, apprentices' indentures, servants' indentures, warrants, summonses, etc. In the spring of 1787 he printed and sold "the A B C

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(b) *Gazette*, 1786.





with the shorter catechism, to which are added some short and easy questions for children." He also printed spelling-books. In 1788 he printed "The Pittsburg Almanac, or Western Ephemeris."

In August, 1786, Hugh Ross established a rope factory, or "ropewalk," as it was termed. His factory was long one of the notable industrial institutions of early Pittsburg. In February, 1788, he agreed to give "good encouragement to boys who will bind themselves to learn the ropemaking business." Hugh Gardner and John Cowan opened a bakery in 1786. Freeman & Severen, about 1785, began cabinet-making and upholstering. John and Daniel Craig commenced the business of manufacturing hats and caps from beaver, fox, raccoon and muskrat skins, in 1786. Gregg & Barker manufactured, as well as sold, jewelry of various sorts.

In 1787 John Perry conducted a boatyard and sawmill at the mouth of Turtle Creek. Turnbull, Marmie & Co. also built many boats here during the years from 1784 to 1788 inclusive. Adamson Tannehill was advertised as a vintner here in 1788. The manufacture of spinning-wheels was carried on extensively at this time. Thomas Chambers made saddles in the winter of 1788-9. John Ormsby made brick on the south side of the Monongahela, but early in 1789 offered his kiln for rent; also his ferry; "firewood and pit coal handy, good ponds and floors ready and clay handy." He had been here for more than twenty years and may have assisted in making the brick for Fort Pitt and contiguous buildings.

In 1787 the distillery of Isaac Craig was in successful operation and afforded the neighboring farmers a steady and excellent market for their rye, barley, corn, etc. In 1788 Daniel Elliott operated a sawmill one mile below the Point. He bought rafts from up the Allegheny and advertised to saw on shares. In 1787-8 Marmaduke Curtis manufactured hats, and John Blackburn began the same business in 1788. Late in 1788 Alexander Craig began to build boats on the South Side near the old Ross ferry, of which he had control. Lieut.-Col. Stephen Bayard conducted a large boatyard on the Youghiogeny, six miles above its mouth, where he made a large number of keel and "Kentucke" boats. Large quantities of potash were made here, six hundred bushels of ashes making a ton of potash. The following extracts, taken from the *Gazette*, indicate the spirit of the times:

"Andrew McIntire, Windsor-chair maker, has commenced business in Pittsburg near the upper end of Front Street, where he makes all sorts of Windsor chairs in the most approved manner, and is determined to dispose of them on the most reasonable terms, March 8, 1788" (c).

"This country offers at present the most unbounded encouragement to the artificer and laborer. . . . The reward which the mechanic meets with is greater than at any former period. One pair of shoes which costs 11s 3d will buy 180 pounds of wheat, which will furnish 120 pounds of flour; the shoes will also procure more than 60 pounds of good beef or pork. The necessaries of life are uncommonly low and the workmanship of the industrious artisan, whether shoemaker, carpenter, tailor or smith, is most amply and deservedly rewarded. We want people, we want sober and diligent tradesmen; hatters, buttonmakers, ropemakers, weavers, etc., will be most welcome and will essentially promote our prosperity. We should employ our own workmen instead of foreigners, those of our own town or county in preference to those at a distance from us. I wish this state would give a bounty of forty shillings to every mechanic or laborer who arrives in it from Europe. Population and industry are the true causes of national greatness" (d).

(c) Gazette of that date.

(d) Gazette, April, 1789.

The General Assembly, in 1780, passed a law authorizing the State Treasurer to subscribe for the use of the Commonwealth one hundred shares of ten pounds each for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts (e).

In 1792 there were here 1 clock and watch maker, 2 whitesmiths, 2 coopers, 1 skin dresser and breeches-maker, 2 tanners and curriers, 4 cabinet-makers, 5 blacksmiths, 5 shoemsmiths, 2 hatters, 2 weavers, 3 saddle-makers, 1 maltster and brewer, 2 tinnors, 3 wheelwrights, 1 stocking-weaver, 1 ropemaker; total, 37; total number of families, 130 (f); estimated population, 600.

The town made very little increase in its number of manufacturing establishments until after the whisky insurrection in 1794. This event advertised the place so widely, and distributed so much money here, that mechanics and families began to arrive. The incorporation of the village as a borough, in 1794, no doubt added to its attractions, as better order within the municipality might be expected.

The glassworks of General James O'Hara were established in 1797; and, owing to the wealth and force of the man, may be considered the most important industrial enterprise up to this time, not excepting boatbuilding and brewing. In fact, the real industrial growth of the borough and its existence as a manufacturing center within the knowledge of Eastern cities must date from the establishment of this enterprise, and not from the erection of the McClurg foundry in 1805, nor the steam engine works or cotton mills of 1808-10. The fact that a man of such prominence would pour out his wealth to the extent of many thousands of dollars on an enterprise so difficult, hazardous and unpromising must be conceded to have added immensely to the general opinion of the fixity and stability of Pittsburg's pioneer industries. It is declared that the glassworks were first projected in 1795, but if so there is nothing to show that they were in operation before 1797. Mr. Craig wished to locate the works at the upper end of Allegheny, where a better site could be obtained, but was finally obliged to go to the South Side, where two buildings were erected. William Eichbaum, who had been superintendent of glassworks on the Schuylkill, was employed to superintend the erection of the works here. At first Isaac Craig was associated with General O'Hara, but for some reason, probably not known now, he drew out on September 1, 1804, and the doughty General was left alone to reap all subsequent fame and profits. Cramer's Almanac of 1804 values the products of these works for 1803 at \$12,500. The same authority fixes the value of the products for 1807 at \$18,000. In 1803 the products consisted of window-glass, bottles, pitchers, jars and decanters. The General had won another decisive victory in the wilderness of the West. In May, 1802, while Mr. Craig was yet associated with him, they advertised to give \$100 for the discovery of clay fit for melting-pots for their works, if found within one hundred miles of Pittsburg and within ten miles of the Monongahela or Allegheny river. They also advertised for potash, pearlash and alkaline salts. In April, 1804, they quoted the following goods and prices:

Window-glass— 7x 9 inches.....	\$11 per box.
Window-glass— 8x10 inches.....	12 per box.
Window-glass—10x12 inches.....	13 per box.
Hollow-ware—Gallon bottles.....	\$4.00 per doz.
Hollow-ware—Gallon bottles.....	2.40 per half doz.
Hollow-ware—Quart bottles.....	1.60 per doz.
Hollow-ware—Pint bottles.....	1.20 per doz.
Hollow-ware—Porter and claret.....	1.33 per doz.

(e) Act of April 2, 1780.

(f) American Museum or Universal Magazine, March, 1792, Vol. XI.

The following advertisement appeared in the *Gazette*:

"The proprietors of the Pittsburgh Glass Works, having secured a sufficient number of the most approved European glass manufacturers and having on hand a large stock of the best materials, on which their workmen are now employed, have the pleasure of assuring the public that window-glass of a superior quality and of any size from 7x9 and 18x24 inches, carefully packed in boxes containing 100 feet each, may be had at the shortest notice. Glass of larger sizes for other purposes may also be had, such as for pictures, coach glasses, clock faces, etc. Bottles of all kinds and of any quantity may also be had, together with pocket flasks, pickling jars, apothecary shops furniture, or other hollow-ware, the whole at least twenty-five per cent. lower than articles of the same quality brought from any of the seaports of the United States. A liberal allowance will be made on sale of large quantities. Orders from merchants and others will be punctually attended to on application to James O'Hara or Isaac Craig, or at the store of Messrs. Prather & Smiley in Market Street, Pittsburgh. June 29, 1800."

In 1798 Thomas and Samuel Magee manufactured beaver, castor and roram hats at Front Street and Chancery Lane, and were still in business in August, 1802. In 1798 Joseph McClurg conducted a tobacco factory. He advertised for leaf tobacco and offered "good encouragement" to wholesale purchasers of his goods. Joseph White owned a wagon, chair and (later) coach factory on Third Street, opposite General Gibson's, in 1798. James Doran, in 1798, conducted a dyeing establishment in colors—blue, green, yellow, red, black, brown, drab, olive, etc., on linen, cotton, woolen and silk. Wells' boot and shoe factory was in successful operation in 1799. Zadoc Cramer advertised in March, 1800, that he would soon open a bookbindery.

In October, 1798, William Eichbaum advertised that he would pay one shilling per bushel for wood ashes, and a generous price for potash, delivered at the glassworks opposite Pittsburg.

In 1798 James Morrison was engaged in making carpenters' planes and cabinet-work near the St. Andrew's Bridge. John McLeod, ropemaker, died in 1800. John Hammond and a Mr. Wells conducted a boot and shoe factory on Market Street in 1800. William Cogan manufactured cigars, snuff and tobacco two years later. James G. Ramsay, brushmaker, advertised that he would pay 20 to 25 cents per pound for hogs' bristles. In 1802 Matthew McKown was struggling to make stocking weaving a success.

In the spring of 1799 the United States galley, "Senator Ross," was launched on the Allegheny River. It had a twenty-four-pounder on the bow and a swivel on the quarter deck. After being made ready for duty she fired a salute, which was answered by the guns of Fort Fayette. She left for the Mississippi River April 22d, firing a parting salute as she entered the Ohio River.

In 1801 George Cochran was engaged in making chairs in Pittsburg, and Hugh Stevenson attempted to weave all styles of stockings, but was not successful. In 1802 Cramer's Almanacs were offered for sale at fifty cents per dozen. One of the first issued (1801) would now (1897) command nearly as many dollars. Dobbins & McElhinny conducted a cabinet-maker's and upholsterer's shop in 1802. For several years previous to 1803 John Davidson and William Hays conducted a tannery on quite an extensive scale for that day, but in January, 1803, they dissolved partnership. James Caldwell also operated a tannery here in 1801-3.

In 1801 William Cecil made and sold ladies' buckskin and plush saddles, gentlemen's plain burr spring and inlaid saddles and bridles, saddlebags, port-manteaus, valises, traveling canteens, holsters, light horse caps, fire buckets,

etc. In 1803 Ensell & Tart conducted a brush factory on Front Street near Market. They advertised for bristles, and stated that they kept for sale brushes made of the best Russian bristles.

Samuel Haslam, from Bolton, England, began carding and spinning both wool and cotton in 1803 at the lower end of Wood Street. He advertised to country customers that he would card promptly and pack goods in boxes or baskets for carriage. In his advertisement he says he hopes none will come by way of speculation into his works without leaving twelve cents and a half.

In April, 1803, John Sumrall and Joseph McCullough removed from McKeesport and opened a boatyard on the "Point" in Pittsburg. O'Hara & Coppinger, in 1802-3, conducted a brewery, the junior partner having learned the business in Europe. They offered four shillings and sixpence for barley, and advised farmers to raise more, as they would want 10,000 bushels in 1803. Thomas Bracken and James Bracken, who had been potters here, dissolved partnership May 25, 1803, and the former continued the business alone after that date. He kept on hand a good supply of earthenware at his dwelling house on Front Street near St. Andrew's Bridge. Following is the first notice of a strike that appears in print:

"Pittsburg, December 19, 1804. This notice is intended to inform the traveling journeymen shoemakers of Pennsylvania, or of any other State, that the journeymen of this town made a turnout for higher wages. Two or three of their employers had a meeting, and having a number of apprentices thought proper to advise the other master shoemakers to raise the boarding from \$1.50 to \$2.25 per week. We think it our duty to give this notice to all journeymen shoemakers that they may be guarded against imposition. The following are the prices which we turned out for, viz.: Fine shoes, 80 cents; coarse shoes, 75 cents; women's slippers, 75 cents; boottees, \$2.00; long boots, \$2.50; coffacs, \$2.50. N. B. We would not advise any journeymen to come here unless they want a seat of cobbling" (g).

In October, 1806, Pittsburg contained about four hundred houses, above two thousand inhabitants and about forty retail stores. Among the manufactures were glass, nails, hats and tobacco. "The manufacture of glass is carried on extensively," says Ashe, "and that article is made of an excellent quality. There are two establishments of this sort, one for the coarser and one for the finer kinds" (h).

The cotton factory of Peter Eltonhead was established in 1804. He was assisted in his enterprise by subscriptions from the citizens. In May, 1804, these citizens met at the tavern of David Davis to adopt a mode of collecting the subscriptions and of applying the same to the commencement of operations. A committee consisting of George Robinson (treasurer), John Johnston, James Kervin, Thomas Cooper and James Robinson were appointed to perform this service. In June they reported substantial progress and announced that they would soon have the factory ready for operation, at which time they would call on subscribers for two-fifths of the amount of their subscription. They stated that one carding machine was then ready at Eltonhead's factory (i). Previous to this (April 24, 1804) Mr. Eltonhead announced that he would furnish and put in operation in any part of the United States carding machines, drawing frames, roving frames, water spinning frames, twisting frames, mules of from 60 to 216 spindles each, looms for weaving cloth of any width with the flying shuttle, and warping mills for either linen, cotton or

(g) This was, no doubt, the first strike inaugurated in Pittsburg.

(h) *Travels in America*, Ashe, 1808.

(i) *Gazette*, June, 1804.



woolen (j). Mr. Eltonhead had learned his trade at Manchester, England, and seems to have been more of a promoter and superintendent than owner and capitalist.

George Sutton, in 1809-10, had a snuff mill in operation, and about 1810 Peter Maguire & Co. established a factory for snuff, cigars and spun tobacco. They began with one hundred hogsheads of tobacco. William Blair, in 1809-10, established a brushmaking business, but found it difficult to obtain a supply of hogs' bristles. Farmers did not save the bristles of the few swine they killed. The great herds of hogs were driven to the Eastern markets. William Price, who was engaged in making clay smoking pipes in the fall of 1807, began at a little later date the manufacture of delf ware, and found suitable clay in this vicinity for excellent yellow ware. The chains used by the town of Frankfort, Kentucky, for its big bridge of 700 feet were manufactured by Thomas Hazleton, of Pittsburg, of inch-and-a-half square bar, the two chains weighing twelve tons (k). In 1808 Scott & Armitage established an extensive cotton factory on the Monongahela above Suke's Run, comprising 234 spindles, operated by horse-power. In 1810 this and Kerwin's were in complete operation, making dimities, checks, chambries, jeans, etc.

"But the manufacturing of cotton cloths at this place," says the *Navigator*, "does not seem to come so naturally into view as that of woollens. For the latter, we have the raw material growing on the backs of animals, than which a better country cannot be found for raising and improving their breeds. And there are eight months in the year of our climate much better calculated for woolen than cotton suits" (l).

"Among the numerous articles manufactured for exportation are window-glass, green bottles, jars, white flint glass of all kinds, decanters, tumblers, cut glass, beer and porter bottled and barreled, saddles, bridles, boots, shoes, tin and copper ware, stills, weavers' reeds, metal buttons, snuff, cigars, twisted tobacco, chairs, cabinet-work, carpenters' planes, etc." (m).

In the fall of 1807 the following manufacturing establishments were in operation here:

One cotton manufactory (Kerwin) having a mule of 120 threads and 1 spinning jenny of 40 threads, and a wool carding machine under the same roof; 1 glassworks (O'Hara's), on the opposite side of the Monongahela for green, and one on this side for white glass (Bakewell & Co.); 2 breweries; 1 air furnace (McClurg's); 4 nail factories, one of which made 100 tons of cut and hammered nails annually; 7 coppersmiths, tinplate workers and japanners; 1 wire-weaving and riddle factory (Wickersham); 1 brass foundry; 6 saddlers and harness-makers; 2 gunsmiths; 2 tobacconists; 1 bellmaker; 3 tallow chandlers; 1 brush-maker; 1 trunkmaker; 5 coopers; 13 weavers; 10 blue dyers; 1 combmaker; 7 cabinet-makers; 1 turner; 6 bakers; 8 butchers; 2 barbers; 6 hatters; 4 physicians; 2 potteries of earthenware; 3 straw bonnet makers; 4 planemakers; 6 milliners; 12 mantua-makers; 1 stocking weaver; 2 bookbinders; 4 house and sign painters; 2 portrait painters; 1 mattress-maker; 3 wheelwrights; 5 watch and clock makers and silversmiths; 5 bricklayers; 5 plasterers; 3 stonecutters; 8 boat, barge and ship builders; 1 pumpmaker; 1 looking-glass maker; 1 lockmaker; 7 tanyards; 2 ropewalks; 1 spinning-wheel maker; 17 blacksmiths; 1 machinist and whitesmith; 1 cutler and toolmaker; 32 house carpenters and joiners; 21 boot and shoe makers or cordwainers; 5 Windsor-chair makers; 13 tailors; 1 breeches-maker and skin-dresser; 12 schoolmasters; 4 schoolmistresses; 33 taverns or public inns; 51 mercantile stores; 4 printing

(j) Gazette, April 27, 1804.

(l) Navigator, 1811.

(k) Cummings, 1808.

(m) Navigator, 1811.

offices; 6 brickyards; 3 stonemasons; 2 bookstores; 4 lumber-yards; 1 maker of machinery for cotton and woolen manufactures (Eltonhead); 1 factory for clay smoking pipes (Price); 1 copperplate printing press (n).

The four-story stone gristmill on the banks of the Monongahela River, built and owned by Oliver & Owen Evans, of Philadelphia, was put in operation in 1809. George Evans, son of Oliver, conducted the mill, he being part owner. The mill at first had two run of stones, each with a capacity of eight bushels per hour. "The construction and mechanism of this mill will do honor to human invention" (o). There were two boilers of wrought iron, each twenty-six feet long and twenty-seven inches in diameter. The running gears of the mill were of cast-iron, made at the McClurg furnace. The whole mill cost between \$12,000 and \$14,000 (z). John Gorman & Co. built and put into operation on the river bank above Suke's Run, an extensive brewery. In the same year James Arthurs began carding and spinning wool, and was soon enjoying a large patronage. In December, 1810, Benjamin Ramage began the business of stocking weaving. "Several of the same business attempted to establish themselves here within the last ten or twelve years, but seem to have withdrawn from the town for want of encouragement from the citizens" (p).

A white flint-glass house, established by George Robinson in 1809, was situated on the bank of the Monongahela between Smithfield and Grant streets. "This is the third already in operation, all doing well, and there seems a want for a fourth, if we may judge of the difficulty of getting a supply of window-glass" (q). In 1808 William Eichbaum, Sr., established the glass-cutting business, the only establishment of the kind in the United States. "He manufactures elegant chandeliers, and his cut glass is equal to any we see imported" (r).

An extensive metal button manufactory was established in 1808 by Reuben Neale, which soon did a large business. In 1809-10 the manufacture of marble paper was commenced on a small scale, and about the same time the manufacture of black ink-powder was attempted.

In the year 1810, in Pittsburg and its immediate vicinity, the following establishments were enumerated by the Marshal, together with the quantity they manufactured and the annual value of the products in dollars:

One gristmill, by steam, manufactures 60,000 bushels of grain; three carding and spinning mills, two of cotton and one of wool, amount to \$14,248; one mill for grinding flatirons, \$2,000; two distilleries, which make 600 barrels of whisky; three breweries which make 6,435 barrels of porter, ale and beer; four brick-yards, \$13,600; two air furnaces, 400 tons, \$40,000; three red lead factories, estimated at \$13,100; six naileries, \$49,800; three glassworks, one green and two white, \$62,000; two potteries, \$3,400; two gunsmiths, \$2,400; three tobacconists, \$11,500; sixteen looms, 19,448 yards of cloth; six tanneries, \$15,500; seventeen smitheries, \$34,400; four cooperies, \$2,250; eight chair and cabinet makers, \$17,424; saddlers, boot and shoemakers, number not set down, product estimated, \$68,878; ten batteries, \$24,507; four silversmiths and watchmakers, \$9,500; six copper, brass and tin factories, \$25,500; three stonecutters, \$8,800; three boat and ship builders, \$43,000; two wagon-makers, \$2,872; three chandlers, \$14,500; one ropewalk, \$25,000; one button manufactory, \$3,000; one stocking weaver; one cutlery, \$3,000; one glass-cutting factory, \$1,000; one wire-weaving, at which sieves, screens, riddles, etc., were made to a considerable extent; three printing establishments and one bookbindery. This was said

(n) Navigator, 1811.

(z) Navigator, 1811.

(q) Navigator, 1811.

(o) Navigator, 1811.

(p) Navigator, 1811.

(r) Navigator, 1811.

to be too low an estimate in some lines, particularly in saddles and boots and shoes. In 1809 the saddlery product amounted to about \$40,000, and the boots and shoes to \$70,000.

Zadoc Cramer began to collect rags in Pittsburg in 1800. By hard work he managed to get, the first year, 150 to 200 pounds. The second year the quantity more than doubled, and thenceforward the supply increased rapidly. In 1812 the firm which had succeeded to the business, and of which Mr. Cramer was a member (Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum), collected from 60,000 to 70,000 pounds (s).

In 1812 a warehouse was established here by the Harmony Society, a branch of the Butler County Pennsylvania Society, in which were kept their stocks of broadcloths, cassimeres, flannels, merino and common wool hats, boots and shoes, tin and copper wares, saddlery, cordage, stamp or hanging paper, whisky, high-wines, flour, flaxseed, oil, leather, rails, ironmongery, tobacco, etc. Isaac Bean, their Pittsburg agent, was in charge.

Pittsburg was at this early date sometimes referred to by Englishmen as the "Birmingham of America" (t).

"There are two new glassworks now erecting, one on the opposite side of the Monongahela by Travers & Ensell, and one in the new town of Birmingham, a little above Pittsburg, on the south side of the Monongahela, under the firm of Beltzhoover, Wendt & Co. These, with the three former, viz., O'Hara's, Robinson's and Bakewell's, will be enabled to manufacture flint and green glass to the amount of about \$160,000 worth annually" (u).

In 1812 one saddler, Mr. Little, made about \$60,000 worth of saddles, bridles and harness. The different boot and shoe manufacturers employed about 100 hands and annually produced about \$100,000 worth of goods. Dr. A. Aigster, in 1812, established a factory for the manufacture of acids, etc. The two large breweries and the one small one consumed annually 20,000 bushels of barley, and made nearly 7,000 barrels of ale, beer and porter, worth \$40,000. The Evans steam flourmill operated three run of stone, ran much of the time day and night and consumed annually about 60,000 bushels of wheat, worth \$45,000. About 1812 John Irwin & Co. established their ropewalk for the manufacture of ropes and twines. William Scott and Mr. Lithgow made carpenters' planes. In 1812, in James Arthurs' woolen factory, there were in operation two jennies of forty spindles each, one slubbing billy of forty spindles, two carding machines and eight looms. At this time he carded about eighty pounds of wool per day for seven months of the year. In 1812, also, Hugh and James Jelly were engaged in erecting and equipping their cotton factory, to be operated by steam. Messrs. Kerwin and Armitage erected two cotton factories, and George Cochran engaged in the manufacture of flannels and blankets. Associated with him was Mr. Dowling, who carried on the worsted business, combing and spinning yarn for pantaloons, serges, craizes and stockings. He put in operation two carding machines, a billy of forty spindles and a jenny of fifty spindles for woolen goods (v).

In 1813 Thomas Davis constructed a wool-spinning billy of thirty spindles, but could not proceed for want of wool. Reuben Neale manufactured about this time one hundred gross of metal buttons weekly, worth annually about \$5,000. Scully & Graham began to manufacture morocco leather, which created a demand for sheepskins. At this date William Gore was engaged in manufacturing suspenders from silk, cotton or wool, weaving ten webs at once; also mak-

(s) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

(t) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

(u) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

(v) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

ing boot web and boot cord. Anthony Beelen conducted a white lead factory, having J. J. Boudier, a Frenchman and owner of the laboratory, as his superintendent. J. M. Sloan made trunks, traveling bags, etc., and advertised for deerskins with the hair on. Much to the professed regret of several writers of that day, the stocking weaving enterprise of Mr. Ramage did not prosper, perhaps because hosiery was so generally made in pioneer homes. Mr. Blair's brushmaking establishment was fairly prosperous, but he kept calling for bristles (w).

In the steam fulling mill of James Arthurs, in 1815, was an engine which had been patented in part by a son of the proprietor. By 1815 four steamboats had been built here: New Orleans, Vesuvius, Etna and Buffalo, and another was then launched, and still another on the stocks. The breweries were at this time using annually 120,000 to 130,000 bushels of grain, and producing about 10,000 barrels of ale, beer and porter. There were the two white lead factories of Anthony Beelen and J. Stevenson, and the white and red lead factory of Trevor, Pettigrew & Troost. Two brush factories were in operation, conducted respectively by William Blair and George Beale. There were also three large ropewalks, which made all sizes of rope, twine and cordage. "The principal part of the cordage for Perry's fleet was made here. Two cables weighed each about 4,000 pounds and were four and one-half inches in diameter" (x). The two white glass and three green glass factories turned out \$200,000 worth of products annually. George Cochran, who began to manufacture woolen goods in 1813, or perhaps late in 1812, was manufacturing in 1815, at the corner of Diamond and Liberty streets, superfine and common broadcloths, blankets, paper-makers' felting, kerseyettes, satinettes, hosiery and also carded wool and dressed cloth for country and borough weavers. In 1815 Trotter & Co. made pottery from local clays—yellow queensware, such as pitchers, coffee and tea pots, cups and saucers, jugs, etc. (y). In 1815 the steam gristmill of Evans, the steam paper-mill of R. Patterson & Co., and the steam cotton factory of J. Jelly & Co., were among the more prominent industrial establishments. Patterson & Hopkins built their paper-mill in 1812, and Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum built theirs on the Little Beaver the same year.

According to Riddle's Directory the following manufacturers were here in 1815: John Aitkin, tallow chandler; Abraham Armstrong, saddler; James Arthurs, woolen manufactory and steam fulling mill; William Arthurs, wagon-maker; Samuel Bailer, shoemaker; Francis Bailey, rectifying distillery; John Baird, porter bottler; Thomas Baird, weaver; Adam Baker, tobacconist; Bakewell, Page & Bakewell, glass manufactory; George L. Balslev & Co., tobacconists; John Barclay, planemaker; Joseph Barclay, cabinet-maker; James Barr, potter; Samuel Barr, weaver; Launcelot Beacom, weaver; George Beale, brush-maker; Ebenezer Beatty, chandler; Thomas Bell, boatbuilder; Phillis Bennet, spinner; John Betker, shoemaker; William Blair, brushmaker; Thomas Bracken, potter; Joseph Brittingham, violin-maker; James Brown, shoemaker; Martin Burns, maltster; John Byrne, umbrella, parasol and pocketbook manufacturer; Robert Cairns, boot and shoe manufacturer; John Caldwell, tanner; Charles Campbell, boot and shoe maker; Thomas Cannon, chairmaker; John Carothers, weaver; Robert Carothers, weaver; Thomas Carter, cordial distiller; Joseph Caskey, boot and shoe maker; Thomas Charlton, weaver; Nathan Clark, cooper; Webb Closey, boot and shoe maker; George Cochran of Richmond, manufacturer of cotton and woolen; Thomas Collingwood, muslin weaver; Samuel Conner, spinner in woolen factory; Henry Cooney, hair-cap maker; John Cooper,

(w) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

(x) Riddle's Directory, 1815.

(y) Riddle's Directory, 1815.

bookbinder; Martin Cooper, breeches-maker; Joshua Corby, shoemaker; Timothy Core, weaver; Thomas Cowan, chairmaker; Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, printers and booksellers; John Cowan, bowstring-maker; Samuel Crow, tanner; Stephen Cumberland, pattern-maker; Robert Curling, potmaker; John Davis, baker; Robert Davis, wagon-maker; Samuel Davis, clock and watch maker; John Davidson, boot and shoe maker; Ralph Dawson, dyer; John Douthitt, boot and shoe maker; Charles Douty, boatbuilder; Christopher Douty, boatbuilder; E. Dowers, tent and sail maker; Charles Durnion, porter bottler; William Earl, bellows-maker and chandler; George F. Ebert, printer; Thomas Edmond, tanner; Arnold Eichbaum, glass cutter and turner; John Elliott, boot and shoe maker; Lydia Elliott, blue dyer; Silas Engles, printer; Oliver English, blue dyeing; George Evans & Co., steam mill; Williams Evans, planemaker; John Fearis, cabinet-maker; Robert Ferguson & Co., printers; Patrick Findley, cooper; Sarah Francis, glover; Thomas Franklin, weaver; Charles Frethy, bookbinder; Edward Frethy, hairdresser; Ephraim Frisbee, shipwright; William Le Lacheur, cooper; John Tenfesty, cooper; George Lewis, brewer; Thomas Lewis, shoemaker; James Ligget, cabinet-maker; John Ligget, same; Linton & Bolton, merchant tailors; John Little, printer; Mary Little, soap boiler; Abraham Long, tanner; Daniel McAfee, boatbuilder; Matthew McCabe, weaver; James McCarthy, cabinet-maker; John McLeod, sailmaker and boatbuilder; Jesse McCoy, boatbuilder; James McCracken, cotton carder; Norman McDougal, turner; David McDowel, turner; James McDowell, glover; Thomas McFann, boot and shoe maker; Thomas McGrain, bottling cellar; John McGrew, chairmaker; James McKee, reedmaker; Hugh McMasters, weaver; John McPherson, cabinet-maker; Samuel Magee, hatter; Christopher Magee, hatter; William Martin, cooper; William Masson, sailmaker; Alexander May, brickmaker; James May, cooper; Isaac Meeker, bookbinder; William Mooney, shoemaker; Hugh Moore & Co., wholesale and retail hat manufacturers; James Moore, cooper; William Moore, weaver; William Moreland, boatbuilder; Adam Moreland, boot and shoe maker; John Morris, cooper; Charles Munns, saltpeter refiner; Robert Murphy, weaver; John Murter, distiller; Thomas Neal, tanner; James Neyman, wagon-maker; John Nicholson, boatbuilder; David A. Northrop, merchant tailor; David E. Noyes, combmaker; Nichols O'Callighan, soap and candle manufacturer; Andrew Osthoff, gold and silver smith; Benjamin Page, glassmaker; Robert Patterson, wholesale and retail bookseller and stationer; Roger Patterson, distiller; William H. Peacock & Co., Windsor-chair makers; James Pentland, chairmaker; Thomas Perkins, clock and watch maker; Lewis Peters, tanner and currier; William Reiger, tanner; John Robinson, boatbuilder; James Robinson, shawl weaver; Thomas Rodman, sickle-maker; William Rodgers, brickmaker; Charles Rosenbaum, pianoforte-maker; Joseph Roseman, chairmaker; Benjamin Rummage, brickmaker; James Russell, skindresser and breeches-maker; Andrew Scott, brewer; George Scott, Sr., weaver; Hance Scott, weaver; William Scott, plane-maker; Shaw & Macoubrie, merchant tailors; John S. Sheldon, bookbinder; Nancy Sheldon, sausage-maker; Andrew Sherwood, pattern-maker; Elisha Shiner, glass cutter; George Shiras, brewer; William Shiras, same; J. P. & J. W. Shelton, druggists; John M. Snowden, printer and bookseller; John Scull, printer and banker; William Sprague, boatbuilder; James S. Stevenson, white lead factory; John Stuart, cooper; Hyman Styles, boatbuilder; Richard Sullivan, cooper; James Thompson, watchmaker; Samuel Thompson, merchant tailor; Trevor & Ensell, glass warehouse; Robert Trimble, reedmaker; James Troth, watchmaker; Trotter & Co., queensware potters; Samuel Turner, cordial distiller; Peter Vandervoort, cooper; Thomas Wallace, tanner; Jesse Ward, cabinet-maker; Samuel Warden, weaver; Baily Warren, cooper; James Watson, cooper; William Watson, pumpmaker; John Wedekind, pocketbook manufac-



turer; Andrew Willick, boot and shoe maker; Thomas Wilson, weaver; Adam Wreath, weaver; Robert Wright, weaver; Frederick Yost, ropemaker; John Young, cabinet-maker; David Zilhart, sausage-maker. In Bayardstown, Lawrenceville and Birmingham were: George Bayard, gentleman; James W. Bredin, brickmaker; John Coxe, sawyer; George Galloway, brickmaker; Horatio G. Garrett, steam paper-mill; Messrs. Griffith, potters; Moses Gray, sawyer; James Hart, ropemaker; John Hoylet, weaver; Horace Hill, paper-maker; Isaac Hines, paper-maker; James Jelly, cotton factory; Thomas Jones paper-maker; Boyle Irwin, ropewalk; James McGowan, brickmaker; G. & J. McMunn, cordwainers; Aaron Meeker, paper-maker; John Neely, weaver; Seth Resley, paper-maker; Joseph Scott, paper-maker; William Taylor, paper-maker; Trevor, Pettigrew & Troost, white and red lead factory; Jacob Yetter, paper-maker.

In 1817 David Greer manufactured tobacco and snuff, Jacob Negley carded wool at the steam mill in East Liberty, James Brown made water and butter crackers and pilot, navy and common bread, Rees Jones manufactured tobacco, Bolton, Ensell & Co. conducted their glassworks on the South Side, opposite Wood Street, Abraham Long made morocco leather, David Reamy made ladies' fancy shoes (z). In 1818 Thomas G. Richardson & Co., tobaccoists, and John and James Morford, wagon-makers, started in business. In this year Bolton, Ensell & Co. assigned to Mark Stackhouse and others. George Luckey was the "Company," but the company was unlucky. The Birmingham glassworks were operated by Sutton, Wendt & Co. at this time. Arthurs & Murphy, partners in the fulling business, dissolved in August, 1818, and James Arthurs continued alone. In 1819 McKee, Tweedy & Graham succeeded to the hat manufactory of Robert Peebles. Ensell & Co., glass-blowers, discontinued in 1819. Augustus Uz advertised to paint interior walls in oil or water colors (a).

Swetman, Hughes & Co., in 1818, manufactured planes, Joseph Roseman made fancy chairs, H. Love & Co. made whipcords and lashes, J. Towne made landscape paper-hangings; William & Robert Leckey made plows and coaches; William Hill & Bros. operated their soap factory early in 1819; Thomas Orbine made starch two miles from the city on the turnpike; also fig blue and hair-powder.

The large brewery of Thomas Baird & Son was in operation in 1819. It was located on the Monongahela. Adjoining it was a new one, called "Pittsburg Brewery No. 4," yet in process of erection by Varner, Colwell & Co. Both stood near Anthony Beelen's foundry. The Union Brewery, owned by Brown & Scott, was also in operation. The latter offered one dollar per bushel for barley. Henry Bhears made fancy and Windsor chairs and settees in 1819. Wright & McKown, cabinet-makers, dissolved in 1819. William Savory established an engraving and copperplate printing shop here in 1819. The rectifying distillery of Francis Bailey, on Front Street, was burned down in June, 1820, entailing a loss of over \$7,000. George Anshutz, Jr., conducted a tannery, in 1819, opposite the Second Presbyterian Church. Edward Patchell manufactured hats in 1819, and on that date improved his products by adding water-proof hats. The Pittsburg Steam Grist Mill, managed by John Herron, which had been closed for some time, was put in operation again in November, 1819.

"Foreign goods are now cheap. The makers and sellers of them are willing to lose money for a few years in order to crush our manufactures and secure a perpetual monopoly. When we buy all and make none, we shall be at the mercy of foreigners and importers. They will exact such a price as will indemnify them for past losses. Glass tumblers will not then sell for eleven pence

(z) Mercury, 1817.

(a) Mercury, 1818-19.

per dozen; iron will not sell for forty dollars a ton. Will the men who now depress our bank paper seven per cent. have too much conscience to add one hundred per cent. to the price of their goods? A crisis is rapidly approaching. The capital of our manufacturers is not endless. The rapid progress of American manufactures during the war has brought the English to their present distress. Both cannot flourish here. The people must decide. It is said that domestic manufacturers made unconscionable profits during the war. That was due to the want of goods of every kind; merchants could ask and get their own prices; importation had ceased and home manufactures were limited. Merchants put up the price; why should not manufacturers? Did anybody pay higher for domestic than for foreign goods? It is said, also, that the quality of domestic goods is not as good as of foreign. With time our fabrics will vie with the best productions of Europe. A gentleman called at Mr. Bakewell's to examine his glass. He was shown a decanter which the son of Mr. Bakewell had selected in London as a pattern or specimen of the best glass and the best cutting. The gentleman looked at it, examined it slightly, said it was very good for American but not equal to English. The imported article is forced on our market at one-half the cost, for the express purpose of preventing our making it. Our manufacturers cannot make these sacrifices; they cannot sustain themselves six months longer in the present state of affairs" (b).

In February, 1817, Mr. Lowrie, of the Senate committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature, reported a strong document on the importance of protecting domestic manufacturers. "Our manufactories will require the continued attention of Congress. The capital employed in them is considerable, and the knowledge acquired in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures is of great value. Their preservation, which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the highest interests of the nation" (c).

On December 21, 1817, a meeting of the citizens of Pittsburg was held "for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the manufactures," and report upon the same, and after due examination by a special committee an elaborate review of local conditions was presented. The following are extracts taken from this report:

"Within a few years past Pittsburg has grown from an inconsiderable town to a city of ten thousand inhabitants (an over-estimate). Two-thirds of the population are supported by manufactures. The enterprise and skill of our artificers have created a circulating capital of a very great amount. . . . The great public injury and private distress which have attended the late depression of manufactures seem not confined to Pittsburg. The tariff of duties established at the last session of Congress, and the history of the present year, will demonstrate the utter futility of their expectations of encouragement. . . . In the discharge of this duty they have found that the manufacture of cottons, woolens, flint glass and the finer articles of iron has lately suffered the most alarming depression. Some branches which had been several years in operation have been destroyed or have partially suspended, and others of a more recent growth annihilated before they were completely in operation" (d).

The cotton factory occupied by Jelly & Co. was not in operation, and most, if not all, of the hands were discharged. The woolen factory of Mr. Arthurs was only in partial operation, the number of hands having been reduced one-half. The same was true of the woolen factory of George Cochran, which, a short time before, had been removed from Pittsburg to Beaver Creek. The flint-glass

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(b) Mercury, October 31, 1817.

(c) Message President Monroe, December 2, 1817.

(d) Gazette, October 6, 1818.

product, which formerly amounted to \$130,000 per annum, was reduced to \$30,000, one furnace having been stopped entirely. Mr. Eichbaum's wire factory had wholly stopped operation, and so had the butt-hinge factory and the currycomb factory of Anthony Beelen. Many others ran only on orders, which were not plentiful.

In January, 1818, the following account of the manufactures, etc., carried on in this place and its vicinity in 1817 was reported by the committee of the City Council appointed at the meeting (e):

Business.	Number of Hands.	Annual Value of Products
1 Auger-maker.....	6	\$ 3,500
1 Bellows-maker.....	3	10,000
18 Blacksmiths.....	74	75,100
3 Brewers.....	17	72,000
3 Brushmakers.....	7	8,600
1 Button-maker.....	6	6,250
2 Cotton spinners and carders.....	36	25,518
11 Coppersmiths and tin-platers.....	100	200,000
7 Cabinet-makers.....	43	40,000
1 Currier.....	4	12,000
2 Cutlers.....	6	2,400
4 Iron foundries.....	37	180,000
3 Gunsmiths and bridle-bit makers.....	14	13,800
2 Flint-glass manufactories.....	82	110,000
3 Green-glass manufactories.....	92	130,000
2 Hardware manufactories.....	17	18,000
7 Hatters.....	49	44,640
1 Locksmith.....	9	12,000
1 Linen manufactory.....	20	25,000
1 Nail manufactory.....	47	174,716
1 Paper-maker.....	40	23,000
1 Pattern-maker.....	2	1,500
3 Planemakers.....	6	57,600
1 Potter, fine ware.....	5	8,000
1 Ropemaker.....	8	15,000
1 Spinning-machine maker.....	6	6,000
1 Spanish-brown manufactory.....	2	6,720
1 Silver-plater.....	40	20,000
2 Steam-engine makers.....	60	125,000
2 Steam gristmills.....	10	50,000
6 Saddlers.....	60	86,000
5 Silversmiths and watch repairers.....	17	12,000
14 Shoe and boot makers.....	109	120,000
7 Tanners and curriers.....	47	58,860
4 Tallow-chandlers.....	7	32,600
4 Tobacconists.....	23	21,000
5 Wagon-makers.....	21	28,500
2 Weavers.....	9	14,560
3 Windsor-chair makers.....	23	42,600
2 Woolen manufactories.....	30	17,000
1 Wire-drawer.....	12	6,000
1 White-lead factory.....	6	40,000
	1,112	\$1,855,464

(e) Gazette, October 6, 1818.

In addition to the above the following were reported by the committee, to which no estimates were given: 3 chairmakers, 2 cabinet-makers, 1 cotton-carder, 1 combmaker, 1 coachmaker, 2 copper-plate printers, 3 bookbinders, 4 hatters, 1 gilder, 2 machine and pattern makers, 5 nailers, 6 printers, 1 plane-maker, 2 saddlers, 1 silk-dyer, 6 stonecutters, 3 tallow-chandlers, 5 tanners, 15 weavers, 1 wireworker and 1 coffee-maker, all of which were supposed by the committee to employ 357 hands and turn out annually products to the amount of \$370,000; making thus, in January, 1818, a total of 1,469 hands and \$2,225,464 products. In addition to the above there were started up in 1818 a rolling and slitting mill by William Robinson, Jr., John Malin and others, to make bar, rolled and sheet iron; a typefoundry by Mr. Lothian; two large paper-hanging establishments; one whip and cane manufactory, and one copperas factory by J. Gibb, who made alum, copperas and oil of vitriol. There were, also, many smaller establishments, regardless of the hard times (f).

Henry Baldwin, for his party, advocated the removal of taxation from the necessities of life, such as tea, coffee, sugar, salt, etc., and of increasing the same on pleasure carriages, bank stock, licenses of dealers in liquors, retailers of foreign merchandise, etc. He denounced as unwise the levy of seven and a half per cent on jewelry, gold lace, watches, diamonds, precious stones, etc., while at the same time there was a levy of fifty per cent. on coffee, seventy-five per cent. on tea, one hundred per cent. on salt and pepper, and from thirty to forty per cent. on sugar. He denounced a high tax on necessities and a low tax on luxuries, such as were put in force after the war. When the war began importations ceased, and in selecting the articles for taxation Congress judiciously chose articles of luxury, excepting salt and domestic manufactures. But in 1816 this policy was reversed and the following schedule adopted: Twenty cents per bushel on salt, fifty per cent. on coffee, thirty to forty per cent. on brown sugar, seventy-five per cent. on tea, one hundred per cent. on pepper, fifteen per cent. on indigo. The following was repealed: Six cents per gallon on whisky, five per cent. on coaches and pleasure carriages, two per cent. on auctions of foreign goods, one-ninth of one per cent. on bank stock (which equaled one and one-half per cent. on dividends), one-fifteenth of one per cent. on notes discounted at bank and on bills of exchange, four cents per pound on loaf sugar, one-half of one per cent. on licenses to retailers of spirits and foreign merchandise. In 1817 and 1818 the three newspapers here, *Gazette*, *Mercury* and *Statesman*, favored a strong protective tariff and supported Mr. Baldwin for Congress.

To the exertions of Henry Baldwin was due largely the increased duty on cottons, woolens, iron, nails and cut glass, at the close of the war. But the distress of 1818 demanded something more than moderate tariff laws, and the result was the formation of strong political factions to advocate the election of representatives who would secure the passage of higher duties and protective laws. Mr. Baldwin advocated such measures. As a result the duties on cottons and woolens had been raised twenty-five per cent., on iron sixty-six per cent., on nails a considerable per cent., and on cut glass thirty per cent. (g).

"The commercial interests of the East and the planters of the South were both opposed to that system on which our welfare depends. Manufactures are evidently the soul of Pittsburg, and consequently of all that portion of country of which she may be viewed as the center. To establish them and to give them an impulse sufficient to carry them on required measures that threatened to curtail the enormous profits of the nabobs of the South and that would probably check the great mercantile monopoly which is destroying our country, of the East, more than by inches. . . . We ask the farmer whose land four

(f) *Gazette*, March 5, 1819.

(g) *Mercury*, October 9, 1818.

years ago, when manufactures flourished, was worth \$50 an acre, but which now will not command \$30, if he thinks there is not something more important to attend to at the next election than the supporting of a party; we ask the mechanic of this city who, out of a claim of \$2,000, is thankful if he can procure enough for his weekly marketing, if this is a moment for mad party considerations; and we call upon the once prosperous manufacturer who can scarcely pay his regular discount, much less his reduction, if this is a time to descend to trifling intrigue. As for Henry Baldwin, he has been their warm friend; as for manufacturers, he is their ablest advocate, and of Western improvements in general he is the firmest supporter" (h).

"The Western country has risen to a certain eminence solely by expedients. Emigration has been sufficient to keep us in a kind of lingering existence. The Indian war kept us from expiring until the insurrection gave us a lift. The beneficial effects of the wealth introduced by this circumstance were fast decreasing when the non-intercourse and embargo suggested to us our true policy, which the late war realized by the establishment of an extensive system of manufactures. Our hopes were raised to an exalted height by a temporary success; wealth, standing and prosperity glittered in the perspective, and in the hour of pride we almost viewed ourselves as the metropolis of a new and brilliant empire. The treaty of Ghent has destroyed the charm; the peace has glutted our country with English goods, even to loathing, and the importation of British manufactures has affected our Western establishments with a deadly palsy. Our capital is rushing in floods to the seaboard to satisfy European claims; we are bleeding at every pore and we can look to but two sources for relief from evil: To a constant state of war, or to a systematic encouragement of manufactures" (i).

The congressional campaign in this district in 1818 between Henry Baldwin, candidate of the Federalists, and Samuel Douglas, candidate of the Republicans (afterward Democrats), was based principally upon the question of protection to manufactures, the former affirming and the latter denying. Much the same arguments, pro and con, were employed then as now. Mr. Baldwin pointed to the ruined or suspended manufactures of this place; while Mr. Douglas showed that all the advance in duty went into the pockets of the manufacturers, declaring that for every dollar paid for domestic cloth, twenty-five cents was clear gain to the manufacturer.

Abner Lacock, senator of the United States and resident of Beaver County, opposed a strong protective tariff, and declared that "our manufacturers ought to be content with the present duties on cottons and woollens," and that "it is worse than idle to talk of prohibiting the importation of foreign goods by high duties," and that "the measure is impracticable and known to be so by the experience of every statesman." The fight between the merchants of the Atlantic cities and the Southern States on the one hand, and the infant manufactories on the other, had commenced (j).

In the autumn of 1818 Bakewell, Page & Bakewell made for President Monroe an elegant table set of cut glass. Others were urged to be like the President—"practical encouragers of domestic industry." They were told "never to buy a foreign article if you can obtain a domestic one that is in reality as good." It seems that Anglomaniacs existed then as well as now. People bought goods of English make in order to display their wealth, not because the quality was better, but in order to assume a social superiority. Aushutz & Rahm conducted a large general store in 1818 and imported heavily.

"It is time to awake from our dream. When the flood of commerce reached

(h) Gazette, September 4, 1818.

(i) Gazette, September 11, 1818.

(j) Mercury, October 19, 1818.



our doors we fancied it the fertilizing Nile, and sported on it with our pleasure-boats; but the receding surge is now sweeping to the seaboard, and bears on its angry and agitated bosom everything that can be lifted from the soil. Its vestiges are to be traced on naked walls, in the dreary aspect of everything around us and in the subdued and heartbroken feelings of our manufacturers brooding over the ruins of their hopes and prospects. The least unfortunate and involved only fold their arms and look with fearful forebodings upon the general distress" (k).

"As to the moneyed affairs of the country, nothing will be due; things will be left to regulate themselves. There will be no law to prevent the exportation of specie nor to permit the Bank of the United States to suspend specie payments. I think the present state of things is the only thing which will bring the people to their senses about manufactures. It will be a dreadful struggle, but it will in the end produce incalculable good" (l).

"The general pressure seems to increase; the gloom which overhangs us becomes darker and darker; the mechanical and manufacturing community is languishing into annihilation; the cloud, which is probably charged with materials for our ruin, is almost bursting, and yet not one individual of eminence or standing has stepped forward to suggest a plan by which even temporary relief can be procured. Is there any reason to suppose that our present exports are to increase, and, if so, of what will they consist? We have heard of but two cargoes of flour which have left our country this season, and a whole region has been ransacked to procure this. As to agriculture, we asserted at the outset, and we assert again, we have no pretensions to it abstracted from manufactures. Without them Pittsburg must dwindle into the mere source for supplying the neighboring towns and villages" (m).

In April, 1819, John Gibb of Bayardstown was engaged in manufacturing oil of vitriol, aquafortis, spirit of salt, hartshorn, copperas, ivory black, neatsfoot oil, fire bricks, white soap for fullers, rosin soap, soft soap and candles.

On the 9th of October, 1819, pursuant to a previous meeting, a general assemblage of the citizens was held in the courthouse, on which occasion John Darragh presided and James S. Craft served as secretary. Mr. Forward reported a memorial on the subject of domestic manufactures, designed to be sent to Congress, whereupon the following set of resolutions was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That this meeting approve the principles of the foregoing memorial and adopt the same.

"*Resolved*, That John Johnston, Ephraim Pentland (postmaster), John Spear, J. Lea, Henry Baldwin, William McCandless, Morgan Neville, Walter Forward, William Wilkins, James S. Craft, Alexander Brackenridge, Joseph McClurg, John M. Snowden, J. H. Walker, N. Richardson, George Cochran, Mathew B. Lowrie, Benjamin Bakewell, George Evans and Lewis Peterson be appointed a committee, with instructions to procure three hundred copies of the memorial, to be printed and circulated in all the counties of Western Pennsylvania, for the purpose of obtaining signatures.

"*Resolved*, That Benjamin Bakewell, George Evans, Richard Brown, George Cochran, Lewis Peterson, George Sutton, Mathew B. Lowrie, James Arthurs, James Morford, William Leckey and Edward Patchell be appointed a committee for obtaining signatures to the memorial in the city of Pittsburg and its vicinity.

"*Resolved*, That the Select and Common Councils of the city of Pittsburg be requested to defray the expense of printing the said memorial from the city treasury.

"*Resolved*, That George Sutton, Henry Doane and Rev. Robert Patterson

(k) Writer in Gazette, October 6, 1818.

(l) Correspondent from Washington, D. C., to Gazette, December 28, 1818.

(m) Gazette, February 5, 1819.

be appointed a committee to collect such information as will show the relative state of the manufactories of this city at the present time and in the fall of 1815" (n).

The memorial recited that the people of the Western country, who suffered under "great and numerous evils," believed the same resulted from the erroneous policy of the Government in relation to domestic manufactures; that the predictions of the friends of heavier duties at the time the last tariff was laid were more than verified; that it was impossible to depict the distress in the Western country, the sacrifice of estates, the ruin of families and the complicated miseries of private suffering; that foreign goods had banished the precious metals from the land; that domestic manufactures, the greatest resource of the wealth and prosperity of Pittsburg, were in the last struggle of dissolution; that establishments which had given employment to thousands were idle; that an immense capital, invested in more auspicious days, was dormant, and the whole country was overspread with despondency and gloom.

The committee appointed under the last resolution made a report, dated December 24, 1819, to a public meeting, of which John Darragh was president and Mathew B. Lowrie secretary. It appeared from this report that the reduction in the production of flint glass alone amounted to \$75,000. The meeting approved of the report of the committee and unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

"*Whereas*, While we compare the present languishing of our manufactures with what they have lately been, we regret to find, on an examination of the facts here exhibited, that in the last four years a decrease of more than two-thirds has taken place; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That one hundred copies of the foregoing report, together with the proceedings of this meeting, be printed in handbills, and that one copy be sent to each of our representatives in Congress and our State Legislature, with an earnest request that they will zealously endeavor to have such measures adopted as will best secure, encourage and protect our domestic manufactures.

"*Resolved*, That the editors of newspapers in this city be requested to publish this statement, that these facts, being known to the community at large, may have some tendency to cause them to abandon the use of foreign goods of every kind which we must consider as a principal cause of our present embarrassments."

The following tabulated statement, showing the comparative condition of manufactures for the years 1815 and 1819, was embodied in the report and published for special circulation:

	Number of hands em- ployed in 1815.	Number of hands em- ployed in 1819.	Value of Manufactures in 1815.	Value of Manufactures in 1819.
Steam-engine factories .....	290	24	\$300,000	\$ 40,000
Foundries and iron castings.....	163	40	190,000	80,000
Iron and nail factories.....	65	30	241,200	40,500
Blacksmiths and whitesmiths.....	90	39	90,000	40,000
Glass manufactories and glass-cutting	160	40	235,000	35,100
Hat manufactories.....	69	30	122,000	50,200
Woolen factories and hosiery.....	63	16	48,500	16,150
Saddlers.....	68	28	90,100	36,000
Breweries....	28	18	91,050	35,000
White and red lead factories.....	25	9	110,000	35,000
Tobacconists.....	48	27	45,850	27,550

(n) Mercury, October, 1819.



	Number of hands em- ployed in 1815.	Number of hands em- ployed in 1819.	Value of Manufactures in 1815.	Value of Manufactures in 1819.
Brass-foundries .....	35	12	\$ 49,633	\$ 11,700
Ropemaking.....	18	15	30,000	15,000
Saddletree factories.....	28	12	29,900	14,000
Tin factories and coppersmiths... ..	100	40	200,000	45,000
Chair factories and cabinet-making..	66	40	90,000	24,500
Silver-plating.....	30	8	32,450	8,500
Cotton factories.....	42	0	42,000	0
Planemaking.....	20	10	25,000	9,500
Wire-weaving.....	10	7	12,000	6,000
Wiremaking.....	8	0	21,000	0
Button-making.....	6	3	6,250	2,100
Umbrella-making.....	2	0	1,600	0
Pianoforte-making.....	4	1	2,000	700
Tailors.....	66	29	65,000	28,500
Shoemakers.....	140	50	125,500	49,000
Patent balances, scales and steelyards	10	4	10,000	3,500
Yellow queensware.....	9	0	10,000	0
Pipemaking.....	3	0	1,800	0
Linen factory.....	20	0	25,000	0
Wagon-making and wheelwrights...	40	20	40,000	18,500
Paper-making.....	50	30	40,000	30,000
Makers of augers, bellows, brushes, cot- ton spinners, weavers, curriers, cut- ters, locksmiths, spinning-machine makers, tanners, tallow-chandlers, pattern-makers, silversmiths, gun- smiths, soap boilers, etc.....	175	90	195,000	130,000
	<u>1,960</u>	<u>672</u>	<u>\$2,617,833</u>	<u>\$832,000</u>

By comparing the condition of the business of 1815 with that of 1819, and both of these with that of 1817 (on a previous page), the extraordinary depression of this memorable period will be understood. The total business in 1815 amounted to \$2,617,833, with 1,960 hands employed. By 1817 it had fallen to \$2,225,464, with 1,460 hands employed. By 1819 the amount had sunk to \$832,000, with 672 hands employed. As the years 1820 and 1821 are famous in history for a continuation of this extraordinary industrial depression, it may be presumed that the amount of business sank to a still lower figure. No statistics for those years can be found. So strongly imbued was all the Western country with the idea of the importance of manufactures, that the subject was brought forward and advocated and espoused on all suitable occasions. On July 4, 1819, one of the toasts was, "Mechanics and Manufacturers, the Keystone of the Arch of Western Prosperity." Another, to which William Leckey responded, was, "The Manufacturers of the United States. May the time soon arrive when every American shall be clothed in the manufacture of his country." This exhibited the prevailing hostility to English importations. Another, to which Alexander Brackenridge responded, was, "Domestic Manufactures and Internal Improvement: The period of their encouragement will be the epoch of American greatness." Another was, "Domestic Manufacturers—the best prevention of hard times." The number and prominence given to these toasts to manufactures show how firmly the policy had taken root in this vicinity.

One of the strongest arguments used by the enemies of a protective tariff in 1819 was the extortion practiced by domestic manufacturers during the war of 1812. It was admitted that the argument was good so long as manufactures were in their infancy; but it was declared that the very extortion complained of would create a competition which would relieve the situation.

"Many persons, too, during the war were deterred from investing their idle funds in manufactures, lest Congress should withhold protection, and their prosperity, like a palace of ice, would be dissolved when the sun of peace should once more shine out on us. There was not, therefore, that active, bustling, ardent competition which is necessary to keep down the market. Cut off suddenly from accustomed supplies, we experience a temporary famine, and our manufacturers did not, it must be confessed, act toward their brethren with the magnanimity of the patriarch Joseph of old. Nor was this to be expected. We are all anxious to make money as fast as possible, and why should not the manufacturers avail themselves of their day, like other people? Self-interest is the spirit of trade; and when we see so many cheats and frauds daily practiced it does really seem childish to get into a passion so easily with our fellow-citizens of the loom and spindle. The British manufacturers have glutted our market with their goods, which are daily sacrificed at auction below the first cost, and have become so cheap as to cause a loud cry against their exclusion. The people of Birmingham and Manchester are right; they may sustain a temporary loss, but eventually they will be gainers. They will secure our custom. They know that this is the crisis of their fate. They know that the United States never had such motives, and never had such facilities, as at present, to furnish their own supplies. Should they succeed in killing off our domestic establishments, should they paralyze the impulse given to our manufactures during the last war by creating a delusive prejudice in favor of their depreciated fabrics, they will have accomplished an important object. Our manufactures must die and 'darkness be the burier of the dead.' All that is wanting is an assurance to our men of capital that the nation is clear-sighted enough to be in favor of manufactures, and that there is no danger that public protection will be capriciously withdrawn. There will quickly be a sufficient number of individuals engaged in them to secure us from extortion" (o).

"The crisis is approaching. Bankruptcy stares us in the face. Perhaps it is not too much to say that half of the Western towns belong already to Eastern creditors. We rely upon our representatives in Congress to relieve the country from its embarrassments. Should they not encourage our manufactures, every American should assist in the work. Let them form themselves into an association in the different towns, resolved to wear nothing but domestic articles, and let their representatives be pledged to support the manufacturing interests of the country. Cloth of Western manufacture of an excellent quality can be bought. Our Western manufactures can better come in competition with foreign fabrications, because the latter are charged in our market with the additional expense of carriage, exchange and the shopkeepers' profits. Besides which we all derive a benefit from the money being retained among ourselves" (p).

"Perhaps there is now sufficient excitement in this place for the formation of a society for the very purpose of introducing domestic apparel—a society that would do something in favor of economy by making home-made articles of dress fashionable. Such societies are now forming in different parts of the Western country. And shall Pittsburg, whose wealth and boast are in her

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(o) Gazette, July 30, 1819.

(p) Correspondent Gazette, August 17, 1819.



manufactures, be the last to set our country an example on a subject of such vital importance? Something must be done" (q).

The important question at this time (1819) concerning manufactures was "whether it was practicable in the present situation of the United States to introduce into them a sudden and general system of manufacturing." Many arguments pro and con were advanced. Pittsburg was torn by these discussions, but a clear majority favored a tariff that would foster domestic manufacturing institutions. William Wilkins, as a friend of manufactures, was a candidate for the lower house of the State Legislature, and John Scull and Samuel Power for the upper house, short and long terms (r).

A large meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia in the early autumn of 1819 passed resolutions to support no candidate for Congress who was not friendly to the American system, and sent a memorial to Congress favoring laws to sustain domestic manufactures.

"The fallacy of buying at the cheapest market no longer stands in our way, nor will Congress be again alarmed with the danger of imposing regulations upon trade. We have practical lessons on these subjects, infinitely more instructive than the dreams of political economists. Men whose fortunes are staked upon the ruin of manufactures have essayed to keep in repute the old illusion of a foreign market for the productions of agriculture, and have ascribed our embarrassment to the great number of ephemeral banks and the inundation of spurious paper. Experience has tested this reasoning also and fixed upon it the seal of refutation. . . . The power of the national government is alone adequate to the crisis. Partial restrictions, or expedients calculated for a temporary relief, will but protract the mischief. It is hoped that the arm of the government will be outstretched, so that every species of manufacture of which the raw material is produced at home will receive immediate, decided and permanent protection. We disdain all narrow views. Reposing the highest confidence in the wisdom of Congress, we ask them to protect the whole people, to foster every branch of the national industry, and especially to guard the infancy of our manufactures from the baneful competition of foreign nations" (s).

On December 10, 1819, William Wilkins, member of the Legislature, presented a petition from manufacturers and others of Pittsburg, praying for the incorporation of the Pittsburg Manufacturing Association.

On the 17th of January, 1820, at an adjourned meeting, of which John Hannen served as chairman and Alexander McClurg as secretary, a committee of seven persons (J. H. Walker, John Darragh, Walter Forward, Charles Shaler, Joshua Mahlon, John Spear and Alexander McClurg) was appointed to prepare a constitution for a society for the promotion of domestic economy, the granting of premiums to persons excelling in agriculture and manufactures, etc., which constitution, it was provided, should be submitted to a meeting called later to consider its measures. On February 3, 1820, such meeting was formally convened. Charles Shaler was made chairman and Alexander McClurg secretary. A committee was then appointed to circulate subscription papers in order to enlarge the membership, the following being on the committee from Pittsburg: Walter Forward, John Arthurs, William Porter, Lewis Peterson, Ross Wilkins, Andrew Scott, William Eichbaum, Jr., William Blair, Alexander McClurg and Thomas Bakewell. At this meeting a resolution was passed to memorialize Congress to extend aid and protection to the manufacturers of the United States. This action was taken with the particular view of counteracting certain petitions emanating from Virginia, inimical to the enactment of protective

(q) A citizen in Gazette, August 27, 1819.

(r) Gazette, August 31, 1819.

(s) Gazette, October, 1819.

legislation by Congress. Messrs. Denny, Biddle and Forward were appointed to prepare this memorial. The name chosen for the society was The Allegheny County Society for Protecting Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures. In the articles of association it was stated that:

"In searching for the cause of this extensive pecuniary distress we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that it proceeds in a great measure from the want of that paternal protection which the general government should have extended to foster and support our own manufactures, particularly at a time when, by a suicidal policy, the creation of so many banking institutions afforded the greatest facilities to speculators, by enabling them to introduce from foreign countries commodities of foreign fabrication, neither required by our necessities nor wanted for our comfort, and to such a ruinous extent as greatly to overbalance all our means of repayment, thereby prostrating that numerous and respectable class of our fellow citizens whose praiseworthy and indefatigable exertions during the late war rendered their country truly independent and merited a better reward" (t).

"There is an almost unanimous opposition among the Southern members to any further protection being given by law to the manufacturing interests. The Southern States which are engaged in the culture of cotton and tobacco find a ready sale for these articles and have no need of laws protecting manufactures. They look to the consumer and not to the producer. The present Congress is much perplexed over the situation" (u).

The mercantile class had little to gain by the adoption of a protective tariff schedule that should shut out foreign manufactures. They really made more money in handling imported goods, which, in nearly all articles, exceeded in merit domestic products. Late in January, 1820, the committee on domestic manufactures of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, after a long review of the condition of trade and manufactures in the State, submitted the following:

"Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives from this State in Congress be requested to use their utmost efforts to have the tariff so modified as to meet the prohibitions and prohibitory duties of foreign powers and afford effectual encouragement and protection to the industry of our citizens" (v).

On May 24, 1820, "the most numerous meeting ever assembled in Pittsburg" was held to consider the condition of public affairs. John Darragh was called to the chair; John Spear and Henry M. Campbell appointed secretaries, and Morgan Neville stated the object of the meeting. Resolutions thanking Henry Baldwin and Walter Lowrie for their exertions in behalf of manufactures in Congress, and Messrs. Powers, Wilkins, Brackenridge, Gilmore and Stewart for their efforts in behalf of internal improvements in the State Legislature, were passed. So great an interest in domestic manufactures did Morgan Neville, editor of the *Gazette*, take, that on June 5, 1820, he changed the name of his paper from *The Pittsburg Gazette* to *Pittsburg Gazette and Manufacturing and Mercantile Advertiser*. He said that although Mr. Baldwin's tariff bill had been rejected by Congress, he would not "give up the ship," and advised, "Let the word 'Manufactures' be in every man's mouth, so that not a particle of spirit may evaporate" (w).

The friends of domestic manufactures, desiring to show their appreciation of the able, judicious and persevering exertions of Henry Baldwin in their cause in the Congress of the United States, met at Colonel Hunter's Hotel June 26,

(t) *Gazette*, February 18, 1820.

(u) Extract from letter from Washington, D. C., dated February 9, 1820, in *Gazette* of February 18, 1820.

(v) Proceedings of the House, 1819-20.

(w) *Gazette*, June 5, 1820.

1820, on which occasion Benjamin Bakewell was called to the chair and George Cochran appointed secretary. It was designed to honor Mr. Baldwin with a public dinner, where an opportunity could be afforded for an expression of the opinions of the community; but that gentleman, while warmly thanking the projectors of the movement for their confidence in him, advised against the banquet. He stated that the contest inaugurated among the citizens of Pittsburg on the subject of a protective tariff was already too violent and protracted, that the excitement should be allayed rather than increased, owing to the approaching and inevitable conflict on the subject (x).

The tariff bill introduced into Congress by Mr. Baldwin, and supported by him in a masterly speech, was framed not so much with a view to secure revenue or to aid manufactures as to introduce a policy by which the industry of the country might be resuscitated and encouraged. The impartial principles exhibited in this speech placed the subject in a more liberal and enlightened view than had ever before been accomplished by any member of Congress.

It is commonly accepted as a fact, and there seems no reason to doubt its truth, that the year 1821 witnessed the greatest business depression this community was ever called upon to endure. In that year manufactures were almost wholly suspended, and a lethargy which no one seemed able to break held possession of all business enterprises. No such general suspension of business operations was known here previously, nor has been experienced since. The little money which had escaped the demands of Eastern creditors was never exhibited and carefully hoarded. The most tempting offers to capital were rejected. It is said that good lumber went begging at fifty cents per thousand feet and that wheat had much difficulty in bringing twenty-five cents a bushel. All manufacturing, or nearly all, was stopped, because there were no orders. In fact, it took five years for the merchants and manufacturers here to collect from Western purchasers enough to satisfy Eastern creditors. The recollection of this distressing period was only effaced by the death of the participants.

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(x) Gazette, July 3, 1820.

## CHAPTER X.

MANUFACTURES CONTINUED—REVIVAL OF BUSINESS IN 1825-29—EXTENT OF THE GLASS INDUSTRY—PAPER-MILLS, GRISTMILLS, TANNERIES, SADDLIERIES, FURNITURE, BOOTS AND SHOES, BREWERIES, TOBACCO, SALT, WHITE LEAD, COTTON AND WOOLEN GOODS, LUMBER, ROPES, POTTERY, ETC.—NAMES OF THE LEADING BUSINESS MEN—COMPARATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES—EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN THE TARIFF OF 1824—METHODS OF BUSINESS MEN—THE FLAX INDUSTRY—FARMING IMPLEMENTS—THE FACTORY LABOR QUESTION—CHEMICALS—COAL—GROWTH OF BUSINESS—SANTA FÉ TRADE—BELL MAKING—WHOLESALE—SODA ASH—CARRIAGES AND WAGONS—THE FACTORY RIOTS OF 1848—EFFECTS OF THE TARIFF OF 1846—STATISTICS OF 1857—GREAT VARIETY OF INDUSTRY.

Despite the hard times several important industries started up from 1819 to 1824. The first successful rolling-mill was put in operation in 1819, though founded in 1818; and early in the '20s others were inaugurated. The citizens persistently advocated a protective law, and at last were triumphant in securing the strong tariff of 1824. It had no sooner become a law than the manufacturers here began to widen their business operations, so that within two or three years a stranger would scarcely have recognized the place.

The O'Hara glassworks were continued by him until his death in 1819, and were then rented. In 1825 the "Pittsburg Glass Works," as they were called, were conducted by Frederick Lorenz, and their operations were very extensive. Forty-eight hands were employed and 60,754 bushels of coal and 600 cords of wood were consumed annually. In 1825 they manufactured (a):

Window-glass .....	7,500 boxes, worth	\$31,000
Porter bottles.....	160 gross, worth	1,440
Hollowware.....	3,160 dozen, worth	4,424
Total.....		\$36,864

The glass establishment of Bakewell, Page & Bakewell was founded in 1808 and the building erected in 1811, on Water Street, above Grant, and, from the start, was devoted exclusively to the manufacture of white or flint glass. So excellent was the article produced that the manufacturers attained a fame, not only in all parts of the United States, but in Mexico and in many parts of Europe. No finer product could be found anywhere. If a stranger of prominence visited Pittsburg he was taken with certainty to "Bakewell's glasshouse." They produced every variety and employed sixty-one hands, of whom twelve were kept constantly engaged in engraving and ornamenting. The annual product in 1825 was about \$45,000 (b).

In 1810 the Birmingham Glass Works were founded, and in 1812 the building was erected by Sutton, Wendt & Co., but after many changes the establishment was owned and conducted by Wendt, Ensell, Ihmsen and others in 1825. They manufactured window-glass and green hollow glassware entirely and did a large business. Their product went to all parts of the Union. The

(a) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones.

(b) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones.

owners were all practical men, who did a large part of their own work. They employed forty hands and manufactured in 1825:

Window-glass .....	4,000 boxes, worth	\$16,000
Porter bottles.....	100 gross, worth	900
Hollowware.....	10,000 dozen, worth	11,040
Total (c).....		\$27,940

In 1823 John Robinson erected near the corner of Ross and Second streets what was called the "Stourbridge Glass Works," and began to manufacture white and flint glass only. In 1825 eighteen hands were employed, and the establishment was fairly prosperous. He then made engraved and fancy cut glass, and his works were at First and Ross streets. The following table shows the production of glass here in 1825:

Factories (c).	Hands	Value of Product.	Bushels Coal Consumed.
Pittsburg Glass Works.....	48	\$36,864	60,754
Birmingham Glass Works.....	40	27,940	40,000
Bakewell's Glass Works.....	61	45,000	30,000
Stourbridge Glass Works.....	18	22,000	18,000
Totals....	167	131,804	148,754

In 1810 there were but two paper-mills in the western part of Pennsylvania, one of which, the longest established, was the Redstone Mill. The Anchor Steam Paper Mill, owned and conducted by Henry Holdship, situated at the corner of Ross and Brackenridge streets, was the largest west of the mountains in 1825. An engine of thirty horsepower was used and eighty-eight hands were employed. The mill contained six large vats, and, in addition to other goods, produced forty reams of fine paper per week, each valued at \$3 per ream. The total value of product per year was \$37,440. In 1825-6, during eighteen months, \$40,000 worth of Spanish paper was produced for the South American market (c). Situated in the Northern Liberties was the Pittsburg Steam Paper Mill, owned by Joseph Patterson & Co. and containing three vats, the motive agency being a twenty-horsepower engine. Cramer & Spear of Pittsburg owned a paper-mill in Little Beaver, Beaver County, which contained two vats and produced \$9,000 worth of paper annually. Johnston & Stockton conducted a paper-mill at the falls of Big Beaver, which contained two vats and turned out \$10,000 worth of paper yearly (c). In 1826 a new steam paper-mill was in process of erection, near the Arsenal, by George Hurst & Co. Mr. Belknap made the engine.

In 1825 there were four gristmills here—three in Pittsburg and one in Birmingham. The Pittsburg Steam Mill, at the corner of Water Street and Redoubt Alley, was established in 1808 by Oliver Evans. In 1825 it operated three runs of burrs each week day of twelve hours, with an annual capacity of about 7,000 barrels. Attached to it was the plow factory of George Evans. The Allegheny Steam Mill, established a few years before 1826, on Irwin's Alley, by William Anderson, was owned in 1826 by John Herron. It operated two runs of burrs. In twelve hours it could grind and chop 240 bushels. Connected with it was the Allegheny Steam Sawmill, also owned by Mr. Herron, capable of turning out from 2,000 to 2,500 feet of boards per day of twelve hours each. The Eagle Steam Flour Mill, on the Monongahela, at the mouth of Suke's Run, originally established by Anthony Beelen, but in 1826 conducted by Mr. Henderson, ran two sets of burrs, one for country work. It produced 3,500 barrels per year, besides large quantities of cut feed. The Birmingham

(c) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones.



Steam Flour Mill of Sutton & Nicholson had two runs of burrs. It did country work wholly, and connected with it was a turning and boring mill. In the four flourmills forty-five hands were employed and \$72,000 annual products were turned out (d).

The nine tanneries were owned by William Hays, John Caldwell, Lewis Peters, John Thompson, Allen Brown, William McCaddon, John Bayard, Thomas Sample and Robert McIlhinny. Fifty-two hands were employed and \$65,000 worth of goods produced annually.

Of the eight saddleries, that owned by John Little, employing 47 hands, was the most extensive. Hanson & Brice and Plummer & Co. were likewise large establishments. All hired 104 hands and prepared \$85,000 in products annually.

There were 45 boot and shoe makers, who hired 225 hands and manufactured \$95,000 worth of goods yearly. Boots and shoes of outside manufacture were also consumed here to the amount of \$35,000 yearly.

In 1825 there were 6 chairmakers, who employed 30 hands and made yearly \$12,000 in goods; 14 cabinet-makers, who hired 65 hands and produced \$45,000 worth of goods; 2 coachmakers, who hired 15 hands and whose products were \$10,000; 7 wagon and plow makers, who hired 35 hands, and made \$12,000 worth of goods; 2 wheelwrights, who hired 7 hands and made \$3,000 worth of goods; 140 persons engaged in boatbuilding, producing \$62,000 yearly in steam, keel and barge boats; 3 planemakers, Ezekiel Fosdick being one; 7 brickyards, producing 4,500,000 bricks per year, worth \$3.50 per 1,000, and employing 100 persons; 5 stonecutting establishments, hiring 16 hands and producing \$12,000 worth of dressed stone; 3 potteries—owned by Thomas Freeman, James Barr and Jacob Heckesweller—all employing 14 hands and producing \$5,100 yearly in earthenware, stoneware and fire brick; 1 ropewalk located in Allegheny and operated by John Irwin, hiring 14 hands and turning out \$15,000 worth of goods from twine to ship cables; 3 white-lead factories, owned by Avery & Co. (established by James S. Stevenson several years before), Brackenridge & Porter (built in 1825), Brunot's—all turning out annually 6,000 kegs of lead, worth \$23,100; 4 distilleries, two of which were principally rectifying establishments. Of the distilleries particular mention was made of that owned by George Sutton, which produced—

"The celebrated 'Tuscaloosa,' which is so highly esteemed in the Southern States for its anti-miasmatic and animalculæ-destroying qualities, for the mildness with which it insurges the consumer and for the fresh and exhilarated spirits that it gives to those who may have been accidentally rendered obsolete by its power when the returning rays of translucence break upon them. . . . Mr. Sutton is now engaged in making a new beverage as a competitor of the 'Tuscaloosa,' to which he has given the inspiring and beautiful name of the 'Pure Rock Water,' or, in the language of the last of the Mohicans, the 'Real Tallyvally Cord.' This is an admirable liquor, blending with the mildness of milk all the sparkling vivacity of champagne. It steals gently upon the senses like music upon the soul and animates the intellect without ever collapsing an idea" (e).

Of the three breweries the one at the Point, conducted by George Shiras, Jr., made, in 1825, 2,500 barrels of porter and 1,500 barrels of beer, valued at \$17,000. It was announced that George Shiras, Jr., would erect during the summer of 1826 a brick brewery, with a capacity of 5,000 barrels of beer and porter yearly (c). The Pittsburg Brewery, owned by Brown & Varner, was burned in 1825 and rebuilt in 1826. Its capacity was 2,000 barrels of porter and 1,200 barrels of beer annually. Kensington Brewery, owned by Coltart & Silvey, made 600 barrels of porter and 1,500 barrels of beer, worth \$7,500. The

(d) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones.

(e) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones.



distilleries and breweries hired 40 hands and produced annually \$48,000 worth of beverages.

The eleven tobacco factories made 4,833 kegs and 4,000,000 cigars, giving employment to 140 hands and producing \$53,000 worth annually (c).

"It is an astonishing fact that notwithstanding the numerous saline indications that were known for many years to exist about Pittsburg, no one, until within a year or two past, ever made an attempt to obtain salt water by boring. We almost feel ashamed of ourselves when we look back at the time when salt was commanding \$12 and \$14 per barrel, while inexhaustible supplies of saline water were running a few feet below us" (f).

A short time before this George Anshutz succeeded in obtaining a strong salt water by boring at the mouth of Sawmill Run, about one mile below the Point. In 1825 he made about 4,000 barrels of salt, valued at \$5,000. What a mine of wealth this would have been here twenty and thirty years before! At this date (1825) several wells were under way within the present city limits and many in this vicinity. There were twenty-four wells on the Kiskeminetas, all within three miles of each other, and ten more being bored, which produced over 300 barrels of salt daily.

In 1825 there were here also 1 sickle-maker, 3 brushmakers, 7 hatters, 2 dyers, 11 painters and glaziers, 11 plasterers, 12 coopers, 44 tailors, 8 bakers, 4 confectioners, 1 organ-maker, 1 button-maker, 2 saddletree-makers and platers, 2 chemists, 5 chandlers, 1 combmaker, 2 reedmakers, 4 turners in wood, 2 sash-makers, 1 rigger, 2 bellows-makers, 3 pattern-makers, 2 cutlers, 1 tackle-block maker, all of which employed 310 hands and produced goods annually worth \$135,000. The names of all may be learned from the directory of that date. The total number of persons employed here in 1825 was 2,997. The following were given as the manufactures of 1825 (f):

Industry.	Value of Products
Iron.....	\$559,000
Nails.....	309,000
Castings.....	132,610
Steam engines.....	152,800
Cotton goods.....	200,488
Woolen goods.....	33,667
Glass.....	131,804
Paper.....	82,400
Brass, tin and copper ware.....	73,000
Smithwork and other metallic manufactures.....	82,000
Woodwork.....	177,000
Spirituous and malt liquors.....	60,000
Flour.....	36,000
Boards, brick and stone.....	37,500
Leather, shoes and saddlery.....	236,000
Potteries.....	6,180
Ropes, twines, etc.....	15,000
Tobacco, cigars and snuff.....	53,000
Wire work.....	10,000
Salt.....	8,000
White lead.....	23,100
Miscellaneous manufactures.....	135,000
	<hr/> \$2,553,549

(f) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones.

"The commercial and trading transactions of Pittsburg during the last twelve months (1825) have far surpassed those of any former period. The vast increase of population and the consequent demand for the various necessities of life; the extensive range of country that is supplied from our city, and the facilities which are afforded for transportation by our numerous streams and turnpike roads, combined with the spirit and enterprise of our merchants, are the great causes of our prosperity. Our extensive manufacturing and mercantile concerns must remain unrivaled in the Western country, as to their locality and advantageous position. While we are supplying the West and the South with iron, nails, glass, whisky, paper, cottons, castings, etc., we are supplying the North with dry goods, groceries and all kinds of merchandise, and the East with linen, feathers, beeswax, bacon, lard, flour and a variety of domestic products. But our increase is nearly balanced by the indulgence of our citizens in foreign luxuries and superfluities. The balance of trade is very small in favor of Pittsburg, considering the means she has of monopolizing trade and realizing wealth; and it admits of a doubt whether we will be any richer five years to come than we are now if our imports of foreign goods be proportionate to the supposed increase of our manufacturing and other domestic concerns. If we wish to increase our manufacturing interests, encourage them by purchasing their fabrics. It is in this way that a competition must be excited which, together with the duties already laid, will so far supersede the importation of such foreign goods as we can make ourselves. Then the balance of trade would not only be found in Pittsburg to a great amount, but throughout our common country" (g).

In 1825 James Arthurs & Sons manufactured 1,200 yards of broadcloths, worth \$4 per yard, and 3,600 yards of cassinets, worth 85 cents per yard. They also carded and spun 15,000 pounds of wool and dressed 8,000 yards of country cloth. In their woolen mill they employed 11 hands (g). Headrick & Gibb, at their woolen factory, corner of Liberty and Diamond streets, made, in 1825, 4,200 yards of cassinets, worth eighty-five cents a yard, carded 7,000 pounds of country wool, wove of coverlets and carpets \$700 worth, and spun 3,000 pounds of country wool. They employed seven hands.

In September, 1825, the well-known house of Patterson & Lambdin, paper manufacturers, assigned to Henry Holdship, C. Anshutz and Martin Rahm. Reddick & Owen made barouches, gigs, dearborns and stages.

The growers of wool in 1824-5 were dependent on the Steubenville factory to dispose of their supplies. After delivering his wool to the factory the grower was obliged to wait six or eight months before receiving his payment in cloth. The Atlantic cities furnished no market for the wool of this section, as they were filled with the superior product of Spain and Portugal. The merino wool of this country was not washed and sorted like that of Spain. Portugese wool brought at this time in Philadelphia fifty-five cents per pound (h).

The manufacture of cotton cloth in Pittsburg was commenced during the War of 1812 by Hugh and James Jelly, and had no sooner started than it was prostrated by the immense influx of imported fabrics succeeding the declaration of peace. Their large building stood in Northern Liberties, silent and deserted, during the melancholy years from 1817 to 1822. In the latter year James Adams, Allen & Grant (commission merchants) and James S. Craft erected, on the ruins of the Jelly factory, a large structure for the manufacture of cotton machines of all kinds. In the spring of 1822 they brought from Providence, R. I., the largest amount of machinery ever brought here under a single order,

(g) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones.

(h) Gazette and Manufacturing and Mercantile Advertiser, April 29, 1825.

and brought also the skilled workmen necessary for turning, filing, carding, spinning, dressing, weaving, etc. In their establishment were upward of 2,700 spindles. In 1825 they produced daily about 700 pounds of yarn and about 450 yards of cotton cloth, consuming about 600 bales of cotton annually. They employed about 170 hands. The annual value of their manufactured goods and machinery was about \$100,000. Their establishment was called the Phoenix Steam Cotton Factory.

The Fleecedale Woolen Factory on Chartiers Creek, owned and operated by A. & J. Murphy, made, in 1825, 9,600 yards of cassinets, worth \$9,600, and 1,500 yards of broadcloth, worth \$7,500. They also carded 10,000 pounds of wool and gave employment to sixteen hands. John McIlroy manufactured here, in 1825, at his factory, plaids, checks, Wilmington and fancy stripes, orange and blue chambrays, bedticks, brown sheeting, shirting, cotton yarn, etc. Johnston & Stockton succeeded Eichbaum & Johnston as blank-book makers early in 1826. J. H. Davis manufactured hats in 1827; so did McKee & Graham.

"The year 1810 may be said to have been the commencement of Pittsburg manufactures. Then a few enterprising men began the fabrication of cottons, woolens, glass, etc., and from that time until the year 1815 its prosperity and increase were unrivaled; so great indeed and sudden was its rise from an obscure and retired borough to rank and importance that it became the theme of much notoriety, as well in our own country as in Europe. In England, Pittsburg was called the Birmingham of America. The war, however, which existed about this period between the United States and Great Britain, was the great promoter of our prosperity; for, as long as foreign commerce was depressed, so long our manufacturers succeeded. Landed property commanded an immense price; all kinds of labor, as well as the produce of it, had an unusual value set upon it. In fact, such was the rage to acquire fortunes by taking advantage of circumstances that a complete speculating mania reigned throughout the country. The private citizen drew forth his earnings of former days to invest it in manufactures; the merchant dived deep into the business of his calling and the farmer who lived comfortably upon his paternal estate, with all the necessary comforts of life about him, took to landjobbing speculations with an uncommon avidity. But the peace, alas! put an end to all these visions of wealth and harvests of prosperity. The channels of commerce were immediately opened and the vast quantities of British goods that, unsold, had lain in the warehouses of the English manufacturers for two years before, now inundated the country and were thrown onto the market at any price. American fabrics immediately depreciated. The merchant who had made his purchases previously at high prices failed; the manufactories slowly declined, until at last many of them stood still, and the speculator lost all that he had bought and was probably compelled to sell the little he had when he commenced his schemes of aggrandizement. The distress that followed this event can only be known by those who were concerned in them or witnessed their dire effects; and it is only within a year or two that the people are beginning to recover from the difficulties of that at once fortunate and unfortunate period" (i).

James Arthurs & Sons' Steam Cotton Factory, on Strawberry, near Cherry Alley, contained, in 1825, one throstle of 120 spindles, one mule of 168 spindles, and was principally employed in the manufacture of fine yarns. Thirteen hands were employed in the cotton factory. Adjoining was a woolen factory owned by them, where a large country business was done and cassinets were made. In 1825 John McIlroy, at Front and Second streets, operated eighty hand

(i) Pittsburg in 1826.—S. Jones. (This statement is made in general terms and must not be taken as exact. For instance, the O'Hara glassworks started in 1797, and by 1801 were highly successful.)



looms, which produced daily about 1,202 yards of plaids, stripes and checks, worth \$194.62. There were employed 155 hands, who annually made 363,600 yards, worth \$54,540. James Shaw, about the same time, on Wood Street, near Liberty, operated 52 hand looms and made 1,044 yards of checks and plaids daily, worth \$158.80. He employed 70 hands, who annually made 234,000 yards, valued at \$35,100. Thomas Graham, also, on Market, near Fifth, operated 34 hand looms and made 688 yards of plaids, checks, stripes and Wilmington stripe daily, valued at \$102.56. Forty-five hands annually made 206,200 yards, worth \$30,900. In 1825 Tilford & Sons, near Pittsburg, operated eight looms and annually wove of stripes and plaids about 36,000 yards. They also made cassinets and woolen carpeting. Fifteen hands were employed, and the annual product was valued at \$6,123. Besides the above there were operated here, in 1825, about forty-seven additional looms, engaged upon coverlets, carpets, linen, cotton cloth, all producing about 211,500 yards yearly, valued at \$29,210, and giving employment to about sixty hands.

Establishment (j).	Looms.	Hands	Cotton spun, pounds.	Cotton woven, yards.	Value.
Phoenix Cotton Factory.....	16	170	210,000	135,000	\$100,000 (k)
Arthurs & Sons' Cotton Factory..	..	13	13,500	.....	4,185
McIlroy's Cotton Factory.....	80	155	.....	360,000	54,540
Shaw's Cotton Factory.....	52	70	.....	234,000	35,100
Graham's Cotton Factory.....	34	40	.....	206,200	30,930
Tilford & Sons' Cotton Factory...	8	15	.....	36,000	6,123
Miscellaneous .....	47	60	.....	211,500	29,610

Under the tariff of 1824 the following duty was in operation in 1827-8 on the products of Pittsburg: Thirty per cent. on the products of brewers (except ale, beer and porter), coppersmiths, paper-makers, bellows-makers, saddlers, brushmakers, cabinet-makers, tallow-chandlers, confectioners, coachmakers, wheelwrights, chairmakers, cutters, tanners and curriers, tinsmiths, hatters, woolen goods, cotton goods, hairmakers, pianoforte and musical-instrument makers, marble-cutters, sculptors, gunsmiths, umbrella-makers, milliners. Thirty-five per cent.—Harness and trunk makers, brassfounders, scalebeam-makers. Twenty-five.—Blacksmiths, typefounders, brassfounders (others), platers, locksmiths. Fifty per cent.—Tailors, ironfounders (cast), one and one-half cents per pound. One hundred per cent.—Card manufacturers. Fifteen per cent.—Ale, beer and porter. As time passed it was provided that these duties should increase.

In the spring of 1827 the people of Pittsburg took strong sides in the argument on the bill then pending in Congress to increase the duty on wool. The *Mercury* opposed any increase, while the *Gazette* insisted that an increase was necessary to make wool growing and manufacturing profitable in this country. The representative of this district in Congress, Mr. Stevenson, spoke against the bill and was severely taken to task by the *Gazette*. It was shown that immediately after the passage of the tariff of 1824 England reduced her duty on imported wool from sixpence to one penny per pound, a reduction of 500 per cent., which more than counterbalanced the American duty on imported wools, and actually nullified the law.

In January, 1827, the new steam gristmill of W. C. Miller was in operation on the Allegheny opposite the garrison. The proprietor called for wheat, rye, corn, barley, etc. J. Harvey built organs here in 1827.

The Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and Mechanic Arts, with headquarters in Philadelphia, took strong action in the summer of

(j) Pittsburg in 1826.—Samuel Jones. (k) Including machinery manufactured.

1827 by holding meetings throughout the State in the interest of wool growing and manufacturing, and was instrumental in organizing many local bodies having the same object in view. It was through the efforts of this society that a large meeting was called to be held in Pittsburg June 16, 1827, on which occasion John Darragh was made chairman and John M. Snowden and Ross Wilkins appointed secretaries. The following resolutions, proposed by Ephraim Pentland and seconded by Neville B. Craig, were adopted:

*"Resolved,* That every description of American manufactures, wherever located, is an object of national concern and deserving of national protection.

*"Resolved,* That the protection of woolen manufacture and the wool grower is a subject of the deepest national interest and that the failure of the woolen bill in the late Senate of the United States ought to be deplored by every true friend of the American system.

*"Resolved,* That it be earnestly recommended that the woolen bill should be brought forward at the first session of the next Congress, and so amended as to embrace any other article which needs protection.

*"Resolved,* That four delegates be appointed by this meeting to attend a convention at Harrisburg on the 27th inst."

A motion made by Mr. Baldwin and seconded by Mr. Snowden, to substitute other resolutions for all the above except the first, was lost. In accordance with the recommendation of the last resolution above, the following gentlemen were appointed to attend the manufacturers' convention at Harrisburg: Walter Forward, Christopher Cowan, Joseph Patterson and James S. Craft.

One of the strongest arguments used at this time by the enemies of a high protective tariff was that such a duty was a tax on the consumer. This view was taken by James S. Stevenson and by a strong following here, among whom was Mr. Snowden, editor of the *Mercury*. In fact, these two men at this time were the leaders of the opposition in Pittsburg to a protective tariff. At the meeting of the 16th they made great efforts to defeat the object of the Pentland resolutions. Mr. Baldwin, whose views on the subject had undergone a change, opposed the Pentland resolutions. It must be understood, however, that outspoken opposition to protection was weak and halting in Pittsburg.

The national convention in the interest of protection to manufactures was held at Harrisburg in July and August, 1827. Several days were spent in debate and deliberations. A memorial stating the wishes of the convention was prepared and sent to Congress.

The supporters of Adams and Rush here in 1828 believed that the election of Jackson meant the repeal of the tariff of 1824 and the success of the Southern policy, which advocated the production in this country of the raw material and the manufacture of the same in Europe. Powerful stress was laid upon this fact by the friends of the administration here, and strong verbal pictures were drawn of the results of the death of local manufactures.

The business of selling goods at public auction in the original packages, by foreign importers, and that, too, before the duties were paid, was complained of as a great evil, injurious to the interests of resident merchants and importers, and as defeating the intention of the Government in its revenue law for the protection of home manufactures. A long credit was given importers, which enabled them to buy and sell at auction many times before being required to pay duty, and hence do an immense business on little or no capital.

In January, 1828, Benjamin Bakewell was summoned before the Congressional committee on manufactures to answer under oath questions concerning the glass manufactures of Pittsburg.

In January, 1828, Richard Mansley conducted a ropery at Bayardstown, near the Phoenix Cotton Mill. He made bedcords, plowlines, bed-lacings, twine

of all sorts, lines, etc. He called for hemp and flax. In 1828 J. & J. Parker managed a rectifying distillery, making liquors, brandy, rum, gin, alcohol, whisky, cordials, bitters, etc.

Another "large and respectable meeting" of the citizens was held in the courthouse March 12, 1828, on which occasion resolutions favoring a higher protection on wool were adopted. M. M. Murray was chairman of the meeting and Charles H. Israel and Henry Peterson secretaries. The resolutions were offered by Neville B. Craig and seconded by Michael Allen. Mr. A. Murphy, of the firm of A. & J. Murphy, wool growers and manufacturers, of the county, addressed the assemblage. Upon the adoption of the resolutions there were several dissenting voices (l). The policy first advocated by Jefferson was thus asserting itself here, and under Jackson was destined to attain a growth presumed impossible by this already great manufacturing center.

The Phoenix Cotton Factory, owned by Adams, Allen & Craft, operated 5,500 spindles in 1828-9, and produced 7,000 pounds of yarn and 3,600 yards of superior muslin per week. At the same time the Franklin Cotton Factory, owned by Asa Waters, operated 1,000 spindles and turned out 1,400 pounds of yarn weekly.

"Mr. Hamilton Stewart has commenced the manufacture of damask table linen. His table-cloths are extremely neat, and, what is of equal importance, they are very cheap and of a texture that will insure service and durability. In weaving the cloth the threads are so arranged and managed that almost any figure or name or letters can be made to appear in full view upon the surface. His wareroom is on Third, near Wood Street" (m). His weaver was Thomas Brown, from Edinburg.

John Towne, in 1828, conducted the Pittsburg Linen Factory and advertised for hemp and flax. In 1828 the Fort Pitt Glass Works, conducted by Price, Curlings & Co., turned out large quantities of cut, plain and flint glass. Price, Curlings & Co. dissolved in September and R. B. Curling & Sons continued. The members before had been William Price, Robert B. Curling, William Curling and Alfred B. Curling. Morgan & Catton manufactured looking glasses, mantel and pier glasses, mahogany frames, etc. Hilary Brunot, in Eastern Liberties, manufactured white lead, both dry and ground. J. J. Carpenter conducted the bookbindery that had previously been owned by J. S. Sheldon. Henry Holdship and his son, G. W. Holdship, made paper of all kinds. David P. Ingersoll made hats. Elkin & Ledlie made tobacco and cigars. B. Troost conducted a chemical laboratory and made ether, ammonia, potash, soda, acids, cordials, rectified liquors, etc. Reddick & Owen manufactured coaches, carriages and harness. R. & W. Mackey made saddles and harness in Bayard's Row. George Evans turned timber lasts, hatblocks, etc. John Thompson conducted a tannery. R. Flint & Co. made brass goods, and Ramage made type.

The spinning of flax by machinery driven by steam-power was considered an important enterprise here in 1829. John Towne furnished the capital and placed William Sutliff in charge as superintendent. The machinery was set in operation in January, 1829. Soon drilling, table-cloths, linen, etc., were placed upon the market (n). In February, 1829, the hat factory of Dobbins & Anshutz was doing a large and profitable business. In 1828 there were built here or in this vicinity twenty-two steamboats, aggregating a total tonnage of 4,570, and costing in round numbers \$275,000 (o). In the spring of 1829 two merchants of this city each imported directly from Liverpool from 1,200 to 1,500 crates of

(l) Gazette, March 13, 1828.

(m) Statesman, December 17, 1828.

(n) Statesman, January 28, 1829.

(o) Gazette, February 27, 1829.

queensware, which fact induced the local newspapers to notice that yellow queensware was manufactured near here (p).

"President Jackson has ordered from Messrs. Bakewell, Page & Bakewells, of the city of Pittsburg, a set of glass for his own use. It consists of large and splendid bowls, with and without stands, celery glasses, pitchers, quart and pint decanters, tumblers, wine and champagne glasses, salts, etc., all executed in the very best style of workmanship. The glass is as pellucid as crystal and the beautiful cuttings give a brilliancy of effect not easily described. We understand the order is valued at about \$1,500" (q).

J. Harvey of this city manufactured church and other organs and pianofortes in 1826-7. He placed a fine large organ in the Catholic church at Cincinnati. In 1827 there was begun here the manufacture of wigs, braids, curls, scalps and other hair work. Mr. Price, of Price, Curling & Co., had, years before, been engaged in the same business with General O'Hara. At this time, also, Frost & Vodrey, from Staffordshire, England, commenced the manufacture of earthenware. The distillery in Bayardstown, owned by Whitehill & Bayard, was offered for sale in April, 1828. Its capacity was from twelve to twenty bushels per day. The Phoenix Cotton Factory in Northern Liberties, owned by Adams, Allen & Co., was offered for sale in February, 1830. It operated 4,000 spindles, 50 power looms, was run by steam and manufactured woolen and linen, as well as cotton goods. John Caldwell began to manufacture morocco leather in February, 1830. A. & W. Beatty & Co. began manufacturing cotton goods in 1830 on Sixth Street, near Wood. Coltart & Silvey of the Phoenix Brewery brewed about 2,500 barrels in 1829. In July, 1830, they offered the establishment for sale, or rent. About 12,000 boxes of glass, manufactured at Pittsburg, Wheeling, etc., were shipped to the Atlantic coast per annum from 1827 to 1830. John Blair manufactured caps here in 1830. In 1832 there was consumed here daily about 10,000 bushels of coal. The daily consumption in Manchester, England, was about 42,000 bushels. This fact was brought out by the recommendation of Governor Wolf to levy a tax on coal. Lyon & Shorb consumed about 100,000 bushels annually. James B. Morgan conducted a big steam sawmill in Bayardstown, near Shoenberger's iron works, in September, 1832. John Hise and Samuel C. Cole manufactured coaches, barouches, chariotees, carioles, gigs, sulkies, dearborns, etc., in 1832. The Phoenix Brewery in Kensington was sold at sheriff's sale in September, 1833, and the Washington Brewery was offered for rent. C. Lukens & Co. manufactured paper about two miles from Pittsburg in 1833. The cotton factory of Arbuckles & Avery, known as "Eagle," was in full operation in April, 1833. John Faber & Sons manufactured machine cards here in 1834.

The tariff of 1832 and the act of 1833, to equalize it, were both on the line of a reduction of the duties on almost every article produced by Pittsburg manufacturers. This was particularly true of cotton goods.

"There are six cotton factories, with an aggregate of 20,000 spindles, 116 power looms and 770 hands, 6 extensive white-lead factories, 5 extensive breweries besides smaller ones, 6 steam sawmills, 4 steam gristmills, 10 extensive glassworks and upward of 100 steam engines in operation. There are, moreover, innumerable establishments for the manufacture of plows, timber wheels, screws of all kinds, saddletrees, machine cards, bells, brass works of every description, locks, etc., all manufactured extensively for exportation" (r).

The Fort Pitt Glass Works Co., composed of R. B. Curling, William Curling, A. B. Curling and Henry Higby, was dissolved by mutual consent July 17,

(p) Harris' Intelligencer, 1829.

(q) Mercury, 1832.

(r) Mercury, October 28, 1834 (adapted).

1834. The business was afterward carried on by William A. B. Curling. The Pittsburg Powder Mill was conducted by A. & A. Watson in 1835, and the Stourbridge Glass Works by T. & J. Robinson were in operation the same year. In the spring of 1835 the sale of Pittsburg manufactured articles was larger than ever before known (s). On June 26, 1835, it was estimated that there were in operation here and in this vicinity 120 steam engines. In 1836 Douglass & Moore made a line of hats and caps. James Mackin & Co. manufactured "pure and unadulterated bread" at the corner of Penn and O'Hara streets in 1837.

In 1836 Cadwalader Evans & Co. were succeeded by C. & O. O. Evans, manufacturers of plows, cultivators, corn-shellers, farmers' mills and horsepowers; also founders and millers. John Robinson, glass manufacturer, died in 1836. In this year the new glass manufacturing firm of William O'Leary, Patrick Mulvaney and James Robinson was formed and named the Birmingham Flint Glass Company, for the making of cut, pressed and plain glass. John Anderson and William P. Canan still conducted their foundry at Front and Smithfield streets. At this date, also, Benjamin, Thomas and John P. Bakewell took as a partner John P. Pears, and took the name of Bakewells & Co. Some of their specialties at this time were apothecary-shops furniture, hall lamps, pressed panes for steamboats, britannia and Japan casters, cut bottles, etc. McLain, King & McCord, who had been engaged in manufacturing hats and caps for several years, dissolved early in 1838. Luke Loomis & Co. were burned out in October, 1837. They conducted a bookbindery and bookstore. The comb factory of David Abbey & Co. was in full operation during the autumn. In November, 1837, Lawrence Seymour & Co. began the manufacture of oilcloths in Allegheny, at the corner of Sandusky and Lacock streets. They made, among other articles, floorcloths, bronzed elastic table-covers, stands, spreads, transparent window curtains and oilcloths in all their variety (t). David Abbey, with a factory in Allegheny and a store in Pittsburg, began, in 1836, to manufacture combs of excellent design and finish to the amount of \$8,000 to \$10,000 per annum (u). He was still in business in 1838. The combs were made from horns, shells, etc. Employment was given to eighteen persons; 250 to 300 dozen combs were produced weekly. In 1837 they sold to English manufacturers \$500 worth of horn tips for knife-handles, having no use for the same themselves (v). William Micheltree took in his brother Montrose as a partner and became W. & M. Micheltree, manufacturers of liquor and cordials, in December, 1837. Shinn, Sellers & McGill conducted the Pittsburg Chemical Manufactory in 1838, and among their products were flaxseed oil, oil of vitriol, sulphuric ether, spts. nitre dulce, aqua ammonia, extr. gentian, extr. colocynth compd., salts tartar, etc.

In June, 1837, a select committee of the Legislature visited Pittsburg to inquire "into the system of labor adopted in cotton and other factories, and particularly with reference to children employed in such manufactories," and make report thereon at the next session. The committee remained in Pittsburg from the 20th to the 30th of June and made a searching examination. Their report to the Legislature in 1837-8 contained matter of little historic importance, except that the laws of the employer were absolute and the hours of the employe long and laborious.

In February, 1838, Bell, Mason & Co. operated a large door and sash factory at Marbury Street and Allegheny River. The powder-mill of A. & A. Watson, situated about four miles above Pittsburg on the Monongahela, was blown to pieces October 3, 1838, injuring one man so that he died. This explosion of 7,000 pounds of drying powder was heard twenty miles. In 1836 there was

(s) Gazette, March, 1835.

(u) Manufacturer, October, 1836.

(t) Gazette, December 2, 1837.

(v) Gazette, March 3, 1838.





quite a revival of trade. Manufactures of all kinds, though still restricted, were in a flourishing condition compared with 1833-5. The number of establishments and the value of products at the close of 1836 were as follows (w):

Six cotton factories.....	\$ 770,000
Eight white-lead factories (all).....	206,600
Birmingham manufactures (excluding white lead).....	2,491,000
Six iron manufactories and rolling-mills east of the Monongahela River.....	1,957,500
Nine iron foundries east of the Monongahela River....	500,000
Ten steam-engine manufactories and foundries.....	700,000
Seven glass manufactories east of the Monongahela River.....	430,000
Three ropewalks... ..	250,000
Three manufactories of saws, axes, etc.....	230,000
Livingston's platform-scale factory .....	60,000
Ingersoll's steam hat-body manufactory.....	11,250
All other manufactures and mechanical productions in city and environs (careful estimate).....	4,000,000
<hr/>	
Total annual manufactures.....	\$11,606,350
Mercantile business of the city.....	13,100,000
Commission business of the city.....	5,875,000
Coal trade of the city.....	565,200

In 1836 the six leading glass manufactories were owned and operated by Bakewells & Co.; Robinson, Anderson & Co.; Curling, Robinson & Co.; Park & Campbell; O'Leary, Mulvaney & Co.; and Whitehead, Ihmsens & Phillips. They consumed 310,000 bushels of coal annually, employed 440 men and produced \$560,000 worth of goods. Bakewells & Co. boasted of having made full sets of cut glass for Presidents Monroe and Jackson and General Lafayette, and of having received a silver medal from Franklin Institute for the best specimen of cut glass. In December, 1836, they claimed they had been in the flint-glass business here for nearly thirty years and had built a furnace in 1829. The establishment of Whitehead, Ihmsens & Phillips was an immense one and closely connected with it was C. Ihmsen & Co. They conducted four large factories in Birmingham: 1. Flint glass, to the amount of from \$100,000 to \$120,000 per year; 2. Black bottle factory for champagne, claret, wine, porter, apollinaris, druggists' carboys, demijohns, \$60,000 annually; 3. Vials annually produced, 112,600 gross, worth \$38,500; 4. Window-glass, 5,500 boxes annually, worth \$38,500. Robinson, Anderson & Co. operated the Stourbridge Flint Glass Works and produced annually \$90,000 worth of goods.

The six cotton factories in 1836 were Phoenix, Engle, Hope, Pittsburg, Union and Globe. All operated 28,900 spindles, employed 1,030 hands, used annually 2,100,000 pounds of cotton, produced 1,032,000 yards of brown shirting and large quantities of yarn from No. 5 to No. 20; consumed 224,000 bushels of coal and turned out yearly \$500,000 worth of products. The Pittsburg factory was owned by Blackstock, Bell & Co.; the Eagle by Arbuckles & Avery (spinning only); the Union by George Beale (spinning only). It is said that the brown shirtings made in Pittsburg were of such excellent quality, and became so popular as an article of apparel, that English factories took up the same line and closely imitated the Pittsburg product. Two of the ropewalks were owned by John Irwin & Son and Smith & Guthrie; the former was in Allegheny and

(w) Harris' Directory, 1837.

the latter near the Arsenal. John Irwin & Co. claimed to have commenced the business thirty-five years before December, 1836. The paper-makers were G. W. Holdship and Patterson, Forrester & Co., the mill of the latter being on the Ohio River, one mile below.

The large chemical factory of Shinn, Sellers & McGill had been recently established by December, 1836, and stood on the South Side, one mile down the Ohio. Of the white-lead factories those of Shinn, Sellers & McGill, Avery Ogden & Co., Maderia & Aston, Hilary Brunot, Gregg & Hagner and T. Hays & Co. were the most prominent. Shinn, Sellers & McGill made large quantities of oil of vitriol, cut dyewoods, linseed oil, etc. T. Hays & Co. made \$50,000 worth of products annually, principally linseed oil.

In 1837 coke made from Pittsburg coal sold down the river for seven cents per bushel. Other manufactures here in December, 1836, were wood-planing, cracker-baking, grinding bark, turning, seven stone-cutting establishments, two burr-millstone factories, ten tanneries, five breweries, seven tobacconists, and many other small concerns, all of which produced annually \$6,000,000 worth of products (x).

"One extensive manufacturing establishment, that hitherto produced from its workshop near half a million dollars' worth of work for our public improvements, has discharged 175 hands, keeping none of their apprentices and but a foreman or two. One establishment that employed thirty-seven hands now has seven. Another that had thirty-six now has five or six; another thirty-four now has two or three. Several have discharged half, three-fourths or two-thirds of their hands and some have entirely suspended. The merchant tailors, who employed a large number of poor widows and industrious females, have been obliged to discharge them all, and this throws out of employment a large number of poor and struggling females, who, with small families to support, are now left without employment or means to make a living. Our manufacturers are daily getting back protested drafts from the West, which they had drawn for their sales. We have heard of journeymen carpenters and molders carrying the hod for bricklayers and offering to work for their board. Our streets are gloomy in the extreme and our prospects dark and lowering" (y).

Establishments (z).	Number of Engines.	Number of Hands.	Bushels of Coal Used Annually.	Quantity Manufactured Annually.	Annual Value of Manufactures.	Value of Works.
C. Ihmsen & Co., window- glass .....		150	130,000	5,500 boxes.	\$ 38,500	\$50,000
C. Ihmsen & Co., vials....				112,600 gross.	38,500	
S. McKee & Co., window- glass .....		40	50,000	5,500 boxes.	38,500	10,000
F. Lorenz, window-glass, three establishments.....	1	120	15,000	16,500 boxes.	115,500	75,000
Whitehead, Ihmsen & Phil- lips, glass-flint and bot- tles.....	1	173	120,000		150,000	60,000
O'Leary, Mulvaney & Co., flint glass.....	1	45	36,400		60,000	30,000
Gregg & Hagner, white lead.....	1	5	11,000	10,400 kegs.	31,200	15,000
L. B. Carey & Co., saw- mill .....	1	5	15,000		15,000	10,000

It will thus be seen that there were nine glass factories on the South Side in April, 1837, five for window-glass, one for vials, two for white glass and one for

(x) The foregoing statistics of December, 1836, are taken from the Western Address Directory, 1837, by Lyford, of Baltimore.

(y) Harris' Intelligencer, June, 1837.

(z) These establishments were in Birmingham on the south side of the Monongahela River, April, 1837.

black bottles. There were also on the South Side three iron and nail factories, each establishment being double, thus making six ironworks. There were also one lock and screw factory, one sawmill, one white-lead factory and one foundry and engine shop—nineteen manufacturing establishments in all south of the Monongahela River. These nineteen factories used 13 steam engines, employed 918 hands and consumed annually 1,345,400 bushels of coal, manufactured 12,800 tons of iron nails, castings, etc., made 12 steam engines, 27,500 boxes of window-glass, 112,600 gross vials, 6,250 gross black bottles and demijohns, 10,400 kegs of white lead, all having an aggregate value of \$2,522,200. In addition, nine coal roads produced \$251,500 worth of coal and several brickyards \$30,000 worth of brick—a grand total of \$2,803,700. The following is the report on the manufactures and general business of Pittsburg and Allegheny County, made by the Marshal of the Western District of Pennsylvania for the year 1839:

Number of glasshouses.....	16
Glass-cutting establishments.....	9
Number of men employed.....	515
Value of manufactures, including looking-glasses.....	\$520,000
Capital invested.....	\$580,000
Potteries.....	1
Men employed.....	4
Capital invested.....	\$300
Value of manufactures.....	\$1,000
Value of woolen goods manufactured.....	\$25,200
Capital invested.....	\$10,000
Hands employed.....	10
Number of cotton factories.....	5
Spindles in operation.....	17,570
Persons employed.....	730
Value of manufactures.....	\$511,200
Capital invested.....	\$580,000
Number tanneries.....	30
Sides sole leather tanned.....	10,580
Sides, upper.....	57,880
Men employed.....	113
Capital invested.....	\$72,400
Other factories using leather.....	124
Value of manufactures.....	\$341,768
Capital invested.....	\$177,075
Hats and caps manufactured.....	\$189,560
Number of persons employed.....	217
Capital invested.....	\$82,600
Value of medicines, drugs, white lead, paints, dyes, etc..	\$201,800
Value of turpentine and varnish.....	\$3,675
Men employed.....	95
Capital invested.....	\$236,300
Distilleries.....	14
Gallons produced.....	93,000
Breweries.....	6
Gallons produced.....	223,000

## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

Men employed.....	80
Capital invested..	\$163,600
Bushels bituminous coal raised.....	11,538,556
Men employed (about) .....	655
Capital invested.....	\$82,000
Ropewalks .....	4
Men employed.....	66
Value of product.....	\$108,000
Capital invested....	\$31,600
Value of plows and carriages manufactured.....	\$203,450
Men employed.....	225
Capital invested.....	\$81,900
Wholesale commercial houses in foreign trade.....	7
Wholesale commission houses.....	32
Capital invested.....	\$1,341,110
Number of stores.....	551
Capital invested.....	\$4,421,490
Lumber-yards and trade.....	31
Men employed.....	120
Capital invested.....	\$155,800
Butchers and men employed in the trade.....	90
Capital invested.....	\$89,100
Paper manufactories.....	1
Men employed.....	28
Value of product.....	\$25,000
Capital invested.....	\$30,000
Printing offices in Pittsburg.....	18
Binderies.....	7
Daily newspapers.....	4
Weekly newspapers.....	11
Periodicals.....	10
Men employed .....	130
Capital invested.....	\$98,000
Flouring-mills.....	33
Gristmills.....	59
Barrels flour manufactured.....	43,280
Sawmills.....	78
Men employed.....	210
Capital invested.....	\$797,350
Value of boats built.....	\$103,110
Men employed in internal transportation.....	1,175
Value furniture manufactured.....	\$249,400
Men employed.....	394
Capital invested.....	\$119,450
Value machinery manufactured.....	\$443,500
Men employed.....	251
Value of precious metals manufactured.....	\$4,860
Men employed.....	6



"We have been curious enough to call at George Herring & Co.'s steam button manufactory on Fourth Street, above Smithfield, and have been highly gratified at this new and very useful establishment. An immense quantity of every size and kind of bone and shell buttons is made very fast and very low out of materials which otherwise would be thrown away. The manufactory employs a number of girls and men and is well worthy the patronage of the public" (a).

James Marshall associated his brother, Thomas M. Marshall, with him in the wholesale grocery business in December, 1838, under the firm name of James Marshall & Co. C. Ihmsen and Frederick Wendt took out, in 1838, a patent on a superior pattern of window-glass, made by a new process, said to excel crown window-glass.

"The first iron steamboat built of American iron and American workmanship is in progress of building at our Washington Works, by Robinson & Minis. This boat is 140 feet keel, 172 feet deck, 25 feet beam and 6 feet hold, and will measure over 220 tons and will be finished on the 4th of July next" (b).

In February, 1840, John F. Wrenshall, Pollard McCormick and Alexander Brackenridge, owners of the Hope Cotton Factory, dissolved and were succeeded by Messrs. Brackenridge and McCormick, under the firm name of McCormick & Co. (c).

"Last week forty-six good two-horse wagons for farming purposes were sent off from the manufactory of Townsend & Radle, Manchester, to St. Louis. This week the same gentlemen furnished Anthony Beelen seven eight-mule wagons, to be landed at Independence, Mo., whence, when loaded with Eastern merchandise, they will go by land to Santa Fé, in New Mexico, a distance of 900 miles. John Gilmore furnished three eight-mule wagons and John Chess furnished two eight-mule wagons from Pittsburg, and David Bealer manufactured for Mr. Beelen, for the same order, two dozen very neat Spanish axes, the first, we believe, made in Pittsburg for Mexico" (d).

Cutler & Weir, coffee-mill manufacturers, were at work in January, 1840. Thomas A. Hillier, looking-glass manufacturer, assigned in June, 1840. Henry Sims, chemist, in 1840, began to manufacture printers' ink. Thomas Fairman manufactured furniture in Allegheny in 1840. Digby & Hopewell manufactured ready-made clothing here in August, 1841. In 1845 Henry Errett operated a steam bandbox factory; J. T. Stewart made upholstering; J. & H. Phillips made oilcloth and varnish; William R. Smith made jewelry; John Dunlap made tin and copper ware; H. H. Ryan, G. Splane & Son and J. W. Woodwell made furniture, etc.

It was noted in May, 1846, that several signs in the city read "Ready-Made Coffins." "This may be all very convenient and an evidence of business enterprise, but it is not pleasant. It seems too much like hurrying one out of the way. We wish the obliging gentlemen who offer such accommodations to their fellow-citizens would not make their civility quite so prominent" (e).

In April, 1846, the assistant puddlers struck for an increase in wages, as did the operators in the extensive tobacco and sugar factories. Considerable violence was resorted to. One boy who went back to work was lynched, though not killed, by his associates. In May the journeymen engine-builders also struck for more favorable terms.

The tariff of 1846 increased the duty on highwines, costly carpets, plate glass, gloves, cosmetics, silks, flannels, furniture, gems, wool—coarse and manufactured—and decreased it on spices, low wines, cheap carpets, iron, coal, plain and tumbler glass, cheap gloves, sugar, salt, cloths of wool, India silks,

(a) Harris' Intelligencer, October, 1838.

(c) Pittsburger, February 12, 1849.

(c) Commercial Journal, May 14, 1846.

(b) Daily Advocate, April 4, 1839.

(d) Harris' Intelligencer, March 12, 1840.

pins, shirtings, mousellaines, cotton cloth, cordage, raw hemp, linseed oil, etc. It took effect in December, 1846.

A. Fulton, bellmaker, was doing a large business in September, 1846. In nine days he made thirteen big bells of 100 to 500 pounds each. Orders came to him from all parts of the West. Hamilton Stewart of the Home League Factory manufactured colored cotton goods in Allegheny in 1847. Up to this time he had made about 125,000 yards per year. Twenty-five men and twelve women were employed, and hand looms only were operated. Shirting in large quantities was made. Rhodes & Alcorn manufactured mustard and spice in Pittsburg in 1841—ginger, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, alspice, nutmegs, roasted coffee, etc. J. Shephard manufactured crackers and bread.

In January, 1846, three steamers built in this city for the Government were afloat, and one large iron war steamer, Allegheny, and one revenue cutter were on the stocks. The Fort Pitt Works were engaged in casting every day one 64-pound cannon, and in boring others, all intended for seacoast defense, and besides were engaged in making equipments and all sorts of heavy castings for military operations. John Irwin's ropewalks supplied the big war steamer with all the rope required for its rigging. The powder-mill here had a daily capacity of 3,600 pounds. The eleven rolling-mills, which, in 1845, turned out 200 tons daily, prepared large quantities of chain cables, anchors, boilers, wrought-iron shafts and cranks, ship irons; and the twenty iron foundries and fourteen engine-shops supplied cannon balls and many other war supplies. With her coal and her iron it was said of Pittsburg in regard to her capacity for war, that "she has plenty of coal to warm her friends and plenty of iron to cool her enemies" (f). On the Allegheny and its tributaries, in March, 1846, were fifty furnaces, which sent their iron to Pittsburg (g).

In the spring of 1846 seven cotton factories were in operation here, with a capacity of 20,000 bales per annum. The cotton manufacturers were required every year to go to the South once or twice to buy their cotton, and necessarily had to lay in large stocks, which fact forced them to employ a large sum of dead capital, and cut seriously into their annual profits. It was estimated that the annual loss by this means amounted to \$20,000. It was different in the East, where a cotton market was maintained. Considerable cotton was handled here by commission merchants, but principally on their own account. The importance of establishing here a general market, where cotton could be obtained at the lowest price during all seasons of the year, was urged by the Board of Trade and by cotton manufacturers. But at that time cotton was in truth King, because it was in such great demand that the producers in the South could levy almost any exaction upon the consumer, both in this country and abroad. One thing which contributed to this unfavorable state of affairs was the stoppage of navigation by ice in the winters and by drouth in the summers.

Statistics of October, 1847.	Bales Cotton.	Number of Spindles.	Weight of Yarn Daily, pounds.	Weight of Cloth Daily, pounds.	Yards of Cloth per Annum.	Product.	Hands.	Looms.
Hope Factory..	3,100	6,500	4,000	....	.....	\$216,000	375	...
Eagle Factory ..	3,000	5,700	3,800	....	.....	205,200	250	...
Union Factory ....	1,600	4,500	1,500	500	.....	116,500	200	40
Pittsburg Factory..	1,600	5,300	....	2,000	1,620,000	138,000	200	150
Penn Factory ....	2,400	6,200	....	3,000	2,410,000	207,000	260	210
Star Factory .....	800	2,500	....	900	729,000	62,100	80	75
Allegheny Factory.	400	1,200	500	....	.....	27,000	40	...
Totals ....	12,900	31,900	9,800	6,400	4,759,000	\$971,800	1,405	475

(f) John Harper, in Gazette, January 31, 1846.

(g) Gazette, March 5, 1846.

"All the cotton factories in Allegheny have stopped and will doubtless remain so for two or three months or longer. Thus some 2,000 operatives have been thrown out of employment. The proprietors allege their inability to meet the requirements of the ten-hour law, which went into effect on the 4th instant" (h).

The following were the cotton factories which closed their doors: Pittsburg Cotton Mill of Blackstock, Bell & Co.; Hope Cotton Mill of P. McCormick; Eagle Cotton Mill of King, Pennock & Co.; Union Cotton Mill of Moorhead, Copeland & Co.; Penn Cotton Mill of Kennedy, Childs & Co.; Star Cotton Mill of N. Voegtly & Co.; and Allegheny Cotton Mill of James A. Gray. In Massachusetts operatives worked under a twelve-hour law. Here the manufacturers claimed they could not afford to pay for ten hours' work the same wages paid by the manufacturers of other states for twelve hours' work, and that they could not compete with outside establishments which thus secured their labor for about seventeen per cent. less than the wages paid in Pittsburg. But the operatives were not willing to have their wages cut down. Under the law, factory owners could make special contracts whereby operatives might work twelve hours; but the latter wanted extra pay therefor, which was emphatically refused by the former, and therefore a strike of large proportions was inaugurated. In August, 1848, considerable violence resulted. One or two factories started up at ten hours with a small reduction in wages—a compromise between the claims; but several owners refused to make any concessions, and on one occasion were bombarded with stones and stale eggs by the girls. Walking delegates were indignantly turned down by the irate owners, who, at all times, however, were accessible to the strikers themselves. In most instances, except for temporary periods, the owners made their point of paying ten hours' wages only for ten hours' work (i). The grand jury found true bills against eleven men named of one hundred others unknown to the jury, and five girls, for factory riots in the fall of 1848. In July, 1848, the ten-hour law went into effect, and several of the cotton factories in Allegheny stopped. In fact, all closed except that of Arthurs & Co.

The manufacture of special colored glass was commenced here in 1848 by Simpson, Leake, Stanger & Co., who produced the first amber colored bottles for liquors. They also made glassware of all descriptions. Isaac Gregg put in operation a new brickmaking machine in the summer of 1848, in Birmingham. He could make 3,000 bricks per hour. The Pittsburg Novelty Works gave a big dinner to employes January 1, 1848. Many toasts were drunk.

Taylor & Bennett began the manufacture of soda ash, just above Birmingham, in 1848, employing about \$30,000 capital. This was an important venture here, because one firm alone, W. & M. Micheltree, on Liberty Street, was then importing 500 tons annually of this commodity. Large quantities were consumed in the manufacture of glass.

"The principal manufactures here are iron, glass and cotton. It is well known that within the last year large investments in glass that might otherwise have located here have sought other regions. In cotton manufactures there is over \$1,000,000 invested and employment given to about 1,500 hands. It is well known that these establishments will probably be closed here and the capital invested at other places as speedily as arrangements, which are now in progress, can be completed; and the only reason for this is the unceasing warfare waged against the owners. To judge from the tone of some newspapers of this city one would suppose that the millions of dollars invested here in manufacturing was a curse to the community—that the owners were tyrants and robbers, and

(h) Gazette, July 6, 1848.

(i) Commercial Journal, July and August, 1848.

the sooner every manufacturing establishment was put down the better. Will a manufacturer who is esteemed as a man of usefulness and enterprise elsewhere stay in Pittsburg to be scandalized as a tyrant and oppressor?" (j).

The labor troubles of 1848 were the cause of much discontent and ill-will between employer and employe. It became so unbearable in December, 1848, that the leading cotton manufacturers, in a body, visited several Western cities with the view of removing their establishments entirely from this vicinity. In several instances they received most generous offers from the business men of other cities to induce them so to remove. The press here took sides and bitterly assailed all opposers, and apparently did little to quiet grievances. "There never was a more suicidal, reckless, ungenerous course pursued toward any interest, or toward any set of men, than toward the manufactures and the manufacturers of Pittsburg by a certain clique and a certain newspaper in this city" (k).

In all this vigorous controversy the *Post*, which represented the interests of many of the employes and opposed any increase in the tariff over what was afforded by the law of 1846, took a prominent part. It accused the manufacturers, though making large profits, of oppressing their employes and of concealing the magnitude of their profits. It went even farther than that, as witness the following:

"And what is Pittsburg? Ask the hundreds and thousands of her citizens who are flocking off to California where there are no factories—no improvements. They will answer, 'We are going to a place where we hope capital cannot oppress us. At the risk of our lives we will not be enslaved by the money power.' This is their significant and withering reply. Now, what do we propose? Simply and undeniably this: To introduce such reforms here as will prevent this necessity which drives away to distant lands our very best, most useful and industrious citizens. We appeal to every honest and thinking man if it is fair that we should be hunted down, as we have been, by any class of people for this" (l).

This vituperation continued with increasing venom and was taken up and magnified by the newspapers of other places until the "Pittsburg Riots of 1848" became an odious bone of contention in the principal cities, and by the leading parties, of the United States. The question of employer and employe was merged by partisans into that of protection and free trade, and made use of for the most malignant party purposes. Read the following:

"Pittsburg can lay claim to a complete savageism, a stultified barbarity, which the red cutthroats of Fort Duquesne never knew. Pittsburg of the present hour—of the year of grace 1849—stands out in bold relief from the annals of barbarism. She is no longer the Smoky City, but will henceforth be known as the Blot City—the Blot of Pennsylvania. But we call upon the man who keeps a slavepen in Baltimore to go to church next Sunday and publicly thank God that he is not a Pittsburg factory-owner. Hereafter we shall look upon shambles, red with the blood of the negro, as something better, more Christian, than the law of Pennsylvania as 'dug up' in Pittsburg, and hailed with steam-engine hosannas by Pittsburg slaveholders. Let no Congressman from Pittsburg ever dare to talk in Washington about the evils of black slavery or the blessings of free soil. Your Pittsburg law, gentlemen, can give the shambles of Jeffreys nine points of the game and beat them, too, in every detail of absurd barbarity" (m).

The *Post* was only a little less severe than the Philadelphia paper, but it represented the spirit then prevailing here among the factory operatives, who

(j) "Pittsburger" in *Gazette*, January 13, 1849.

(k) *Gazette*, January 13, 1849 (referring to the *Post*).

(l) *Post*, February, 1849.

(m) *Quaker City of Philadelphia*, February, 1849.





felt oppressed and humiliated when they were forced to accept a reduction of sixteen per cent. in their wages under the ten-hour law. In fact, the causes which led to the riots of July, 1848, were made the subject of judicial inquiry in the autumn of that year. The course of the *Post* was so severe that the cotton-factory owners publicly remonstrated in February, 1849, the remonstrance being signed by Blackstock, Bell & Co., King, Pennock & Co., Pollard McCormick, Moorhead, Copeland & Co., Kennedy, Childs & Co., and James A. Gray, on behalf of six cotton factories.

Hope Cotton Factory, in Allegheny, owned by Mr. McCormick, turned out immense quantities of yarns, worth \$187,500 per annum, in 1849. It operated 8,000 spindles and consumed 3,000 bales of cotton annually, 320 persons being employed. James Arthurs & Bro. operated a large woolen factory on Strawberry Alley, spinning, carding and manufacturing flannels, satinets, blankets, etc. In 1849 it had been in operation nearly half a century. They manufactured \$11,570 worth of cloth per annum. In 1849 the following manufacturing enterprises were represented here:

H. S. Fahnestock, furniture, worth \$16,920; Hammer & Danler, furniture, \$27,840; James A. Gray, cotton factory in Allegheny, yarn, \$34,800; Voegtley Flour Mill, \$41,350; B. A. Fahnestock & Co., white lead, \$65,000, consuming 500 tons of lead, 1,820 barrels of vinegar and 15,000 gallons of linseed oil; O'Donnell & Mullen, chairs, \$5,000; Burke & Barnes, 350 safes per year, worth \$21,000; S. Allender, furniture, \$27,000; T. B. Young & Co., furniture, \$39,500; William Gray, rifles, worth \$4,000; King, Pennock & Co., cotton factory, batting, yarns, and carpet chain, \$192,460, consuming 2,700 bales and employing 250 persons; James Farley, furniture, \$14,196; Daniel Day, cigars and tobacco, \$7,058; Wilson & Gorman, soap and candles, \$24,720; J. S. Sheaffer, patent leather, \$60,000, consuming 5,000 hides and 800 cords of bark; Hugh Gilroy, carpets and damask table-cloths, \$1,000; Conrad, Reed & Co., wool-carding, \$3,800; Benjamin Williamson, carpets and flannels, \$2,880; R. Williams, turned wares and bellows, \$5,000; Conrad, Reed & Co., shoe nails, \$1,200; Dr. William Wright, dentist, manufacturer of full sets of teeth, worth \$120 per set; G. C. Hawke, files, \$14,400; Thomas Oliver, saddles, harness, collars and trunks, \$9,748; T. S. Pierson, locks, keys, stamps, coffee-mills, etc., \$10,400; J. W. Douglass, vehicles, \$2,900; Henry Wessel, umbrellas, \$800; S. McKelvy, steel and file works, \$21,000; J. D. & A. Kelley, planed lumber \$11,400, sash \$3,750, doors \$500; Bennett, Berry & Co., soda ash, 622 tons, worth \$46,650; Walter Kirkpatrick, soap and candles, \$10,000; James Kelly, soap and candles, \$16,000; J. B. Riddle, turned woodwork, \$2,100; McCall & Robinson, shoe lasts, \$5,500; Ramsey & Reiter, machines and engines, \$6,000; Stewart & Miller, lime, \$23,400; N. Nicholson & Payne, castings, grates, stoves, machinery, \$104,000, employing 108 persons and consuming 2,200 tons of pig-metal per year; Cockshoot & Co., rectified whisky, \$7,750, or 940 barrels; J. R. Taylor & Co., iron and brass wires, \$9,620; Bennett & Bro., domestic queensware, \$20,000; A. Holstein, saddles and trunks, \$8,750; W. A. Gildenfenny, trunks, harness, saddles, \$4,000; B. Winchester, cigars and tobacco, \$12,750; John Dunlevy, goldbeater; P. Lynch, rectifying distillery, \$7,750; David Johnson, confectionery, \$1,800; C. B. Seely, trunks and harness, \$12,475; John Youngson, American pine and ethereal oil, \$18,000; James A. Mozurie, tobacco and cigars, \$45,981; George Weyman, tobacco and cigars, \$66,755; Haslett & Frew, chairs, \$8,000; George Sheffler, cigars, \$3,200; R. S. & W. M. Hannaford, chairs, bureaus, bedsteads, \$122,600; B. P. H. Morrison & Co., sawed lumber on Herr's Island, \$81,000; Frederick Bieler, cutlery, \$1,500; G. G. Backofen, copper and tin ware, \$3,000; J. Devereux, burning fluid prepared from alcohol, \$1,500; James Shindle, wall-paper, \$12,500; James Kincaid, tin, copper and sheet-iron ware, \$25,000; Reisinger, Wells & Co., green-glass

works, \$14,000; A. Nardi, caps, \$5,992. J. S. Bonnett & Co. manufactured \$50,000 worth of rectified liquor; John Williamson, \$10,000 worth of chains; John Beck, \$9,000 worth of ale; John Cunningham, \$11,856 worth of planed lumber; George Haworth, mantels, sawed marble and tombstones, \$14,000; W. & D. Rinehart, \$10,000 worth of snuff, tobacco and cigars; John Price, \$18,975 worth of candy; Kingsland & Scott, large quantities of furnace bars, patented by Mr. Kingsland, in October, 1849; also bed fasteners, buggy boxes, wagon boxes, sash-weights, grates, castings, \$9,000 annually; H. Stimple, \$63,900 worth of japanned and shoe leather, sheepskins, buckskins, etc., employing about forty persons; Crumpton & Co., \$70,200 worth of soap, candles, etc.; William McKee, \$11,525 worth of wagons; Frances Keevil, \$8,640 worth of hats; Barchfeld, \$5,876 worth of saddles and harness; Moorhead & Shaffner, \$12,000 worth of tin, copper and sheet iron; Francis Felix, \$12,000 worth extracts of coffee; J. Ankrum & Co., \$6,000 worth of cast steel, files and rasps; T. H. Nevin & Co., \$58,656 worth of white and red lead and litharge; Otto Kunz, about 6,000 porcelain teeth; J. Gregg & Co., a new concern, about \$5,000 worth of carriages and wagons; C. L. Magee & Co., fur hats worth \$10,400, silk hats \$4,160, caps \$480; James Lyman, \$14,400 worth of furniture; Eli Edmondson, \$14,000 worth of beds, bedding, mattresses, curtains, etc.; John Becks, planing-mill products, worth \$10,200; Hays & Painter, about \$25,272 worth of linseed oil (n).

The Pittsburgh and Boston Copper Mining Company built large works on the Monongahela in the fall of 1848. They turned out about 600 tons of refined copper in 1849, and had a capacity of five tons per day. The Cliff Mine produced in 1846 \$8,870.95 worth of copper, in 1847 \$70,077.32, and in 1848 \$166,407.02. The extraordinary success of this company was one of the marvels of the times.

During 1849 Edward Jones & Co. manufactured platform scales, locks, malleable castings, etc., to the amount of \$29,644; Philip Magnus, at the mouth of Saw Mill Run, made 2,000 barrels of salt per year, obtaining his salt water from a depth of 440 feet; T. Trunick & Co. made \$28,600 worth of lumber on Saw Mill Run; Campbell & Kennedy made \$20,800 worth of lumber, also on Saw Mill Run; J. McAllister manufactured \$7,795 worth of snuff and tobacco; G. Splane & Co. manufactured about \$35,000 worth of chairs, bookcases, bureaus, bedsteads, settees, tables, wardrobes, etc., employing about twenty-five persons.

"All the factories of Allegheny City have been stopped. So we were informed yesterday. Consequently hundreds of men, women and children will be thrown out of employment and many will suffer. The employers will live as usual. There is something hard in this, but we don't see how a remedy is to be discovered and applied during our day and generation. . . . The cause of the stoppage of the Allegheny mills is over-production. That is, in consequence of the application, in past years, of certain protective stimulants, too many mills have been erected in the North and in the South, and too many pounds of yarn and too many yards of cloth have been produced. . . . Another cause may be in the rise in the price of cotton. Let it be remembered that Andrew Stewart said in this city that cotton had been amply protected" (o).

The following table shows the number of steamboats built here for the years mentioned:

1840.....	32	1844.....	44	1848.....	55
1841.....	49	1845.....	45	1849.....	51
1842.....	40	1846.....	39		
1843.....	28	1847.....	56		

There were also built here during the same time six iron steamers for lake

(n) Commercial Journal, October and November, 1849.

(o) Post, August 6, 1850.

and ocean service: 1. The war steamer *Michigan*, bark rigged; 2. The war steamer *Allegheny*, a ship; 3. The *Hunter*, schooner rigged; 4. The *Bibb*, schooner rigged; 5. The *Jefferson*, schooner rigged; 6. The *Walker*, schooner rigged. Two became war steamers and four became revenue cutters. The *Valley Forge*, an iron steamer, had also been set afloat on the rivers (p).

Johnson Brothers & Co., in 1850, began to manufacture carriages, and within a year had secured a large trade, owing to the superiority of their work. Immense sawmills were erected on Herr's Island. Four saws were operated in 1851, owned by James Carman & Co. All sorts of lumber—"bill stuff," foot siding, lath, palings, etc.—were manufactured. The mills were formerly run both by water and steam power, but now wholly by steam. Immense quantities of palings were turned out. R. Galway and J. S. Shaffer owned and operated a large pork and beef packing establishment a short distance below Manchester, on the bank of the Ohio. One thousand hogs could be killed and packed daily, though in November, 1851, the number killed and packed per day was 400 to 500. On November 18, 1851, they sold to an Eastern merchant in one transaction 107,907 pounds of pork at 7½ cents. B. C. & J. H. Sawyer manufactured a large variety of excellent soaps here in 1855. S. Kennedy manufactured children's coaches here in the spring of 1857.

The ten-hour factory law was a dead letter, because special contracts with employes supplanted it. A new bill to effect the result intended was introduced into the Legislature in 1854-5, and while the same was pending a large meeting of factory operatives was held in Excelsior Hall, Allegheny. William E. Stevenson was chosen chairman and Thomas Moffit secretary. After several speeches had been delivered, Mr. Fleeson, of the *Dispatch*, upon request of persons who did not wish, for some reason, to take the responsibility, introduced a set of resolutions, instructing the members of the Assembly from this portion of the State to use their efforts to secure the passage of the law, and requesting the Assembly as a whole to do likewise (q).

"Robinson & Minis have resolved upon adding to their business the making of locomotive engines, and have already provided themselves with much of the requisite machinery and tools for this peculiar branch of work. And for a commencement the Allegheny Valley Railroad Company, in a wise and liberal disposition to aid home interests, have engaged to take from them twelve engines. Here is an actual beginning in Pittsburg of a branch of manufacture which we have greatly needed, and we cannot doubt that complete success awaits this enterprise. And we are glad to learn that this is not to be our only locomotive factory. A body of our capitalists, uniting with them some practical men, have matured the scheme for an investment of \$150,000, in thirty shares of \$5,000 each, in the establishment of a gigantic manufactory of locomotive engines. This scheme is so far advanced that we are warranted in announcing it as a settled affair" (r).

Among the original subscribers to the locomotive engine factory were Oliver W. Barnes, James M. Cooper, S. S. Fowler & Co., Jenks, Painter & Co., Lyon, Shorb & Co., William Larimer, Jr., Long, Miller & Co., J. K. Moorhead, Marshall, Bennett & Colby, Robert McKnight, McKelvy & Blairs, Nimick & Co., G. & J. H. Shoenberger, Thomas Scott, James W. Woodwell, all of whom had subscribed for \$100,000 of the stock by May 6, 1853 (s).

The value of the holdings of Pittsburg citizens in the copper mines and companies of the Lake Superior country continued to increase as time passed. During one week in March, 1856, the stock of the Cliff Mine leaped from \$180 to \$210 per share, par being \$100.

(p) *Dispatch*, 1850.

(r) *Commercial Journal*, March 28, 1853.

(q) *Commercial Journal*, March 19, 1855.

(s) *Commercial Journal*, May 6, 1853.

Pittsburg continued to fight vigorously for a stronger protective tariff on both cotton and wool—that is, the majority here continued the fight, though they were opposed by a persistent minority, the advocate of whom was the *Post*. The protection journals bewailed the indifference of Congress to the woolen interests.

"Indeed, we suspect John Randolph had many sympathizers in both houses of Congress when he said 'he would go a mile out of his way to kick a sheep.' For thirty years its (wool) manufacture has been subject to the greatest vicissitudes until about a year since the last broadcloth mill in the country was closed and the failure complete as to this branch of manufacturing industry" (t).

"We have now made a beginning in the manufacture of agricultural machines of another class—reapers, mowers, thrashing-machines and horse-powers, for the introduction of which branch we are indebted to Mr. Wardrop. Messrs. Wardrop, Stout & Williams have entered into copartnership for the manufacture of various agricultural implements. We anticipate for these enterprising men a large and remunerative business" (u).

The manufacture of fire clay, or terra cotta, water pipes was commenced here in 1856, and met from the start satisfactory compensation.

The following table shows the kind and quantity of all manufactures, exclusive of metal products turned out, by the industries here in 1857 (v):

Industries.	Value of Products.
5 Cotton-mills.....	\$ 1,269,655
3 White-lead factories.....	443,390
34 Glass factories.....	2,631,990
1 Stained-glass factory.....	10,000
4 Looking-glass factories.....	170,000
1 Japan-ware factory.....	60,000
1 Britannia-ware factory.....	18,000
5 Lime factories.....	48,000
1 Slate roofer.....	20,000
1 Stocking factory.....	50,000
2 Match factories.....	10,750
1 Washboard factory.....	6,750
1 Porcelain-teeth factory.....	5,000
1 Kid-glove factory.....	6,650
1 Alcohol distillery.....	450,000
1 Ethereal-oil factory..	20,000
3 Linseed-oil factories.....	71,500
2 Lard-oil factories.....	60,000
2 Varnish factories.....	46,500
17 Tobacco factories.....	443,700
2 Paper factories.....	86,000
5 Flourmills .....	864,500
2 Spicemills.....	25,000
2 Whip factories.....	34,000
2 Saddletree factories.....	5,000
2 Coffee-extract factories.....	60,000
5 Potteries.....	33,000
3 Brush factories.....	40,000
2 Bellows factories.....	10,000
4 Trunk factories.....	30,000

(t) Commercial Journal, March 29, 1856. (u) Commercial Journal, April 18, 1856.

(v) Statistics prepared by George H. Thurston.

Industries.	Value of Products.
2 Patent-leather factories.....	\$ 80,000
1 Lifeboat factory.....	10,000
1 Woolen factory.....	5,000
1 Comb factory.....	1,000
1 Icechest factory.....	5,000
1 Bobbin factory.....	2,500
1 Broom factory.....	11,000
1 Children's-carriage factory....	6,000
2 Box factories.....	12,480
2 Pumpblock makers.....	10,000
6 Turners.....	55,000
3 Ropewalks.....	117,451
3 Upholsterers.....	70,000
1 Oilcloth factory.....	75,000
2 Railroad-car factories.....	65,000
1 Bucket factory.....	85,000
6 Carriage factories.....	175,000
29 Wagon factories.....	204,500
13 Tanneries.....	463,320
27 Breweries.....	864,500
6 Cracker factories.....	114,000
6 Marble-works.....	75,000
16 Cabinet factories.....	503,000
8 Candle factories.....	960,000
1 Glue factory.....	7,500
7 Sawmills.....	3,241,000
17 Lumber-yards.....	
8 Sash and door factories.....	
9 Planing-mills.....	10,000
1 Compass factory.....	
1 Gold-leaf factory.....	25,000
Coal valued at.....	6,336,720
Boatbuilding.....	1,924,800
Saddlery and harness.....	181,000
Salt.....	130,000
Gilt molding.....	25,000
Total.....	\$22,430,156
Metal manufactures.....	16,592,279
Grand total manufactures.....	\$39,022,435



## CHAPTER XI.

IRON AND STEEL—FIRST SUPPLIES OF IRON—SCYTHES AND SICKLES—NAILS—ATTEMPT OF GEORGE ANSHUTZ—EXTENT OF IRON INDUSTRY IN 1803—MC CLURG'S FOUNDRY OF 1805—WIRE WEAVING—STEAM-ENGINE BUILDING—NAIL PRODUCTS—CUTLERY—IRONMONGERY—UPDEGRAFT'S STEEL—COWAN'S ROLLING-MILL—FIRST COKE—BLISTER STEEL—BEELEN'S FURNACE—EXTENT OF THE EARLY IRON TRADE—LIST OF IRON WORKERS—PRICES AND STATISTICS—PATENTS CLAIMED BY OLIVER EVANS—TYPEFOUNDRY—DEPRESSION OF 1817-21.

The first iron used by Pittsburg was not manufactured here. It was brought over the mountains on packhorses from the furnaces near Philadelphia and from the Susquehanna and the Juniata valleys. The Indian traders first, and the pioneer merchants later, kept bar-iron for sale or barter, the demand coming from blacksmiths, gunsmiths, wagon-makers, etc. They also kept for sale castings of various uses, such as pots, kettles, skillets, etc. The value of these articles in the Western country during the packhorse period cannot be realized nor appreciated by the people of to-day. They were highly prized, had been handed down from father to son and were often disposed of in wills. The earliest families in moving West invariably carried such indispensable articles with them, and the savages, knowing their value, always carried them to their villages or compelled their captives to do so, after plundering the pioneer cabins. Immediately after the Revolution iron prospectors began locating their claims in the upper Juniata Valley, and furnaces and forges were soon in operation.

"Much of the iron made in the Juniata Valley during the palmy days of its iron industry was sold at Pittsburg, first in the form of castings, afterward in both pigs and bars, and finally chiefly in the form of blooms. Before the completion of the Pennsylvania Canal and the Portage Railroad it was transported with great difficulty. Bar-iron from Center County was at first carried on the backs of horses to the Clarion River, and was then floated on boats and arks to Pittsburg. Pig and bar iron from Huntingdon County were hauled over the Frankstown Road to Johnstown, and thence floated to Pittsburg by way of the Conemaugh River. Subsequently blooms were sent to Pittsburg from Huntingdon County by wagon" (a).

The Spring Creek Forge, built in 1795, and the Bellefonte Forge, built in 1798, furnished much of the bar-iron used in Pittsburg, or sold here for shipment down the Ohio River, from 1798 to 1804. No small quantity of the bar-iron handled by Pittsburg merchants from 1794 to 1804 came from the Barree Forge ("Dorsey's bar-iron," as it was called), on the Juniata, in Huntingdon County, the pigs having been produced at Center Furnace, Center County. Bedford Furnace was built in 1788 and the forge in 1791, and large quantities of its products were used in Pittsburg or distributed from this important center. Kettles, pots, stoves, hearths, andirons, Dutch ovens, etc., were cast there, and bar-iron, such as wagon-tires, harrow-teeth, horseshoe iron, was forged at these works. "Bar-iron made at the forge was bent into the shape of the letter U, turned over the backs of horses, and in this manner taken by bridle-paths

(a) Iron in All Ages.—Swank.

(b) Iron in All Ages.—Swank.

to Pittsburg" (b). Blacksmiths at the forges made from \$5 to \$8 per day shoeing packhorses and bending iron rods suitable for carriage to Pittsburg.

"It was no uncommon event to see, at Mercersburg, in Franklin County, fifty or one hundred packhorses in a row, taking on their loads of salt, iron and other commodities for the Monongahela country" (c).

Turnbull, Marmie & Co., consisting of William Turnbull, Peter Marmie and perhaps John Holker, established a large general store in Pittsburg in 1784, and continued to do business until the spring of 1788, when they offered for sale their entire property in this place. There must have been some strong motive back of this action, for they owned a large property, consisting of Lots 1 to 17 inclusive, Lots 132 to 145 inclusive and Lot 260, all bounded by Marbury, Liberty and Short streets, upon which stood their stillhouse, malthouse, stables, residences, etc.; and besides owned twenty-six acres on Coal Hill, and a ferry and ferry buildings at the Point (d). The motive for thus summarily closing out all their operations here was disclosed the following year (1789), when they constructed on Jacob's Creek a furnace and forge, to which reference is made in the records of Fayette County in June of that year, but which were not put in blast until November 1, 1790, on which day the first iron was blown in the furnace and tried in the forge (e). They thus had given up their large establishment here that they might construct the first furnace and first forge west of the Alleghanies, and engage in the manufacture of iron, in which they, no doubt, correctly thought a fortune awaited them, if their industry and abilities could bring it out. From this company Major Isaac Craig, quartermaster of this post, on January 12, 1792, ordered 400 cannon-balls for General Wayne, then here preparatory to his campaign against the Indians of Ohio.

In 1787 George McGunnigle conducted the business of white and black smith. Thomas Wylie was here engaged in the same pursuit in 1789. He made edged tools and turned all sorts of mill-irons. One of the first attempts in Pittsburg to make finished implements from blistered steel or bar-iron was begun by William Dunning in 1789. His advertisement, which appeared in the *Gazette* of June 13 of that year, stated that he made scythes and sickles and kept the same for sale. His was the first illustrated advertisement in the *Gazette*, and, therefore, the first published west of the Alleghanies. Hugh Rippey made and repaired guns at this time, obtaining the barrels, and perhaps the locks, from "over the mountains." At that time nearly all tools and implements were made by blacksmiths. In 1792 there were five blacksmiths, two tanners and two whitesmiths here. They were the only resident metal-workers. In 1787 nails were worth in Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania currency, \$20 per hundredweight, or 20 cents a pound (f).

Union Furnace, near Connellsville, built by Isaac Meeson in 1790, and put in operation in 1791, furnished large supplies of castings and bar-iron for Pittsburg (g). George Anshutz, from his Westmoreland furnace, in 1795 and later, sent much of his product, principally stoves and assorted castings, to Pittsburg for sale. After 1794 bar-iron from the Dorsey Forge in Huntingdon County was kept for sale here by merchants, the pig-iron from which it was made having been cast at the Center Furnace. From 1799 to 1804 large quantities of bar-iron were obtained from the Bellefonte furnaces and forges. In 1799 William Woods & Co. advertised for sale seven tons of this iron. Blister steel, made by William McDermott, of Caledonia, first made its appearance in Pittsburg about 1797.

The commencement of the iron industry at Pittsburg may be said to date

(c) Historical Collections.—Day.

(d) *Gazette*, April, 1788.

(e) *Iron in All Ages*.—Swank.

(f) *Gazette*, March, 1787.

(g) *Pittsburg Gazette*, April, 1794.

from 1792, in which year George Anshutz, an Alsatian, completed a furnace on a small run at Shady Side, a suburb of the town, under the mistaken notion that iron ore could be found near there in sufficient quantity to warrant the enterprise. This was found not to be the case. The supply was soon exhausted, and, although a quantity of ore was brought down the Allegheny, the expense attendant thereto rendered the attempt unprofitable, and the furnace was abandoned by Mr. Anshutz (h).

In 1803 Robert Simpson, merchant, kept for sale the blister steel and bar-iron made by William McDermott, of Caledonia, near Bedford. He quoted the price of blister steel at 90 pounds, American money, per ton, or four pounds thirteen shillings and ninepence per hundredweight. At this date (1803) William Dunning not only manufactured scythes and sickles, but advertised that he would turn mill irons to order (i). In 1804 Peter Eltonhead began to manufacture machinery here for carding and spinning cotton and wool. This was one of the most important pursuits up to that date.

William Hart announced that he had discovered a "valuable bank of iron ore" on the east side of the Allegheny River, about eight miles from Pittsburg, which he would sell or lease. He said there was for sale an eligible situation for a forge or furnace within half a mile of the ore. He claimed that good judges had pronounced the bank the best for bar-iron in the Western country (j). As a matter of fact the air was filled with rumors of iron deposits at this time, and all over Western Pennsylvania furnaces and forges were in various stages of completion and operation. The iron heart of Pittsburg was beginning to throb.

In 1803 William Boggs manufactured sickles and called for an apprentice to the trade. Oliver Ormsby, in 1803-4, sold bar-iron from Bellefonte, while Thomas Cramer sold the products of the Dorsey forge. John Hamsher, coppersmith, who had been here for some time, died in 1804. Robert Simpson handled a considerable quantity of the bar-iron from Dorsey's ironworks about this time. In January, 1804, Samuel Hubley, coppersmith, made stills, kettles for hatters and all others requiring them, boilers, saucepans, etc., and advertised for old copper, brass and pewter. As early as August, 1803, Cooper & Smith made andirons, heads for grates, cocks for stills, castings to order in copper, brass, pewter or lead; machinery turned to order. They wanted old copper and brass. At the close of 1803 a wonderful growth was revealed by Cramer's Almanac of 1804, not so noticeable in the products of iron and steel as in a score of other manufactures. The value and variety of the former were as follows:

Bar-iron, axes, hoes, plow-points, etc.....	\$19,800
Cutlery, augers, chisels, hackles, planing-bits, etc.....	1,000
Cut and hammered nails.....	16,128
Cowbells.....	200
Guns, rifles, etc.....	1,800
Scythes and sickles.....	1,500
Tinware.....	12,800
Brass, andirons, still-faucets, etc.....	2,800

Inasmuch as no iron whatever was manufactured here, and as every article above was made from bar-iron and crude models by hand, this must be regarded as a good showing. In July, 1803, news was received that the Treaty of Paris had been signed and that Louisiana had been purchased by the United States. The intelligence gave great joy to all. An unrestricted trade with the country west

(h) Statement of George Anshutz Berry, grandson of George Anshutz.

(i) Gazette, June, 1803. (j) Gazette, June 16, 1803.







of the Mississippi, believed to be so vital to the manufacturing interests of Pittsburg, was thus seen to be an assured fact.

John Parkin, early in 1800, began the manufacture of brass and iron wire, at his small factory near the garrison. George Holdship, in 1798 or 1799, commenced the manufacture of cut nails and springs, and solicited wholesale and retail orders. William Porter began the same industry about the same time. John Hamsher was doing a good business as a coppersmith and tinplate worker in July, 1800. "Do not be surprised when you are informed that the aggregate value of the articles manufactured in Pittsburg for 1803 amounts to upward of \$350,000" (k). This referred to all articles of manufacture, and not to iron alone.

Previous to 1805 the iron industry proper had no permanent commencement in this place. Thus far there had appeared no reason why a furnace should be located here. The efforts of George Anshutz, in 1792-4, to manufacture iron had been made under the misapprehension of the existence of iron ore in paying quantities close to the Point. Furnaces and forges were then built only in close proximity to large banks of ore, and as none could be found near Pittsburg, notwithstanding considerable heralding by speculators and others to the contrary, this locality was doomed to see such industries spring into life all over Western Pennsylvania without being able to see any profit in their establishment here. The commencement of banking operations by the Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania, the improvement and cheapening of transportation of iron ore down the rivers, and the growing importance of Pittsburg as a distributor and manufacturer of iron supplies, were beyond doubt the principal reasons for the construction in 1805 of the McClurg Foundry. The second attempt was more successful than the first. In 1805 Joseph McClurg, with whom were associated at first, it is said, Joseph Smith and John Gormly, erected an iron-foundry on the site of the present Park building, corner of Smithfield Street and Fifth Avenue. The date of the first blast cannot be given, though on February 12, 1806, Mr. McClurg advertised that "the Pittsburg Foundry is now complete" (l). This would signify that the first blowout did not occur until about that date. In 1807 "one air furnace" here was in full operation (m). This was the Pittsburg Foundry. In 1809 Mr. McClurg put in operation, in connection with his air furnace, a mill for grinding iron, and soon his products found their way to all parts of the Western country.

Four nail factories were in operation in 1807, one of which made one hundred tons of cut and hardened nails annually. Seven coppersmiths and tinplate workers and japanners were doing a flourishing business. One wire-weaving and riddle factory was also in operation, as was one brass-foundry. One cutler and toolmaker conducted a shop here (n). About 1808 Mark Stackhouse and Mahlon Rogers founded their establishment for the manufacture of steam engines. They built the engine for the Evans Steam Mill, and were highly spoken of by Oliver Evans. In connection with their engines they commenced making screws for butt-hinges, a very useful and important industry for the Western country at that time. Mark Stackhouse built a steam engine in 1810, which was placed in the Franklin Cotton Factory and used continuously until 1829, at which date it ran as well as when first set in operation. One in the Evans Steam Mill was about the same age. Anthony Beelen built previously and put in operation in November, 1810, an air furnace just above the mouth of Suke's Run; he also built adjoining the same a white-lead manufactory—a blue frame of three stories, near the air furnace. In 1810 the borough marshal

(k) Cramer's Almanac, 1804.

(l) Craig's "History of Pittsburg."

(m) Cramer's Almanac, 1808.

(n) Cramer's Almanac.

enumerated the following metal-working establishments here and the values of their products:

One mill (flatirons).....	\$ 2,000
Two air furnaces (McClurg's and Beelen's), product 400 tons .....	40,000
Six naileries.....	49,890
Two gunsmiths.....	2,400
Seventeen smiths' shops.....	34,400
Six copper, brass and tin factories.....	25,500
One cutlery.....	3,000
One wire manufacturing, Eichbaum's (est.).....	2,000
Total.....	\$159,190

In 1810 there were sold in this place the following quantities of bar-iron and castings: George Anshutz—Bar, rolled and slit iron, 332 tons; castings, 75 tons. Christopher Cowan—Sundry iron, 300 tons; castings, 50 tons. Thomas and J. Cromwell—Iron, 150 tons; castings, 100 tons. All others, 300 tons. Total, 1,307 tons, worth on an average \$140 per ton, or \$182,980 (o).

In February, 1811, it having been represented to the Legislature that William Eichbaum, of Pittsburg, had erected works and secured a part of the machinery necessary for the manufacture of wire, and was unable, by reason of a lack of means, to complete and carry on the manufactory, and had petitioned the Legislature for a loan of money for that purpose, the following action was taken (p):

"Whereas, It is the true policy of this State to give encouragement to works of public utility, to foster our own manufactures and to render ourselves independent of foreign nations for articles of absolute necessity; therefore, Be it enacted, etc., That a loan be granted from the State to William Eichbaum of three thousand dollars."

This was given with the proviso that the sum should be repaid in seven years with interest at three per cent. per annum, but to be repaid in three years with six per cent. interest unless the manufactory should be in complete operation within three years from the date of the enactment. The factory stood on the Monongahela River above the brewery, and was planned for the drawing of wire by the power of steam. It was erected in 1809 or 1810, but was not yet in complete operation in 1811, though wire had been drawn in 1810.

"The manufacture of ironmongery has increased in this place beyond calculation. Cut and wrought nails of all sizes are made in vast quantities, about, we think, 200 tons per year. Fire-shovels, tongs, drawing-knives, hatchets, two-foot squares, augers, chisels, adzes, axes, claw-hammers, door-hinges, chains, hackles, locks, door-handles, spinning-wheel irons, plow-irons, flatirons, etc.—tons of these, together with a number of other articles in the iron way, are exported annually. Abner Updegraff attempted the making of files, which he finds he can do to advantage. He also makes gimlets, and by way of experiment made a neat penknife. He is a whitesmith of much ingenuity and great industry. The excellency of his hackles and his edge tools have already acquired a name of superiority. James Tustin, an ingenious whitesmith and machinist, confines himself pretty much to the manufacturing of ironmongery, and he is now engaged in making the necessary engines for the steamboat, building for Roosevelt, Livingston & Fulton" (q).

(o) Navigator, 1811. (p) Act of February 6, 1811.

(q) Navigator, 1811. These engines were intended for the first steamboat ever afloat on the Western rivers.

In 1811 George Evans began the manufacture of steam engines on the Oliver Evans principle, and claimed their superiority over those of Butler & Watt. Anthony Beelen's air furnace was called Pittsburg Eagle Foundry, and stood on the Monongahela at the old shipyard. Here were made kettles for brewers, soap-boilers, potash and salt makers, stoves, grates, scales, etc. In 1812 Joseph McClurg was joined by his son Alexander, the partnership becoming Joseph & Alexander McClurg. They made stoves, barkmills, mill-nuts, mortars and pestles, carding machinery, hollow ironware, weights, cranks, anvils, sadirons, ragwheels, plowboards and other castings of all descriptions. Their establishment was yet called the Pittsburg Air Foundry. In March, 1813, the Pittsburg Steam Engine Company, composed of George Evans, Mahlon Rogers, Mark Stackhouse and Luther Stephens, began operations. They manufactured all kinds of castings, forgings and the Oliver Evans steam engine. There was great rivalry at this time between the owners of the Oliver Evans and the Butler & Watt steam engine patents over their respective merits. This firm seems to have succeeded to the factory started in 1811 by George Evans.

In 1812 Christopher Cowan erected the first so-called rolling-mill in Pittsburg. He built "a most powerful steam engine, designed to reduce iron to various purposes," which will put in complete operation a rolling-mill, a slitting-mill and a tilt-hammer, all under the same roof. The engine was of seventy horsepower. The design was to make sheet-iron, nail and spike rods, shovels and tongs, spades, scythes, sickles, hoes, axes, frying-pans, cutting-knives, etc. "He now makes immense quantities of nails, also chains, plow-irons, shingling hatchets, claw-hammers, chisels, screw-augers, spinning-wheel irons, smiths' vises, etc. He has already invested nearly \$100,000" (r). His mill was without puddling furnaces and did not reach the state of completion to roll iron (r). Soon after the close of the War of 1812 the establishment passed to Stackhouse & Whiting, under whom it was put in complete operation.

In 1812 James Patterson built his factory in Birmingham for the manufacture of locks of all sizes, files, hinges, etc. Abner Updegraff at that date was making plain bits, door-handles, kitchen furniture, squares, hackles, edge tools, files and saddlers' knives. At this time, also, Stackhouse & Rogers were advanced in their business of making steam engines, for which product there was a large demand. Mr. Tustin was also engaged in the same line and in ironmongery. It was estimated that for 1812 the total amount of ironmongery made here was 396 tons, valued at \$174,240. In 1812, also, Leiper & McKowan began the erection of a steel factory, designed to make 150 tons annually, worth \$65,000.

Foster, Murray & Co., composed of William B. Foster, Magnus M. Murray, and James Walton, operated their ironworks successfully in 1813, employing a tilt-hammer, and making scythes, sickles, augers, etc. Other articles, such as shovels, spades, etc., were added later. Their works were erected in 1812 and were operated by steam. In 1812 the two air foundries, McClurg's and Beelen's, cast about 600 tons of all sorts of hollow ironware, machinery, cannon balls, smith's anvils, sadirons, etc., worth about \$54,000. Both manufactured iron boilers also, "which answer as a valuable substitute for copper stills" (s). Steam power was used by both factories. William Price also conducted a small air foundry and made castings for butt-hinges, buckles for saddles, brass articles, etc. In 1812-13 Brown, Barker & Butler began the manufacture of nails, edge tools, cutlery, etc. In 1812 James Cuming made five wool-carding machines, six wool pickers, one mule and one billy (s).

In 1813 Fulton & Livingston were put to much trouble and expense in

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(r) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

(s) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

defending their patent on the methods of steamboat propulsion, suing, among others, Daniel French and the owners of the steamboat Comet. During 1813 Eichbaum & Son operated their wire-mill profitably and "made beautiful wire of different sizes." It was said of them that they "can't supply the demand." Isaac Wickersham, in 1813, made cylindrical cloth-shearing machines, one of which could shear 400 yards of cloth in twelve hours. He also made wire, though not so extensively as Eichbaum & Son. At this time two factories were operated here for the manufacture of stirrup-irons and bridle-bits. In 1812 Stevenson & Youard made one gross of wheel-irons weekly, worth \$30 per gross. Frithy & Pratt made at this time also a considerable quantity of excellent knitting needles (t).

"To proprietors of blast furnaces: John Beal, lately from England, being informed that all the blast furnaces are in the habit of melting iron ore with charcoal, and knowing the great disadvantage it is to proprietors, is induced to offer his services to instruct them in the method of converting stone coal into *Coak*. The advantage in using *Coak* will be so great that it cannot fail becoming general if put into practice. He flatters himself that he has had all the experience that is necessary in the above branch to give general satisfaction to those who feel inclined to alter their mode of melting their ore.

"April 1, 1813.

JOHN BEAL, Iron Founder" (u).

Previous to this time, so far as can be learned, no coke had been used in the furnaces or factories here. Mr. Beal may be said to have introduced to Pittsburg manufacturers the importance and value of coke as a reduction and preparatory agent. It is probable that he did not meet from others the encouragement which his proposition concerning "*coak*" deserved; because, immediately afterward, a partnership was formed, called Beal & Co., and a foundry was established and put in operation above that of Mr. Beelen's, on the bank of the Monongahela, in which, no doubt, the first coke in Pittsburg was manufactured and consumed (u). Castings of all kinds were advertised to be made there.

The factory of Magnus M. Murray & Co., which stood on Grant's Hill, was in full operation at this time and prepared axes, scythes, sickles, knives, hoes, shovels, spades, chisels, vises, hinges, log-chains, screws, etc. Christopher Cowan, early in 1814, advertised for from thirty to fifty wagons to make three or four trips each for iron to the furnaces and forges near Bellefonte, and stated that twenty or thirty of them would be employed to haul iron by the year (v). He consumed large quantities of Juniata and Center County iron at his rolling-mill. In 1814 Joseph McClurg, Jr., took the place of Alexander McClurg in the firm of McClurg & Co., iron-founders. George Miltenberger's brass-foundry was in full operation in 1814. John McLean sold ironmongery, wholesale and retail, at this date, embracing English and American scrap steel. In August, 1814, William Leckey advertised for ten or fifteen wagons to haul iron from the Juniata and the Bellefonte works. The iron industry and all others here at this day were in an exceedingly flourishing condition. The commencement of the war had been followed by at least one good result.

In 1815 the existing duty on pig, bar, rolled or slit iron was \$1 per ton; on iron castings, \$1.50 per ton; on nails, brads and sprigs, other than wrought, one cent per pound. This was so low as to afford no aid to manufacturers here; but war measures kept out British products, and therefore domestic iron producers flourished. The peace of 1815 was to the English only second in importance to success at arms, because it afforded them an immense market

(t) Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac, 1813.

(u) Mercury, 1813. (v) Mercury, 1814.





blacksmith; John Watson, blacksmith; Lewis West, silver-plater; J. Whitney & Co., iron and nail makers and owners of rolling-mill; Isaac Wickersham, wire-maker; George Williams, hot-nailer; Levin Williams, brass-founder; James Youard, blacksmith. In Birmingham, Lawrenceville and Bayardstown were: James Fitzmorris, molder; Hugh Galagher, molder; Joseph Gibbin, blacksmith; Jacob Gossbury, blacksmith; William Hutchinson, blacksmith; John Linton, air founder; Anthony Matter, founder; John Osburn, vise and screw maker; James Patterson, locksmith; Samuel Wilkinson, whitesmith; Robert Williams, molder (b).

In 1815 William Eichbaum's wire factory was yet in operation, run by steam. McClurg & McKnight conducted a mill for boring cannon. At this time there were three air foundries in Pittsburg and one in Birmingham (w). James Patterson made locks of all sizes, coffee-mills, saddlers' buckles, etc. William Price, whose factory was near the "roundhouse," made crucibles, in which could be cast all kinds of iron, brass, etc. He also made butt-hinges and fire brick (w). At a later date he manufactured clay and other pipes at Kensington, which place was then called Pipetown from this fact. In 1817 Bosler & Co. made coffee-mills, butt-hinges, currycombs, Norfolk latches, sash-pulleys, steelyards, brass gun-mountings, teakettle knobs, still cocks, rivets, andirons, stove-grates, sheet-iron stovepipe, smoothing-irons, grist and saw mill irons, scales, weights, tea-kettles, waffle-irons, anvils, mandrils, boilers, mill-nuts, salt and potash kettles; kettles for soapmakers, hatters, fullers; windmill irons, dog-irons, mortars and pestles, swivels, axes, hatchets, traces, augers, scale beams, etc.

The copper and tin ware factory, which, previous to July, 1817, had been owned and operated by Robert Cochran, passed to John Quigley & Co. at that date. Scothorn had been associated with Cochran. The Pittsburg Steam Engine Company at this time was conducted on an extensive scale and was a credit to its proprietors and to the young city. It comprised at this date, as it did for several years previously, six departments, as follows: 1. Steam engine factory; 2. Air foundry; 3. Anvil and anchor factory; 4. Brass foundry; 5. Pattern-makers' shop; 6. Screw manufactory. A. & J. Sheriff, on Fourth Street, between Market and Ferry, conducted a coppersmith and tinplate worker's shop. In May, 1818, iron, steel and their products were quoted in the market here as follows:

Juniata iron, ton.....	\$200 to \$210
Monongahela iron, ton.....	180
Hoop-iron, ton.....	235 to 250
Sheet-iron (American), pound.....	20 cents
Sheet-iron (foreign), pound.....	22 cents
Nails, cut, all sizes, pound.....	15 to 19 cents
Nails, wrought, pound.....	22 to 25 cents
Crowly steel, faggot.....	\$30 to \$35
American steel, faggot.....	23
German steel, pound.....	25 cents
Blister steel, hundredweight....	\$17
Castings, assorted, ton.....	\$120 to \$125

Country blister steel was the staple article used here, but foreign brands, despite the duty, were always in good demand, particularly German, Swedish and Crowly cast steel. Waldron's American sheet-iron was extensively used (x).

In 1818 R. & J. Towne manufactured stills, sheet-iron ware, japanned ware,

(b) Riddle's Directory, 1815.

(w) Riddle's Directory, 1815.

(x) Gazette, May, 1818.

brass kettles, tinware, teakettles, washkettles and kettles for hatters, potters, fullers, etc. Swetman, Hughes & Co. made planes. James Riddle & Co. sold nails, Russian sheet-iron, English, German and American steel, etc. The Pittsburgh Iron and Nail Factory, which had been in operation for some time under the ownership of R. Whiting, was discontinued in March, 1819, by the dissolution of the firm. In April, 1819, Joshua Mahlon, of the Union Rolling Mill Company, advertised for several refiners, hammermen and puddlers. He was sole agent for the company, himself, George Evans and Mahlon Rogers being owners. Henry Miller made cooking-stoves on Second Street, near Wood.

Oliver Evans claimed the patent by right of discovery "that by increasing the consumption of fuel you increase the elastic force of steam." It was denied that this was a patentable principle and was opposed here in 1818 by J. Whiting, agent for the Pittsburgh Iron and Nail Factory, which latter institution conducted a rolling and slitting mill and made machinery for cutting and heading nails. During the year 1818 the Pittsburgh Steam Engine Company was established by William Robinson, Jr., and Joshua Mahlon, under the superintendence of the latter, who had come from Valley Forge. In 1818 George B. Lothian began to cast printing type, an important event for the Western country, as it was claimed. From March 5 to May 10, 1818, inclusive, there passed Loyalhanna, on the Conemaugh River, fifty-nine flatboats, loaded with bar-iron, salt and stove goods, each carrying from twenty to forty tons, which cargoes were on their way from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh (y). Anshutz & Rahm, in spite of hard times, sold considerable quantities of Juniata bar and rolled iron and hardware here in the spring of 1818.

In April, 1819, a company of practical mechanics effected an organization known as the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Association, with the object of promoting the sale, production and consumption of all the manufactures centering here. They opened a warehouse and employed the necessary officers and agents to conduct the affairs of the association. George Sutton was the first president, and George Cochran first clerk or agent. Their warehouse stood on Wood Street, between Front and Second, and there their stock was displayed for sale to Western merchants, who came here so numerously. The capital was placed at \$10,000, in shares of \$25 each, "payable in gold or silver" (z).

The Pittsburgh White and Blacksmith Company, on Liberty Street, near Diamond, consisting of John Hannen, Thomas Cromwell and Michael Allen, whose agent was Thomas Hazleton, made in 1819 scale-beams, wheel-irons, hooks, hinges, patent balances, bedscrews, etc. Lewis Peterson manufactured a considerable quantity of copper, tin and sheet-iron ware. In 1819 Mr. Parsons, on Fifth Street, opposite McClintock's tavern, began the manufacture of razors, and from this time forward the sneer of the English that Yankees could not shave themselves were it not for John Bull was a melancholy memory of the past (a). In August, 1819, the Pittsburgh Steam Engine Company, composed of Luther Stephens, George Evans and Mahlon Rogers, was dissolved, and Mark Stackhouse was employed to close up their business. In 1819 George Schreiner was engaged in making surgical instruments and a general line of white and lock smithing products. In 1819 George Miltenberger still conducted his bell and brass foundry, making, also, stills, kettles of all sizes and doing work in tin-plates, sheet-iron and copper.

At the Ætna Iron Works near Pittsburgh, of which Joshua Mahlon was agent, the following products were kept for sale in 1819: Bar-iron tire for wagons, per ton, \$160; fine drawn less than common, \$170; nail rod, 6d, 8d, 10d, \$190;

(y) Gazette, May, 1818.

(z) Gazette, April 23, 1819.

(a) Mercury, November 19, 1819.

saws, 4d, \$200; boiler iron,  $\frac{1}{8}$ , 3-16 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick, \$250; single, less than  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch, \$260; double and triple sheet-iron, \$280. Bean & Butler manufactured, in 1819, corn and grass scythes, sickles, axes, spades, shovels, hoes, screw augers, cut nails of all sizes and any article manufactured out of iron to order.

George Brickell's nail factory stood on Diamond Alley, between Wood and Market streets. William McLean's nail factory was one of the promising industrial institutions of the city. The typefoundry of Reich & Starr was in complete operation in January, 1820. Henry Miller & Co. made stoves previous to 1820, at which date they were succeeded by James Belden. Townsend & Wickersham operated a wire factory. William and Robert Leckey and John and James Morford made plows from different models and patents and on a large scale (b). By the State law of 1820 counties were empowered under certain specifications to afford assistance to manufactures within their borders, and this law was extended and reaffirmed from time to time. The extraordinary depression in business circles which took place here from 1816 to 1821 was the means of closing nearly all the iron establishments, though the few that managed to survive received the first blessings of the prosperity which began about 1824.

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(b) Various issues of the Gazette, 1819-20.

## CHAPTER XII.

IRON AND STEEL CONTINUED—REVIVAL OF BUSINESS IN 1825-29—ROLLING MILLS AND  
FOUNDRIES—THEIR WONDERFUL ADVANCEMENT—NAILS AND STEAM ENGINES—EX-  
TRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENT OF IRONMONGERY—OTHER METAL PRODUCTS—BROAD-  
MEADOW'S PITTSBURG STEEL—LEAD PIPES—PRINTING AND OTHER PRESSES—  
EXTENT OF BUSINESS IN 1830—PROGRESS IN 1836—PRICES AND TABULAR  
STATISTICS—BUSINESS OF 1839—STATISTICS OF 1844—TARIFFS OF 1842  
AND 1846—EFFECTS UPON THE IRON INDUSTRY—STRIKE OF 1848-49—  
NEW INDUSTRIES—THE COPPER OUTPUT—LOCOMOTIVE BUILDING—  
CAST STEEL MAKING—RAILWAY IRON—FARM MACHINERY—STATIS-  
TICS OF 1856—THE BESSEMER PROCESS PRAISED—BUILDING IRON.

The Pittsburgh Foundry, erected in 1804-5 by Joseph McClurg, met with many discouragements. His friends told him he would be ruined and that the foundry could not possibly succeed; but he persevered and "realized a fortune and retired from business, leaving the old foundry to fill the pockets of his successors with better stuff than pig-metal." During the War of 1812 he was given a large contract by the Government to furnish ordnance and balls, a large part of which was used by the fleet on Lake Erie. His long-range guns and his carronades stood the severest tests of the Government experts (a). In 1826 this old foundry was operated by Alexander McClurg, Sturley Cutlibert and James Cuddy on an extensive scale. Two furnaces were operated and about 600 tons consumed annually in the manufacture of wheels, shafts, cannons, stoves, hollow ware, grates and all sorts of castings. Nearly thirty hands were employed and the yearly product was valued at \$40,800. In 1826 the company had a contract with the Government to furnish ninety pieces of ordnance of from six to twenty-four pounders. The boring of these guns was justly considered an artistic and difficult piece of work.

The Eagle Foundry, in Kensington, was built and put in operation in 1808-10 by Anthony Beelen, but in 1826 was conducted by Messrs. Kingsland, Lightner & Sauers of the Jackson Foundry. Twelve hands were employed and about 250 tons produced annually, valued at about \$36,750. In 1821 a Mr. Clark established the Phoenix Foundry on Scotch Hill. In 1826 it was owned by Miller & Freeman, who consumed 200 tons annually in the manufacture of light castings, such as sadirons, grates, stoves, wheels, etc. Ten hands were employed and the annual value of the product was \$14,560. The Stackhouse Foundry, in 1826, was an attachment of the Columbian Steam Engine Company on Redoubt Alley. About 300 tons of metal were converted yearly into steam machinery principally. Twelve hands were employed and the value of the product was about \$18,000. In 1822 the Allegheny Foundry was erected near the Allegheny River, on McCormick's Alley. In 1826 William Franklin was owner and operator. He consumed about 156 tons annually into light castings, employing six hands and producing \$10,140 worth annually. In 1823 the Jackson Foundry was built and put in operation at the corner of Sixth and Liberty streets. The owners, Lawrence Kingsland, Isaac Lightner and Jacob Sauers, produced some of the heaviest castings ever seen up to that time in the Western

(a) Pittsburgh in 1826.—Samuel Jones. (Much of what follows in a few succeeding pages is from the same publication.)

country. Three hundred tons of pig-metal were yearly converted by them into stoves, grates, plow-plates and all sorts of castings, from one-quarter of a pound to four tons in weight. In 1826 twenty hands were employed (b). In 1824 the Stackhouse & Thompson Foundry was built on Liberty and Second streets and attached to their steam-engine factory. Their castings were intended for steamboats and steam machinery generally. They used 120 tons of metal yearly, employed from five to seven hands and produced \$7,200 worth of products (b). One-fourth of a mile east of Pittsburgh was situated Price's Cupola Furnace, which produced iron castings and brass articles. His crucibles for fusing copper, brass, etc., were important products and the only successful vessels of the kind made here. The annual value of his castings was about \$4,000 (c). The Birmingham Foundry, carried on by Sutton & Nicholson in 1826, consumed annually about 200 tons of metal, which was made into castings of all kinds, valued at \$12,000. It was connected with the rolling-mill there. By steam machinery he made screws for tobacco presses, paper-mills and fullers' machines. He did iron turning of all kinds. In the eight foundries above mentioned there were made in twelve months (1825-6) 2,126 tons of metal, by 106 hands, with a consumption of 65,000 bushels of coal, producing manufactures valued at \$132,610 (c).

In 1826 the manufacture of nails was carried on so extensively here that the product exceeded that of all the rest of the Western country. The patent nail-machines had revolutionized the manufacture and almost wholly superseded the hammer and the die. Six of the nail factories thus operated were connected with the rolling-mills, while some six others continued to produce nails in the old way. The product of all was about as follows (c):

Factories.	Pounds weight.	Value.
Union Rolling Mill.....	720,000	\$43,200
Sligo Rolling Mill.....	400,000	32,000
Pittsburg Rolling Mill....	782,887	86,544
Grant's Hill Mill.....	500,000	30,000
Juniata Hill Mill.....	500,000	40,000
Pine Creek Mill.....	457,000	34,100
Eagle Mill.....	600,000	36,000
Miscellaneous.....	360,000	28,800
Total.....	4,319,887	\$330,644

By 1826 Pittsburgh had attained great celebrity in the number and superior grade of its steam engines manufactured. The engineers and mechanics were constantly adding improvements which increased the superiority of their machines in every respect. The engines were nearly all constructed on the high-pressure principle in contradistinction to the low pressure. In 1819 the Columbian Steam Engine Company established its works at Second Street and Redoubt Alley. Mark Stackhouse, associated with Mahlon Rogers and Oliver Evans, was placed in charge of the works. He had a high reputation as an engineer and as the possessor of much ability and strength of character. His engines, from the start, secured a fame second to that of no others produced in all the Western country, at least. In fact, several of them were sent over the mountains in wagons for use East. This establishment was one of the boasts of Pittsburgh. Connected with it at a later date was a steam turning, boring and grinding factory. Warden & Arthurs also manufactured large engines, in 1826, for steamboats on the rivers and on the lakes north. Their factory was located at Second and West streets. Stackhouse & Thompson, at Third

(b) Pittsburg in 1826.—S. Jones.

(c) Pittsburg in 1826.—S. Jones.



and Liberty, in 1826, also manufactured engines for use on Western waters. Smith & Benny, on Grant's Hill, began to manufacture engines about 1825. M. B. Belknap, on Pine Creek, followed the same pursuit, as did Mahlon Rogers at Fourth and Grant streets. In 1826 the products, etc., of the engine factories here were as follows:

Establishments.	Engines made in 1826.	Hands Employed.	Value of Products.
Columbian Steam Engine Company...	7	20	\$30,000
Warden & Arthurs.....	5	30	35,000
Stackhouse & Thompson.....	5	30	35,000
Smith & Benny.....	3	15	14,000
M. B. Belknap.....	2	6	8,000
Mahlon Rogers.....	2	3	800
Total.....	24	104	\$122,800
On hand.....	6		30,000
Total.....	30		\$152,800

The Eichbaum wire factory, in Kensington, was conducted a few years, or until the depression succeeding the War of 1812 fell upon the country, when it was abandoned and not revived until 1825, when Arnold Eichbaum set it again in operation with an engine of ten horsepower and with seven hands. In 1826, besides the Juniata bar-iron brought from that stream, there were conveyed here about 5,000 tons of pig-metal, the product of twelve or thirteen blast furnaces in the counties of Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Westmoreland, Venango, Crawford and others (d). A steam turning and grinding mill in Kensington was owned and conducted by William Hall in 1826, and produced turnings of brass and iron and iron articles require grinding.

In 1825 the Phoenix Factory of Adams, Allen & Co. was in successful operation, making all sorts of machinery for picking, carding and drawing cotton. Lewis Peterson was yet doing a large business in copper and tin ware. William J. Howard and Robert Rogers, at Wood and Second streets, made stills, washkettles, teakettles and tinware. In September, 1826, the firm of L. & P. Peterson succeeded L. Peterson, coppersmith. J. & J. Patterson, Jr., of Birmingham, made locks, latches, bolts, knobs. J. Drocourt & Co. made tin and copper ware. In November, 1826, axes sold here for \$14 to \$16 per dozen; Juniata bar-iron, \$120 per ton; rolled iron, \$90 to \$95 per ton; pig-iron, \$28 to \$30 per ton; country steel, \$9 to \$12.50 per hundredweight; nails, 5 to 8 cents per pound; spades and shovels, \$8 to \$11 per dozen (e). Early in 1827 Richard Bowen offered for sale his well-known rolling and slitting mill, nail factory and adjacent buildings, all situated on Lots 33 and 34.

"The whole amount of foreign iron brought into the United States, it is stated, does not exceed 30,000 tons, an amount which can be produced by about fifteen good American establishments. Of the imported iron the English is the worst. American iron regulates the market and is sold in Philadelphia at \$100" (f).

The Union Rolling Mill, situated in Kensington, erected in 1819, was "the largest and most extensive establishment of the kind in the Western country" in 1826. It was owned by Messrs. Baldwin, Robinson, McNickle & Beltzhoover. The two engines of 100 horsepower each used in the mill were built by the Columbian Steam Engine Company in 1819, and, together with their cast-iron

(d) Pittsburgh in 1826.—S. Jones.

(e) Mercury, November, 1826.

(f) Gazette, January, 1827.

mountings and equipments, weighed 500,000 pounds. In 1825 this mill converted into bar, boiler, sheet and rod iron about 1,500 tons, valued at \$150,000. One hundred hands were employed (g). In 1821 Grant's Hill Iron Works were erected by William H. Hays and David Adams. The engine of eighty horsepower was built by the Columbian Steam Engine Company. In 1826 employment was given to thirty hands and the annual value of the products was about \$67,000. They manufactured bar, boiler, nail, hoop and rod iron from 600 tons of pig-metal and 200 tons of blooms (g). In 1824 Dr. Peter Shoenberger erected the Juniata Iron Works on the Allegheny River in Northern Liberties, as a branch of his large works on the Juniata River. His engine of 120 horsepower was built by Matthew Smith, of the firm of Benny & Smith. The structure was erected under the superintendence of M. B. Belknap. There were annually converted into bar, boiler, nail, sheet and rod iron about 500 tons of pig-metal and 300 tons of blooms. The annual value of the products in 1826 was about \$88,000 (h). The Sligo Rolling Mill was built in 1825 by Robert T. Stewart and John Lyon, and was considered a branch of their works on the Juniata. It was located on the south side of the Monongahela, opposite Market Street. The iron used by this mill was in the shape of blooms and was immediately fit for rolling. They consumed from the start about 900 tons annually. Their engine, built by Mark Stackhouse, was 130 horsepower. Thirty hands were employed in 1826, and products worth \$99,000 were manufactured yearly, consisting of bar, boiler, nail and sheet iron. The National Works at Harper's Ferry ordered a lot of Sligo iron for use as musket barrels (h). It became justly celebrated. In 1825 the Dowlais Iron Works were built in Kensington by Leonard Lewis. Its engine was 100 horsepower. Though the mill was shut down in 1826, its capacity when in operation was 600 tons annually of bar, boiler and sheet iron. How much business it transacted cannot be learned (h). In 1826 the old Pittsburgh Rolling Mill, which had been established and put in operation by Christopher Cowan in 1812, though not for rolling purposes, was owned and operated by Richard Bowen. Its engine of 70 horsepower had been built by the Columbian Steam Engine Company, and was used to drive one pair of rolls and slitters and ten nail machines. Bar-iron only to the amount of 500 tons annually was manufactured into boiler, sheet, nail and rod iron. Employment was given to twenty-one hands and the annual product was valued at \$70,000. Pine Creek Rolling Mill, situated on Pine Creek, a few miles above Pittsburgh on the Allegheny, and owned in 1826 by M. B. Belknap, used an engine of 100 horsepower and manufactured boiler, sheet, nail and rod iron. Water power, as well as steam, was employed in this mill. Forty hands were employed and 600 tons of bar-iron were consumed annually in the manufacture of axes, scythes, sickles, shovels, etc. (i). The following is the summary for the rolling-mills in 1825:

Iron Mills (i).	Hands Employed.	Tons of Iron Used.	Bushels Coal Consumed.	Value of Products.
Union Rolling Mill.....	100	1,500	182,000	\$150,000
Pittsburg Rolling Mill.....	21	500	30,000	70,000
Sligo Rolling Mill.....	30	900	90,000	90,000
Juniata Iron Works.....	60	800	129,700	88,000
Grant's Hill Works .....	30	900	90,000	67,000
Pine Creek Rolling Mill.....	40	600	40,000	85,000
Totals....	281	5,200	561,700	\$559,000

(g) Pittsburg in 1826.—S. Jones.

(h) Pittsburg in 1826.—S. Jones.

(i) Pittsburg in 1826.—S. Jones.

In 1826, in addition to the above mentioned iron industries, the following other metal-producing establishments were conducted here: Four brass foundries, employing eleven hands and one or two constantly engaged in casting brass for machinery; eleven separate tinning shops, employing sixty-five hands and turning out annually \$44,000 worth of products; six coppersmith shops, which made stills, kettles, pipes, etc., employing twenty-five hands and making annually \$14,000 worth of products; twenty-four blacksmith shops, employing one hundred and fifteen persons and producing \$47,000 worth annually, one of them, that of Mr. Waters, near Herron's steam mill, making weekly thirty dozen shovels and six dozen axes, or annually 18,720 shovels and 3,744 axes; six whitesmith shops, two of which, conducted by Thomas Hazleton and by Hugh Hazleton, manufactured scale-beams and balances; the lock factory of J. and J. Patterson, Jr., in Birmingham, employing eleven hands and producing annually 1,100 dozen articles, valued at \$4,950; six whitesmiths, employing forty-five hands and making \$23,000 worth of goods annually; four gunsmiths, employing six hands and making rifles, with or without percussion locks; eight silversmiths and watch repairers, using thirteen men and producing \$12,500 worth annually (j).

In November, 1827, the *Gazette* noticed that thirty-one steam engines varying from ten to two hundred horsepower were employed in the various manufacturing enterprises of Pittsburg. In May, 1828, pig-iron advanced here from \$28 to \$30 per ton to \$30 to \$33 per ton. Iron industries were crowded with orders beyond their capacity (k).

Townsend & Co. manufactured sieves, riddles, fenders, etc., at their factory on Market Street, and in 1828 began making an excellent quality of iron wire at their new factory in Beaver Falls. The wire was made of Juniata iron and was declared to be as good as the best English product. They made all sizes from number 1 to number 36 and "can produce the immense quantity of a ton per week" (l).

Another account, in 1825, fixed the iron industry at seven rolling mills, eight foundries, six engine factories and one wire factory (m). In 1829 the same authority gives nine foundries, eight rolling mills, nine nail factories and seven engine factories, with a total consumption of 6,000 tons of pigs and an equal quantity of blooms (m). In 1828 a writer (n) speaks of the Sligo Rolling Mill, erected in 1825 and owned and operated by Robert T. Stewart and John Lyon; the Juniata Iron Works, built in 1824 by Dr. Peter Shoenberger and operated by M. B. Belknap, superintendent; Grant's Hill Iron Works, erected in 1821 and owned and operated by William H. Hays and David Adams; Union Rolling Mill, built in 1819, and owned and operated by Baldwin, Robinson & McNickle; Dowlais Iron Works, commenced in 1825 and conducted by Mr. Lewis; Pittsburg Rolling Mill, conducted by R. Bowen; the Pine Creek Rolling Mill, owned and conducted by Elkin & Ludlow. Of the foundries the same writer speaks of Jackson Foundry, owned by Kingsland, Lightner & Sauers; the Eagle Foundry, by Anthony Beelen; the Phoenix Foundry, by Freeman & Miller; the Stackhouse Foundry; the Allegheny Foundry, by William Franklin; the foundry operated by Stackhouse & Thompson, and the Cupola Foundry, by William Price, Birmingham.

Edward Ensell, early and prominently identified with the glass industry here, died July 26, 1828. He had been here twenty-six years, and was a native of Birmingham, England. In April, 1829, M. S. Mason & Co. succeeded to the

(j) Pittsburg in 1826.—S. Jones.

(l) *Gazette*, March 17, 1829.

(n) Mrs. Anne Royall.

(k) *Gazette*, May, 1828.

(m) *Gazette*, 1825 and 1829.

ownership of the Pennsylvania Rolling Mills. F. H. Oliphant had just sold his interest in the same. Mr. McDonough was the company.

In 1829 the Juniata Iron Works, operated by Peter Shoenberger & Son, with about seventy-five hands, made 50 tons of pigs and blooms weekly. The nail factory of Shoenberger & Packard, with fifty-five hands, made each week 30,000 pounds of nails. The Pittsburg Cast Steel and File Factory, in Northern Liberties, near Pittsburg, was owned and conducted in 1829 by Broadmeadow & Co. They made an excellent quality of files and blister steel. They expected soon to commence making steel and cast-steel from the blister bars. Waters' shovel factory, in 1829, with forty hands, made from sixty to seventy dozen spades and shovels weekly, besides doing a large general smithing work. At the Cuthbert & Co. foundry twenty hands were employed and the same number at McClurg's.

In 1829 several manufacturers of iron failed, and it was claimed by those who opposed the protective system that the result was due to overproduction under too strong a protective schedule. Friends of the system denied this, and pointed out the immense importations of foreign products in spite of the tariff, and to the fact that a large percentage of the population preferred to buy foreign instead of domestic goods, even at a higher price.

In 1830 the Aetna Rolling Mill, near Pittsburg, owned and conducted by H. S. Spang & Son, was in complete operation, making nails and Juniata iron. In May, 1830, P. Shoenberger & Son., Barnett & Shorb, Mason, Miltenberger & Co., H. Blake & Co. and H. S. Spang & Son, manufacturers of iron and nails, published a schedule of their wares with prices annexed, the prices being subject to a discount of five per cent. for cash, or a satisfactory discount for large quantities. The following was the schedule:

Bar-iron, per ton.....	\$110 to \$115
Square iron, per ton.....	110 to 160
Round iron, per ton.....	110 to 170
Hoop-iron, per ton.....	120 to 145
Sheet-iron, per ton.....	175 to 190
Fire-bed iron, per ton.....	160
Boiler-iron, per ton.....	115 to 145
Coopers' hoops, per ton.....	150 to 180
Nailrods, per ton.....	125
Nails and spikes, per pound.....	6 to 9 cents

The Kensington Rolling Mill, in May, 1829, operated by Leonard, Semple & Leonard (S. and R. Leonard and A. McN. Semple), stood on the Monongahela above Suke's Run. They made and kept on hand for sale hoop, round, square, tire or flat iron; nail, chain, deck and spike rods, etc.

"Pittsburg steel manufactured by S. Broadmeadow & Co.—This steel will bear a welding heat and is tempered or hardened as the Crowley steel, and we warrant it as equal to the best English blister steel. May 15, 1829. S. Broadmeadow & Co." (o).

In April, 1829, the firm of Hugh Gallagher & Co. (foundrymen), consisting of Hugh Gallagher, Samuel Stackhouse and James Thompson, was dissolved. L. & P. Peterson made and laid the lead pipes for the city water-works in 1829. F. A. Bemis began, in 1829, to manufacture all sorts of cotton and woolen machinery, turning lathes, etc. The Pine Creek Iron Works, five miles above Pittsburg, formerly in possession of M. B. Belknap, and carried on for a few years previous to 1829 by McClurg & Co. and by Elkin & Ledlie in the

(o) Gazette, May, 1829.

manufacture of nails, spades, axes, hoes and the rolling of iron, passed into the hands of an assignee in 1829, Elkin & Ledlie having failed. In the summer of 1829 Adam Ramage manufactured printing presses, copperplate, seal and copying presses, etc.

The Pennsylvania Rolling Mill, located in Allegheny and operated by Mason, Miltenberger & Co. in 1829, made and kept for sale rolled, bar, round, square, sheet, boiler and fire-bed iron, and deck, spike and rail rods and all sizes of nails and brads. The firm consisted of Matthew S. Mason, George Miltenberger (who was superintendent) and Ignatius McDonough.

The Juniata Iron Works, near Pittsburg, owned and operated by P. Shoenberger & Son, manufactured and kept for sale bar, round, square, boiler, hoop and sheet iron, and all sizes of nails from No. 3 to No. 20. The following prices prevailed in Pittsburg in 1829 (p):

Iron, bar, Juniata, ton.....	\$120.00
Iron, rolled, ton.....	\$90 to 95.00
Iron, planished, ton....	100.00
Iron, sheet, hundredweight.....	10.50
Iron, pig, ton.....	30.00
Iron, sadirons, pound.....	.06
Iron, nails, pound.....	.06 to .10
Axes, dozen.....	\$14 to \$16.00
Steel, country, hundredweight.....	8 to 9.00

"Thousands of tons of metal are brought by canal and turnpikes to Pittsburg to be made by foundries and rolling mills into steam engines, bar-iron, boiler-iron, anchors for the lakes, sugar-mills and sugar-kettles for Louisiana, castings bar-iron, nails, farming utensils, etc." (q).

The Juniata Mill and Nail Factory stood on the north side of the Allegheny River and east side of the Pennsylvania Canal. The proprietors were James Anderson, Sylvanus Lothrop and Henry Blake. The works were propelled by a 110-horsepower engine and sixty hands were employed. It rolled 1,500 tons of blooms into bars, boilers and sheet-iron, and made 400 tons of nails annually. From 450 to 500 bushels of coal were used daily for the engine, worth  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents per bushel at the works. It was first put in operation September 28, 1829.

"Upon diligent inquiry we learn that there are consumed annually in the different foundries, rolling-mills and steam-engine factories in and about Pittsburg, 6,000 tons of blooms and 5,000 tons of pig-metal. These articles are brought principally down the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. Last year considerable quantities were brought up from Ohio and Kentucky, and contracts have lately been made for a large quantity from Tennessee. There are nine foundries, which use about 3,500 tons of pig-metal and employ about 225 hands. The rolling mills are eight in number and are now chiefly employed in rolling Juniata blooms, of which they use about 6,000 tons. They also consume about 1,500 tons of pig-metal and employ about 320 hands. There are nine nail factories, which manufacture daily about eighteen tons of nails and employ about 150 hands. There are also about seven steam-engine factories, in which are employed about 210 hands. As yet but three steam engines have been sent east of the mountains, four or five to the northern lakes and one to Mexico. Within two or three years past the casting of sugar-kettles, sugar-mills, and small steam engines to drive them, for the planters of Louisiana, has become a very important branch of our manufacturing business, and is increasing. In addition to the metal and

(p) Prices in August, 1829.

(q) Gazette, September, 1829.



blooms above mentioned a large quantity of bar-iron is brought to Pittsburg from Juniata" (r).

January 1, 1830, the *Gazette* noted the arrival here of a quantity of pig-metal from Tennessee and its continued shipment to this wharf, and observed that this state of affairs was different from what it was fifteen years before.

The decade of the '30s was destined to witness a period of intense depression to manufactures and to encounter a tariff policy which can best be described in its effects by the term "survival of the fittest." There were periods of great advancement, but it cannot be said that such were permanent or calculated to add largely to the prosperity of this vicinity, owing to their spasmodic character.

"Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States authorizes acts of Congress to protect manufacturers, and that the actual prosperity of the country attests the wisdom of such acts; and that any diminution of the protection now afforded to iron would be impolitic and injudicious legislation" (s).

In 1830 there were made here 100 steam engines and were rolled 9,282 tons of iron. Five rolling and three slitting mills were erected the two preceding years (1828 and 1829), and it is ascertained that, of the iron manufactured during that period, 600 tons were converted into other articles before they left the city. In 1831 there were 150 steam engines made. During the period in question there were four glass-houses in operation, containing thirty-two pots, at which flint-glass was manufactured, and four others, three of which made monthly 1,500 boxes of window-glass and \$1,000 worth of hollowware. The value of the window-glass and bottles made at, and in the neighborhood of, Pittsburg, per year (1830-31), was estimated at more than \$500,000 (t).

In 1831 Kingsland, Lightner & Cuddy took possession of the Pittsburg Foundry (McClurg's) at Smithfield and Fifth, and of the Jackson Foundry at Sixth and Liberty, and began to operate both on a large scale, turning out large quantities of sadirons, teakettles, waffle-irons, moldboards, plow and other castings, bark mills, etc. In January, 1831, S. Smith & Co. succeeded R. Bowen in the ownership and management of the Brown Rolling Mill and Nail Factory. Previous to this Sauers & Kingsland had operated the foundry on Water Street near Grant, but about this time the property was offered for sale by Bakewell, Page & Bakewell.

At a meeting of the citizens of Pittsburg, held at the courthouse on December 28, 1816, Walter Forward, on behalf of the committee appointed at a previous meeting, stated that the annual consumption of pig-iron in Pittsburg and its immediate vicinity amounted to 1,800 tons; that the number of hands employed was about 150 and the annual value of the products \$250,000. "Of wrought-iron there is annually worked up about 2,000 tons, furnishing, according to the best estimate in the power of the committee, products worth \$1,300,000." The *Gazette* of 1831, referring to this, said: "We are assured that the consumption of iron in and about Pittsburg now exceeds 18,000 tons and still rapidly increases" (u).

S. B. McKenzie and D. Blackstock succeeded Blackstock, Bell & Co. in February, 1831, and continued the manufacture of cotton and woolen machinery. Archibald Lamont made vises of such superiority as to receive special mention from the committee of judges of Franklin Institute. Z. Packard manufactured mill and cross-cut saws in 1831, and S. P. Darlington made tilt-hammered spades and shovels.

At the factory of Packard & Estep there was made by Barnett, Shorb & Co. a spade, "and the whole article is out of all comparison superior to anything

(r) *Gazette*, October 9, 1829.

(s) Resolution approved April 2, 1831.

(t) Western Address Directory (adapted), 1837.

(u) *Gazette*, June 17, 1831.





of the kind that we have ever seen" (v). In March, 1831, Barnett, Shorb & Co. forwarded to Henry Clay, at his home at Ashland, Ky., this spade and also a shovel, ax, hoe and carving knife and fork, products wholly of the manufacture of Packard & Estep of Pittsburg. The steel was made under an improved process of an American, E. L. Losey. This branch of the manufacture had just been commenced here, and the articles were sent to Mr. Clay "as a token of our high regard for your private character and eminent public services," and "as a sample of the many good effects produced by that policy of which you have been the able and untiring advocate. The iron was made under our personal inspection and the steel in our convertory." Mr. Clay replied in his usual cordial and patriotic manner (w). In 1831 David Bain manufactured cast sheet lead for chemical retorts, vats, cisterns, boilers, lead pipes, etc. In 1831 J. F. & E. Greer conducted a foundry and steam-engine factory at First and Water streets and added to their establishment an air foundry for iron castings.

In 1833 J. & E. Greer, at the Tariff Foundry, manufactured stoves, grates, gudgeons, sawmill irons, windmill irons, wagon-boxes, sadirons bake-kettles, plow-irons, hollowware, etc. The following year they were forced to assign.

Bemis, Kingsland, Lightner & Cuddy bought the interest of Lewis & Peter Peterson in their machine shop and steam-engine factory, lately conducted by F. A. Bemis & Co., in February, 1834. F. A. Bemis & Co., the company being Lewis and Peter Peterson, had made steam engines and cotton and woolen machinery here for some time.

On November 1, 1833, there were in operation in and near Pittsburg 89 engines, with 2,111 hands employed therewith, and 154,250 bushels of coal consumed monthly (x). The following were the iron establishments:

Establishments.	Bu. of Coal consumed monthly.	Horsepower of Engine.	Hands em- ployed.
Speers & Renfrew, engine, ship.....	200	8	12
Bemis & Co., engine and machine.....	900	16	55
Smith & Minis, steam-engine factory.....	400	12	36
J. & E. Greer, blowing—a cupola.....	400	8	14
Stackhouse & Thompson, steam-engine factory.....	700	16	40
John Arthurs, steam-engine factory.....	700	16	40
John Gallagher, metal turning.....	225	4	6
Thomas Fink, boring and turning .....	300	15	2
Leonard, Semple & Leonard, iron works.....	20,000	150	150
Leonard, Semple & Leonard, wind works.....	500	20	15
John Sheriff, brass foundry.....	250	7	10
Mahlon Rogers, engine building.....	300	8	28
James Nelson, grinding sickles.....	300	8	10
Miltenberger & Brown, rolling-mill.....	3,900	85	35
S. Smith & Co., rolling-mill and nail factory.....	3,500	80	33
Kingsland, Lightner & Cuddy, foundry.....	1,040	40	70
Marshall & Hawdon, grinding.....	250	6	12
G. & J. H. Shoenberger, rolling-mill.....	13,000	160	45
G. & J. H. Shoenberger, rolling-mill and nail factory.....	3,900	120	17
William Lippincott, rolling-mill and nail factory....	3,120	80	32
McClurg, Wade & Co., engine and cannon factory..	1,650	40	80
Oran Waters, shovels, spades factory.....	500	8	16
John Witherell, edge tools.....	312	6	5
Sylvanus Lothrop, Juniata Rolling Mill.....	19,500	110	75

(v) Gazette, April 8, 1831.

(w) Gazette, May 31, 1831.

(x) Samuel Church, in Gazette, November 8, 1833.

Establishments.	Hu. of Coal consumed monthly.	Horsepower of Engine.	Hands em- ployed.
Lamont & Co., vise factory.....	1,400	18	10
Jacob Stroop, edge tools.....	400	10	40
H. S. Spang & Son, rolling-mill and nail factory....	10,000	160	65
Wetmore & Havens, steel manufactory.....	550	30	15
Lyon, Shorb & Co., Sligo Iron Works.....	8,000	100	60
J. & J. Patterson, saw cutting and turning.....	500	6	20
William Price, cupola....	300	6	4
J. Robinson & Son, boring and turning.....	450	15	9
	97,447	1,368	1,061

"Resolved, That the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties upon wines and silks, and that those ought to be reduced" (y).

In the month of November, 1833, 2,337,580 pounds of iron were brought to Pittsburg over the canal, as follows: Blooms, 1,658,326 pounds; pig-metal, 112,560 pounds; castings, 75,167 pounds; iron, 492,527 pounds. There were shipped eastward over the canal during the same time 127,484 pounds of castings (z).

"There are in the city of Pittsburg sixteen foundries and engine factories of the largest denomination, besides numerous other establishments of less magnitude. There are nine rolling-mills, cutting two tons of nails and rolling eight tons of iron per day on an average, and employing from seventy to ninety hands each" (a).

In July, 1834, bar, tie, horseshoe, round, square, hoop, band, saddle-tree and grate-bar iron was quoted at from 4 to 7 cents per pound. Juniata hammered iron was quoted at \$100 per ton. American blister steel was worth 6 cents per pound and British blister steel 16 cents per pound (b).

Lothrop, Stewart & Co., in November, 1835, sold their interests in the Juniata Rolling Mill to John Bissell & Co., consisting of John Bissell, William Morrison and Edward W. Stephens, and continued the manufacture of iron and nails.

In September, 1836, the iron and nail factory of Smith & Co. (formerly R. Bowen's) was totally destroyed by fire. In January, 1836, John Arthurs and John Nicholson took as a partner in the Union Foundry George McCandless, and the new firm, in June of the same year, bought the interest of McClurg, Parry & Higby in the Eagle Foundry. In January, 1837, H. L. Bollman and Abraham Garrison bought an interest in the foundry of Kingsland & Lightner. About the same time William Tate accepted a partnership with John Sheriff in the manufacture of brass articles and lead pipes, sheets, etc. The foundry of John Anderson and W. P. Canan, at Front and Smithfield streets, was in a flourishing condition.

In December, 1836, there were nine rolling mills in operation by the following companies: Leonard, Semple & Co., G. & J. H. Shoenberger & Co., Lyon, Shorb & Co., Miltenbergers & Brown, Smith, Royer & Co., Bissell & Co., Beeler & Co., H. S. Spang & Son and Lippincott & Bros., all of which consumed annually about 2,000,000 bushels of bituminous coal, employed about 1,000 hands, converted about 20,000 tons of blooms and 8,000 tons of pig-

(y) Resolution offered by Henry Clay in the United States Senate, May 11, 1833.

(z) Gazette, December 3, 1833.

(a) Mercury, October 28, 1833.

(b) Gazette, July 11, 1834.



metal into bar, sheet-steel and rod-iron, nails, spikes, saws, spades, hoes, wire, etc., the value of which product aggregated about \$4,160,000 (c).

Establishments.	Hands.	Tons of Iron.	Bu. of Coke and Coal.	Sets of Rolls.	En-gines.	Nail Ma-chines.
Kensington Iron Works (Leonard, Semple & Co).....	170	3,000	250,000	6	2	10
Pennsylvania Iron Works (Miltenbergers & Brown).....	110	5,000	300,000	6	2	15
Juniata Iron Works (G. & J. H. Shoenberger).....	90	4,000	180,000	..	2	..
Sligo Iron Works (Lyon, Shorb & Co).....	90	4,000	220,000	..	..	..
Lippincott & Bros.....	50	800	75,000	..	..	..
Smith, Royer & Co.....	490	3,200	975,000	..	..	..
Bissell & Co.....						
Beeler & Co.....						
H. S. Spang & Son.....						

Of these the Kensington works made round, square, flat, hoop, boiler and sheet iron, wire and spike rods, nails, etc. The Pennsylvania works made the same, the nails amounting to 1,500 tons annually. The Juniata works made the same, besides fire-bed iron and blister steel. Sligo works manufactured the same; and Lippincott & Bros the same.

In December, 1836, there were eighteen iron foundries, steam-engine factories and machine shops here, which consumed annually nearly 500,000 bushels of coal and coke, employing nearly 1,000 hands, changed from 10,000 to 12,000 tons of pig-metal into useful articles of all sorts, from a cannon down to a butt-hinge, and transformed 3,000 tons of bar-iron into boilers—all valued at \$2,130,000 (d).

The Pennsylvania Foundry and Steam Engine Factory of McClurg, Wade & Co., at O'Hara and Water streets, made locomotive steam engines, heavy cannon, field artillery, railroad machines, engines for steamboats, mills and manufactories, cannon ball, shells, grape, cannister, castings, mill machinery, etc. Arthurs, Stewart & Co. built, in 1836, fifteen steam engines and forty-four boilers; while the Eagle Factory of Arthurs, Nicholson & Co., in the same time, made twenty-six steam engines, besides a large amount of general machinery. From May 25, 1835, to May 25, 1836, Stackhouse & Tomlinson made ten steam engines and thirty-four boilers. Warden & Benny made, in 1836, fifteen engines for steamboats and eighty boilers. Freeman & Miller made castings, stoves, grates, etc., and Kingsland & Lightner, at the Pittsburgh Foundry, made castings for rolling-mills, engines, plows, stoves, etc. (e).

In December, 1836, according to the best calculations, there were in use here and the immediate vicinity 125 steam engines. The number of smith shops was very large, one of them operating sixteen forges. C. & O. O. Evans, plow manufacturers, made 4,000 of those implements annually; while Mr. Hall, in the same business, had the capacity to make 100 plows daily, or nearly 30,000 annually. Lead pipe, brass goods and wire were manufactured on a large scale (e).

The sum total of the productive value of mechanical labor, taken in connection with the value of the raw material, of Pittsburgh and immediate vicinity for 1836, was estimated as follows (e):

(c) Western Address Directory, 1837.—Lyford.

(d) Western Address Directory, 1837.—Lyford.

(e) Western Address Directory, 1837.—Lyford.

## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

Steamboats.....	\$ 960,000
Rolling-mills.....	4,160,000
Iron foundries, engine and machine shops.....	2,130,000
Flint-glass works.....	560,000
Window-glass and hollowware.....	700,000
Cotton factories.....	500,000
Ropewalk.....	80,000
Paper-mill.....	20,000
Chemical factories and lead works.....	241,000
Linseed oil.....	50,000
Plows.....	174,000
All other manufactures.....	6,000,000

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\$15,575,440

In these establishments, and including the water-works, there were consumed, in 1836, 3,512,100 bushels of coal. If to this is added all other coal consumed and exported, the total aggregated 8,550,000 bushels, which, at 4½ cents per bushel, amounts to \$384,750. The total number of men employed in the rolling-mills, foundries, glassworks, cotton factories, ropewalk and paper-mills was 2,940 (f). The manufactures and mechanical products and sales of all kinds, foreign and domestic, may be estimated at from \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000 in the year 1836 (f).

In 1837 the iron and nail manufacturers here were: John Bissell & Co., Forsyth, Lorenz & Cuddy, Hoge, Wetmore & Co., Kings, Higby & Anderson, Lyon, Shorb & Co., Miltenbergers & Brown, Smith Royer & Co., H. S. Spang & Son and G. & J. H. Shoenberger. The iron foundries were owned by Kingsland, Lightner & Co., Freeman & Miller, McClurg, Wade & Co., Cuddy, Mitchell & Co., Anderson & Canan, McKeranahan & Co. (Allegheny), Rowan, McClelland & Co., Robinson & Minis, William Price (Priceville), and Arthurs & Nicholson. The steam-engine builders were: McClurg, Wade & Co., Stewart, Preston & Co., Stackhouse & Thompson, Stackhouse & Tomlinson, Robinson & Minis, Smith & Irwin, Litch, Cinnamon & Co., J. & R. Scott, Guthrie & Vandervoort, Warden, Nicholson & Co., nearly all of whom had foundries attached to their business.

Establishments (g).	Hands.	Tons Iron Used.	Engines.	Bu. Coal and Coke.	Annual product.
Miltenbergers & Brown.....	100	3,000	2	300,000	\$250,000
G. & J. H. Shoenberger & Co..	100	3,500	2	200,000	437,500
Leonard, Semple & Co.....	150	3,000	1	250,000	230,000
John Bissell & Co.....	100	3,500	1	250,000	420,000
Smith, Royer & Co.....	43	400	1	.....	160,000
Lippincott Bros.....	80	900	1	100,000	.....
Kings, Higby & Anderson....	80	900	1	100,000	.....
Oran Waters (Chartiers).....	20	....	..	.....	30,000
Ephraim Estep (Lawrenceville)	30	....	..	.....	60,000
McClurg, Wade & Co.....	200	1,770	3	75,000	300,000
Stackhouse & Tomlinson.....	55	275	..	20,000	100,000
Hoge, Wetmore & Co.....	75	3,000	2	300,000	450,000
Lyon, Shorb & Co.....	100	5,000	2	260,000	800,000
Forsyth, Lorenz & Cuddy.....	100	4,000	2	360,000	600,000
J. & J. Patterson.....	20	....	1	8,000	150,000
Robinson & Minis.....	85	800	1	40,000	170,000

(f) Writer in Harris' Intelligencer, December, 1836.

(g) Harris' Directory, 1837. (Compare this table with the one prepared by Lyford.)

Miltenbergers & Brown made nails and all kinds of bar and sheet iron; the Shoenbergers made nails, bar, boiler and sheet iron and steel; Leonard, Semple & Co. made the same on a large scale; John Bissell & Co. made nails and all sorts of bar and sheet iron; Lippincott & Bros. made, in 1836, 307 dozen saws, mill and crosscut, 12,500 kegs of nails, 800 dozen hoes, 150 dozen forks, 3,000 dozen shovels and spades, 1,000 cotton-gin saws, etc.; Kings, Higby & Anderson made, in 1836, 300 dozen mill and crosscut saws, 5,000 dozen shovels and spades, 14,000 kegs of nails, 800 dozen forks and 800 dozen hoes. From 1824 to 1836 Stackhouse & Thompson built more than 56 steam engines, and John Arthurs built from 1831 to 1837 a total of over 53 engines.

"Price of Pig-iron and Blooms.—Pig-iron and blooms are both dull of sale. Pig-iron is selling at from \$26 to \$30 per ton on time. Juniata blooms at \$85 per ton on time" (h).

"Iron.—Blooms—No arrivals. We have sales to report of 225 tons at \$75, four months; 6 tons at \$75, five months; and 53 tons at \$75, four months. Pig-metal sales of 50 tons Allegheny at \$26, four months; 20 tons Monongahela, soft, at \$36, four months; the article has declined fully \$2 per ton, and looks down. Bars and Nails—Large sales at quotations. Castings—Four tons, 2 tons and 15 tons sold at 3½ cents. Sadirons—Sales at 6½ cents" (i).

It was considered generally that Tennessee blooms were as good as Juniata blooms, but having been badly handled lost more in rolling—\$1 to \$5 per ton. The consequence was that, whereas in May, 1838, Juniata blooms sold here for \$75 per ton, Tennessee blooms and Kentucky blooms were quoted at a less figure by several dollars. Pig-iron from Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Kentucky and Juniata was worth about the same price per ton. In October, 1838, blooms were worth \$75; pig-iron (foundry), \$38 to \$39; pig-iron (hard), \$37.50 to \$38.

"Blooms.—None in market; they would command a higher price than our quotations (85). Pigs—We note a sale of good foundry at \$40 per ton, four and six months. We advance quotations a shade" (j).

"An advance of one cent per pound in the price of bar-iron and nails has taken place in this city. The reason assigned by the manufacturers for this is the enhanced price of blooms and pig-metal. The orders for iron and nails have been very large. Heavy as the stock on hand was on the resumption of navigation it will all be swept off as fast as boats can be obtained to carry it down the river. It is estimated that the stock of manufactured iron and nails in this city last week was not less than 6,000 tons" (k).

"Blooms—We have no transactions to report; \$90, four and six months, is offered for a lot of good Ohio blooms now in market. We quote the article at \$90. Pigs—No sales; a lot of mixed qualities may be had at \$45" (l).

December 6, 1838, Juniata blooms sold here for \$85 on six months' time. At this date there were no pigs in the market and bar-iron was quoted at 7 to 7½ cents per pound. In March, 1839, blooms were quoted at \$92.50 to \$100 per ton and pig-metal at from \$45 to \$47.50 per ton. Early in April, 1839, Juniata blooms were quoted at \$100 on time; Missouri blooms, \$92 on time, and pig-metal, \$43 on time (m). In May, 1839, pig-metal declined from \$43 to \$38 and \$40, by June 13 to \$35, and by July to \$33 per ton; while blooms were quoted about the middle of June at \$90, and later at a still lower figure. There was an immense stock of both on hand in the city (n).

"The iron business in all its branches is flourishing in Pittsburg, and the

(h) Harris' Intelligencer, July 14, 1837.

(j) Daily Advocate, November 22, 1838.

(l) Daily Advocate, January 10, 1839.

(n) Daily Advocate Reports.

(i) Daily Advocate, March 14, 1838.

(k) Daily Advocate, November 11, 1838.

(m) Daily Advocate, April 4, 1839.

stocks in these establishments are in high repute. Two very extensive manufactories have changed hands this week by private purchase. Lippincott & Brothers have sold their very extensive works to King, Anderson & Higby. Beeler & Hartman of Birmingham have sold theirs to Hoge, Wetmore & Hartman. There will be merely a change of owners and the works will be driven on with renewed spirit" (o).

John Arthurs, David Stewart and Cyprian Preston manufactured steam engines, beginning their partnership in June, 1837. Previous to January, 1838, J. & R. Scott manufactured engines, mill-irons, castings, etc., at Liberty and Water streets, but were then succeeded by Robert Wrightman, who began to make steam engines, mill-irons, lathes, stocks, dies, tops, etc. Samuel Smith and John Irwin, steam-engine manufacturers, assigned in June, 1838. E. & F. Faber manufactured steam engines in 1838. In Miltenbergers & Brown's rolling-mill on Wayne Street, in 1838, there was operated a wrought-spike machine by the inventor and patentee, Richard Savory. This was a great improvement on the old method of making spikes by hand. They were made from three to ten inches in length. Samuel Stackhouse withdrew from the firm of Stackhouse, Thompson & Co., steam-engine manufacturers, in February, 1838, whereupon his partners, James Thompson and James Nelson, associated themselves with Joseph Tomlinson, under the name of Thompson, Tomlinson & Co., to continue the same business, including iron and brass castings. McElroy & Slaughterback manufactured copper and tin ware in 1840. During the '30s and '40s Andrew Fulton manufactured thousands of bells for all the western country. In 1841 Jones & Coleman manufactured springs and axles of all kinds for carriages, metal lamps, door-handles, hinges, etc.

"Our Manufacturers—The Crisis.—The scarcity of money and dangers attending extensive sales on credit to the West and South, and the difficulty of obtaining discounts and collections, together with the high price of provisions and labor, have induced—nay, made it prudent and necessary for—our extensive manufacturing establishments to make an immediate and rapid curtailment of their business, and without a great change in the times for the better, owing to the peculiar crisis, the manufacturing business of our city will be reduced one-third and perhaps more. Some of the largest will discharge from 50 to 100 hands; several have already commenced to do so, and before the 4th of July perhaps from 2,000 to 3,000 operatives will be discharged. The necessary alternative we very much lament" (p).

"We have lately examined at Andrew Fulton's brass foundry a new gun, or rather a combination of guns, invented by Mr. Snowden of this city. It consists of ten guns or calibers of guns, arranged around a large cylinder of iron. These guns are successively loaded, fired, sponged, charged and rammed home again with rapidity by means of a crank" (q).

In 1838 Thompson, Tomlinson & Co. succeeded Stackhouse, Thompson & Nelson in the manufacture of steam engines. Samuel Smith and John Irwin, manufacturers of steam engines, were forced to assign in June, 1838. In the summer of 1838, at a convention of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, held in Pittsburg, a committee of the same, after careful investigation, placed the annual value of all manufactures in the city in detail at \$9,263,000, of which the following were items (r):

(o) Harris' Intelligencer, February, 1837.

(p) Harris' Intelligencer, April 16, 1837.

(q) Gazette, March 28, 1838.

(r) Pittsburg Advocate, April 30, 1839. (This estimate is probably nearer correct than any other made about that time, owing to the liability of persons interested to over-estimate.)

Bar and sheet iron and nails.....	\$3,000,000
Engines and castings.....	1,500,000
Glass and glassware.....	900,000
Cotton yarn and fabrics.....	750,000
Saddlery and harness.....	250,000
Cordage and twine.....	230,000
White lead.....	200,000
Cabinetware and chairs.....	200,000
Leather.....	200,000
Cotton machinery and cards.....	150,000
Malt liquors.....	120,000
Steel and mill saws, axes, etc.....	100,000
All others.....	1,663,000
Total.....	<u>\$9,263,000</u>

A small iron steamboat was built at York, Pennsylvania, in 1823-4 and named "Codorus," and designed to run on the Susquehanna River. The hull was built of iron, mounted upon wheels and hauled by horses to the river, where it was launched opposite Marietta. It was small—of the bateau class. It did not do well East and was brought to Pittsburg and sent down the river for use at some southern port (s). In January, 1839, a contract was entered into to build an iron boat at Pittsburg (t):

The iron steamboat "Valley Forge" reached New Orleans December 29, 1839, and was placed on the general line between that city and Cincinnati (v). The following is the report on Pittsburg and Allegheny County of the Marshal for the Western District of Pennsylvania for the year 1839 (w):

Number of furnaces for cast-iron.....	28
Tons produced.....	6,584
Value of manufactures (about).....	\$446,880

Number of bloomeries, forges, rolling-mills for bar-iron and nails....	12
Tons produced.....	45,100
Value of manufactures (about).....	\$4,500,000
Number of hands, including miners.....	2,305
Amount of capital invested.....	\$1,931,000

Value of hardware and cutlery manufactured.....	\$351,500
Number of men employed.....	210
Number of cannon cast.....	5
Small arms made.....	1,350
Men employed....	13

Value of machinery manufactured.....	\$443,500
Number of men employed.....	251
Various metals made, value.....	\$181,700
Men employed.....	218

"Bar-iron—Some of the largest manufacturers have suddenly knocked down the price of bar-iron  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound. This brings common bar to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound; other sizes in the same proportion as before—all reduced  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

(s) Pittsburg Advocate, April 17, 1839.

(t) Gazette, July 9, 1839.

(v) Weekly Pittsburger, January 22, 1840.

(w) Harris' Intelligencer, November, 1840.



Nails have also been dropped  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound—10d and larger at 4.5 cents, 4d at 5.75 cents. This is an important change" (x). In January, 1840, blooms were quoted at \$60 to \$62.50 per ton, and pig-metal at \$24 to \$28 per ton. In the spring and summer of 1840 they declined heavily, but in January, 1841, were quoted—blooms \$70 per ton and pig-metal (Ohio) \$32 per ton (y).

"This week, though we do not report sales, we have fair warrant to record a decline in prices of pig-metal. Several parcels of good metal have been offered at \$20 per ton cash. . . . Several holders have endeavored to force sales for cash, and the highest offer made in cash has been \$18, and on time \$20, undoubted paper. This is an important change" (z).

On December 21, 1841, at a public meeting held for the purpose, there was organized the "Farmers, Mechanics and Manufacturers' Home League of Allegheny County for the Protection of Domestic Industry." John Jack was chairman of the meeting and George W. Bradley secretary. Among those present were J. H. McClelland, J. E. Sheridan, Manning Hull, John Rippey, James Dalzell, David McClelland and Joseph O'Brien. Arrangements were made to form a county organization in February, 1842 (a).

Blooms, ton.....	\$65.00 to \$70.00
Pig-metal, ton.....	30.00 to 31.00
Teakettles, dozen.....	7.50 to 9.00
Nails, pound.....	.04 to .06
Steel, English blistered.....	.14 to .16
Steel, American blistered, pound.....	.06 to .07
Steel, German blistered, pound.....	.14 to .16
Steel, cast and shear, pound.....	.19 to .20 (b)
Bar-iron, pound.....	.04 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hollowware castings, pound.....	.03

In December, 1841, it was shown that the total value of the iron products of the State amounted to \$22,100,665 (c). In view of this fact and of the further one that in 1842 the Compromise Law of 1833 would go into final operation, the manufacturers of Pittsburg felt that they should take some action to save such an immense industry from destruction. It was said:

"If the odious Compromise Act goes into final operation without any change, Pennsylvania iron will be driven out of market in her own borders, in the East and in the principal parts of the Western country. Let not Pittsburg iron manufacturers flatter themselves that on account of our distance from the seaboard the act will not affect them" (d).

In 1844 the iron and nail manufacturers here were: James Anderson (Lippincott Mills), warehouse at 23 Wood; Bailey, Brown & Co. (Wayne Iron Works), warehouse 46 Water; Bissell, Semple & Stephens (Allegheny Iron Works), warehouse 80 Third; Everson & Co. (Pennsylvania Forge), Dam No. 1; Freeman, Gordon & Co. (Eagle Iron Works); Edward Hughes (Brownsville Juniata Iron Works); Lorenz, Sterling & Co. (Pittsburg Iron Works), 43 Water; G. & J. H. Shoenberger & Co. (Juniata Iron Works), 27 Wood; Turbot, Royer & McDowell, Penn and Cecil; Wood, Edwards & McKnight (Hecla Iron Works), Wood and Front. The iron foundries and warehouses were owned by John Anderson & Son (Smithfield Foundry); Arthurs & Nicholson (Eagle Foundry); Bollman & Garrison (Jackson Foundry and Pittsburg Foundry); George E. Evans; W. Irwin (Clinton Foundry); Marshall, Bradley & Co. (Franklin Foundry).

(x) Advocate and Emporium, April 2, 1840.

(y) Advocate and Emporium.

(z) Daily Advocate, March 5, 1840.

(a) Advocate, December, 1841.

(b) Pittsburger, April 1, 1841.

(c) Advocate, December, 1841.

(d) Gazette, January 4, 1842.

dry); Morrow, Kingsland & Co. (Baldwin Foundry); McKarahan & Co. (Allegheny Foundry); W. T. McClurg (Penn Foundry); Z. Packard & Son (Farmers' Foundry); Parry, Scott & Co.; Pennock & Mitchell (Union Foundry); Robinson & Minis. The manufacturers of steam engines, boilers, etc., were: Arthurs & Co., Barnhill, Douglass & Co., Faber & Co., T. K. Litch, Newton & Nicholson, John Potter, Stackhouse & Tomlinson, Stackhouse & Nelson, J. A. Stockton & Co., W. W. Wallace, James Wrightman, R. Wrightman. The manufacturers of tin, copper and sheet-iron ware were: J. E. Barndollar, Thomas Brown, William Brown, William Camblin, Alexander Cupples, Henry Dauler, Robert Dickey, John Dunlap, Howard & Rogers, Hane & Kellar, J. T. Kincaid, W. C. Meredith, James Moorhead, Samuel Morrow, John McElroy, John McWilliams, William Scaife, Sheriff & Shirk, Lewis Shrum, John Slaughterback and James Wylie. The bell and brass founders were: John Dixon & Co., A. Fulton, M. McDonald, Sheriff & Gallagher and Stevenson & Reed. The filemakers were: Josiah Ankrum & Son, George P. Hawke and John Stokes. The butt-hinge makers were: Clark & Cameron and Ritz & Fownes. The wireworkers were: Francis Cluley, J. R. Taylor & Co., R. Townsend & Co., Richard Welch, J. Wickersham and Sam W. Wickersham (e).

"The extent and variety of our manufactures, it has often seemed to us, are scarcely known or properly estimated, even in our own community. There is scarcely a department of the mechanical art that has not its industrious representative in this huge, dusky workshop in which we live. Iron is perhaps the most important branch of Pittsburg manufactures" (f).

"Does not everyone know that if home protection were repealed the forges and furnaces, the workshops and factories of Pittsburg would be closed and the rich country around this flourishing city would be greatly impaired in value?" (g)

The iron shipyard of Mr. Tomlinson was a prominent industrial feature here in 1845-6. He had at work 150 men. He built the iron revenue steamer Walker, which was on the stocks in June, 1846; and the iron sea steamer Hunter, which went to sea early in 1846; and the iron steam frigate Allegheny, nearly finished in June, 1846. Livingston, Roggen & Co. operated the Pittsburg Novelty Works in 1846, making coffee-mills, scales, castings, etc. Griffiths & Co. made spades, shovels, hoes, forks, picks, etc. Joseph Long was an extensive manufacturer of chain cables in 1846. The manufacture of gun cotton was commenced here in 1846 by Mr. Townsend.

In October, 1847, there were in operation in and around Pittsburg eleven rolling-mills, eight of which, when running full time, could produce annually 4,000 tons each. An average of about 150 hands was employed in the eleven mills. Shoenberger's works turned out 2,000 kegs of nails per week. At this time also there were in operation in this vicinity over twenty foundries, seven flint-glass factories, six window-glass factories, five green-glass factories and one black-glass factory (h).

"We have an engine with two thirty-inch cylinders, twelve-feet stroke, built in this city; also one with a fifty-inch cylinder and nine-feet stroke. James Hall is now building a new foundry and plow factory in Allegheny. Voegtly's new cotton factory was put in operation last week. This is the third establishment of the kind started in the full tide of successful experiment within a few months in our sister city" (i).

In 1847 there was introduced into the ironworks here for the first time Burden's patent revolving forge hammer, designed to make blooms ready for the rollers by a new and comparatively silent process. It was placed in the works

(e) Harris' Directory.

(f) Commercial Journal, December 20, 1845. (g) Commercial Journal, February 5, 1846.

(h) Commercial Journal, October, 1847.

(i) Commercial Journal, April, 1849.

of Lyon, Shorb & Co. and of Cuddy, Jones & Co., among others. "These iron works are most admirably arranged" (j).

The patent on plows granted to Jethro Woods yielded the owner in twenty-eight years from Pittsburg manufacturers alone over \$10,000 per year. The heirs of the patentee continued to collect royalty long beyond the expiration of the life of the patent (k). They failed to secure a renewal of the patent. Hall & Speer of this city made in 1848 a splendid iron plow, to be presented to the congressman who had done so much to prevent the heirs of Jethro Woods from securing a continuance of this patent on that implement.

The tariff of 1842 put new life into iron manufactures and stimulated all other pursuits. The tariff of 1846 and the failure of crops in Europe and the consequent financial revulsion and hard times there made it possible for the English to place their iron in this market in spite of the low tariff of that year. The result was disastrous to many manufacturers of iron here, and was followed by the cutting of wages and the shutting of shops. From 1843 to 1846 millions of dollars were invested in iron manufactures in Pennsylvania. From September to December, 1847, pig-iron rose about 30 per cent. in price per ton, and then fell back to its original quotations.

The tariff of 1842 afforded a protection on bar-iron of \$25 per ton, and on pig-iron of \$10 per ton, and on the smaller kinds of iron a still higher duty. The tariff of 1846 reduced this more than one-half. In consequence of the low tariff of 1846 English iron began to flood the American markets. In 1848 English agents made offers to deliver in Pittsburg 10,000 tons of Scotch pigs at less than \$25 per ton. English vessels to New Orleans sought this iron for ballast, carrying it for about \$2 per ton. At this time the "Allegheny region" had in operation eighty-five furnaces—all in the counties of Armstrong, Clarion and Venango—capable of making 100,000 tons of metal annually (l).

The condition of things in 1848 actually enabled the producer of iron as a raw material in England to enter the American markets and undersell producers here. The manufacturers of Pittsburg welcomed this state of affairs so long as they could buy crude iron of a foreign brand cheaper than of the domestic brand. But it meant death to the furnaces and forges. By 1852 about a dozen furnaces in Clarion County alone had failed and been closed up (m).

In March, 1848, a magnificent welcome was tendered by Pittsburg and Allegheny to Henry Clay, the great commoner, the idol of protectionists, who passed through here on his way to his Kentucky home. While here he visited the glassworks of Bakewell, Pears & Co., the novelty works of Livingston, Roggen & Co., the ironworks of Knapp & Totten, the ironworks of Mr. Shoenberger, and the ironworks of Frederick Lorenz of Allegheny City.

Products.	Tariff 1842.	Tariff 1846.
Sheet-iron.....	61 per cent.	30 per cent.
Hoop-iron.....	61 per cent.	30 per cent.
Pig-iron.....	109 per cent.	30 per cent.
Scrap-iron.....	49 per cent.	30 per cent.
Bar, rolled iron.....	49 per cent.	30 per cent.
Bar, hammered iron.....	76 per cent.	30 per cent.
Chain cables.....	87 per cent.	30 per cent.
Butt-hinges.....	42 per cent.	30 per cent.

"It is nothing but a question of freights and labor, and any reduction in the rate of protection must come from the hard-working laborer" (n).

(j) Gazette, January 19, 1848.

(k) Gazette, January 28, 1848.

(m) Congressional debate, 1853.

(l) Kittanning Free Press, January, 1848.

(n) Gazette, March 28, 1848.

The ironmasters' convention in Harrisburg in March, 1848, took measures to collect exhaustive statistics relative to the iron productions of the State, with the view of placing the same before Congress preparatory to an attack upon the low tariff of 1846. Six committees were appointed to examine into the condition of the several branches of iron manufactured. John Shoenberger and James Cuddy were on the committee on merchant bar and rolled iron; Frederick Lorenz on the committee on boiler, sheet and flue iron; Peter Shoenberger on the committee on blooms, bar and hammered iron, and W. M. Lyon on the same (o).

"For some time we have noticed that the rolling-mills on the Monongahela side of the river were stopped, and upon inquiry learn that nearly one-half of the mills are idle. It was not so last year at this time. Then our furnace chimneys ceased not to belch forth smoke day and night. One set of industrious, toiling men succeeded another in the workshop, and production, pushed to its utmost, was equal to the demands upon us. Now our old and powerful rivals are in the field, and instead of a tariff of 79 to 100 per cent., find a 30 per cent. rate only to oppose them. Nor can we look for better times until we have a change of policy" (p).

At this time the *Post* took an entirely different view of affairs and threatened to publish figures and statistics exhibiting the immense profits made by local iron manufacturers under the tariff of 1846 (q). Instead of idle mills, the *Post* said, "we hear iron manufacturers say that they can hardly meet the demand" (r). The *Gazette* denied this, and said: "Last year manufacturers could not fill the orders because they had not the iron. This year they cannot fill the orders for they have not the orders. We leave the public to say when they appeared to be most flourishing—when waiting orders, or when orders were waiting to be filled" (s).

The Pittsburgh Novelty Works of Livingston, Roggen & Co. became famous in 1847-8 for their manufacture of malleable iron—first as garden rakes and potato hoes. Soon the material was used in the manufacture of innumerable small articles, and hence the name of the works. Two cupolas were employed and produced about two tons of the iron daily, and employment was given to about 150 men and boys. Among the products were platform scales (t). In 1848 the cost of making a ton of iron on the Allegheny River was estimated as follows (u):

280 bushels charcoal at 35 cents.....	\$9.80
Three tons ore at \$2.50.....	7.50
Limestone.....	.50
Two ore burners and pounders, two fillers.....	} 6.75
Two keepers, one pounder, gutterman.....	
One smith and helper, one clerk and manager.....	
Wear and tear.....	1.00
Hauling to river and freight to Pittsburg.....	2.00
Six per cent. on works and land, works producing 800 tons annually.....	1.50
	<hr/> \$29.05

In August, 1848, Captain Wood put in part operation his new rolling-mill at the mouth of Saw Mill Run. His pigs were made at his own furnaces, and his coal obtained from his own mines.

(o) *Gazette*, March 28, 1848.

(p) *Gazette*, April 1, 1848.

(r) *Post*, April 7, 1848.

(t) *Gazette*, May 1, 1848.

(q) *Post*, April and May, 1848.

(s) *Gazette*, April 8, 1848.

(u) *Gazette*, May 24, 1848.

Hussey & Avery built a furnace in 1848 on the Monongahela, near the first dam, for the smelting of copper ore brought by them from Lake Superior. The ore was broken up on the lake, washed clear of the rock portions and then shipped in barrels or otherwise to this city, and here smelted, yielding from 70 to 90 per cent. pure copper. The stampede to the copper regions of Lake Superior by speculators and adventurers was begun in 1842, and had reached an enormous scale in 1846-8. Many Pittsburgers secured valuable holdings in that region. About 660 tons of pure copper were taken from that locality and put in marketable condition in Pittsburg in the summer of 1848.

In November, 1849, the National Ironmasters' Convention was held in this city. Delegates were here from all parts of the Union. It continued in session several days. Resolutions were introduced denouncing the tariff of 1846, discouraging the introduction of foreign labor and recommending measures likely to benefit the iron trade. Judges Wilkins and Shaler and other citizens of Pittsburg were invited to address the convention, and did so. At the close the citizens tendered the convention an elaborate supper, on which occasion Judge Wilkins presided. Messrs. Wilkins, Shaler, Myers, Moorhead, Stewart, Kerr, Lorenz and others replied to toasts (v).

During the big strike of February, 1850, the puddlers and boiler-makers refused to allow any reduction in their wages, and made strong efforts to prevent others from taking their places. The strikers marched through the streets on the 16th and again on the 18th, with music and banners, making a strong demonstration. On the 18th the Shoenbergers, Graff, Lindsay & Co. and Bailey, Brown & Co. started their works with new men. This greatly incensed the strikers, who continued to parade and resist until the 28th, when the strike culminated in an attack by a large number of men and women on the works of Graff, Lindsay & Co., where the new men were driven out. A similar attack on the works of the Shoenbergers and Bailey, Brown & Co. was thwarted. The Sheriff issued a riot proclamation and made preparations to use the militia. Several leading strikers, men and women, were arrested, and upon trial were convicted, and two of the men were sentenced to eighteen months each by Judge McClure. The *Post* denounced this proceeding in strong language. Indignation meetings were held by sympathizers. The strikers failed to gain the concessions demanded (w).

The decade of the '50s was one of the hardest to survive ever encountered by the iron interests of this community. The depression was continuous, save where the panics of 1854 and 1857 afforded the anxious manufacturers the variation of a total destruction of market and credit.

"How striking the contrast between the Pittsburg of the present day and the Pittsburg of 1814, as described in *Niles' Register* of May 28 of that year. Then our manufactures were estimated to amount to the value annually of \$2,000,000; now they exceed \$60,000,000. The transit trade of the East, so vauntingly stated at 4,000 wagon-loads a year, would be but 8,000 tons all told, an amount we often ship down the Ohio in one week. The 396 tons of iron-mongery manufactured in 1812 have an exceedingly trifling look when compared with the thousands on thousands of tons of bar-iron and nails alone turned out now by our fifteen rolling and slitting mills" (x).

"There are in Pittsburg and its vicinity thirteen rolling-mills, with a capital of about \$5,000,000 and employing 2,500 hands. These mills consume about 60,000 tons of pig-metal and produce bar-iron and nails amounting to \$4,000,000 annually. There are also thirty large foundries, together with a great many smaller ones, having a capital in all amounting to about \$2,000,000 and employing

(v) Commercial Journal, November, 1849.

(w) Commercial Journal, February, 1850.

(x) Commercial Journal, August 30, 1850.



not less than 2,500 hands. These foundries consume 20,000 tons of pig-metal annually and yield, with the labor employed, various articles amounting to about \$2,000,000. There are two establishments manufacturing locks, latches, coffee-mills, patent scales, with a great variety of other malleable iron castings, with a capital of \$250,000 and employing 500 hands, consuming 1,200 tons pig-metal and producing goods amounting to \$300,000 annually. There are also a number of manufactories of the smaller sizes of iron, several extensive manufactories of axes, hatchets, spring steel, axles, anvils, vises, saws of all kinds, gun-barrels, shovels, spades, forks, hoes, cut tacks, brads, etc. There are also in full and successful operation an establishment manufacturing cast, shear and blister steel and files, all said to be of a very superior quality, besides a great variety of manufacturing establishments not enumerated in our list. There is one copper smelting establishment producing 660 tons refined copper annually, valued at \$380 per ton, amounting to \$250,000. There is also a copper rolling-mill now in operation, producing 300 tons sheeting and braziers' copper, amounting to \$150,000 annually" (y).

"It is only within a year or two that our mechanics have been able to supply the finished machinery required in cotton and woolen manufactures, but now they do it readily and as cheaply as the Eastern towns can furnish it. Painter & Co. of this city have been filling an order for cotton machinery for a Memphis house, which is worthy of note" (z).

Under the tariff of 1842 the iron-mill owners agreed upon a certain scale of wages (an advance of 20 per cent. over those previously paid), to be given employes in 1845; but they found themselves unable to pay such increase after the passage of the tariff of 1846. However, they continued to pay the advance until January, 1850, when they demanded a reduction in the scale. The employes at first demurred and then took time to consider the proposition. In the meantime all the iron mills, except those of Lyon, Shorb & Co. and Miller, Carrothers & Co., closed down (a).

"The first sheet copper that was ever rolled in the Western country was rolled by Mr. B. Lutton at G. & J. H. Shoenberger's rolling-mill, last August was a year. A number of persons had expressed an opinion that it could not be done in this city after the article was produced. The rolling was done for the Pittsburg and Boston Mining Company, and we take pleasure in announcing that the same company has now, in our immediate vicinity, a fine large manufacturing establishment in full and successful operation, for which the working-men are financially indebted to Thomas M. Howe" (b).

The copper-smelting furnace was owned by the Pittsburg and Boston Mining Company, and the copper rolling-mill by C. B. Hussey & Co. The works stood on the banks of the Monongahela, above Dam No. 1. Ingots were cast for market and bought by founders. Immense cakes were made, to be rolled into sheets or bars. Large quantities of copper bottoms were made for smiths and tanners. About thirty men were employed in June, 1851. The manufacture of brass was soon to be added. Refined copper in ingots and cakes was sold at 20 cents a pound (c).

Hope Foundry, in Allegheny, owned and conducted by Cochran, McBride & Co., employed about thirty hands in May, 1851. They manufactured iron railings, vault doors, iron castings, hollowware, stoves, etc., and consumed about three tons of pig-metal per day. Lippincott & Barr manufactured Phoenix fire-

(y) Fahnestock's Directory, 1850. (It will be observed that one authority places the number of rolling and slitting mills here in 1850 at thirteen and another at fifteen.)

(z) Commercial Journal, October 23, 1850.

(a) Commercial Journal, January, 1850.

(b) Commercial Journal, September 13, 1850.

(c) Commercial Journal, June 16, 1851.

proof safes in 1851. The business had been previously conducted by J. S. Strickler & Co. They made one for the Recording Regulator's office in 1849-50 which weighed 7,500 pounds. John Quinn of the National Foundry manufactured hollowware mainly for Southern and Western trade to the amount of from 350 to 400 tons per annum. Their patent biscuit-baker, in sizes from 6 to 8, Dutch ovens, stoves, grates, fenders, etc., were well known to the market in 1851.

James Thompson and Joseph Tomlinson, by May, 1851, had invested \$60,000 here, preparatory to the manufacture of locomotives and cars. They proposed to duplicate the cars and locomotives built East, and asked for patronage. At the above date they were engaged in building handcars, gravel-cars, rail and lumber cars, and employed thirty men. They had just built a large foundry with a cupola and furnace. They built their own engines, besides large ones for crushing rock in California and for the Cliff Mining Company's Copper Rolling Mill. Newspapers called upon railway companies to give them a trial. Knapp & Co. were also nearly ready for the same class of work (d).

"Resolved, That the present depressed state of the iron trade has its origin and is entirely caused by the low rate of duty at which English iron is admitted into this country under the tariff of 1846 and its injudicious ad valorem principles" (e).

The Pennsylvania Forge and Rolling Mill, owned and operated by Everson, Preston & Co., was one of the notable manufactories here in 1851. They employed about fifty hands and made all kinds of shafts, cranks, piston-rods, etc. They made for a steamboat a shaft that weighed 4,950 pounds, cranks weighing a ton each for others, pitman jaws weighing 900 pounds, and large numbers of wrought-iron railroad axles.

The nail manufacturers here, in May, 1851, were Graff, Lindsay & Co., Lewis, Dalzell & Co., Bissell & Semple, Lorenz, Sterling & Co., Miller, Church & Co., James Wood & Co., Brown, Phillips & Co., Wood & McKnights, Cuddy, Jones & Co., G. & J. H. Shoenberger, Spang & Co., Coleman, Nailman & Co., Lyon, Shorb & Co., Bailey, Brown & Co., and Stewart, Lloyd & Co. At this time Wheeling pretended to be a rival of Pittsburg in the nail market, though the latter turned out more nails in five hours than the former did in a week (f).

The forge branches of ten of the great Pittsburg ironmills stood idle in January, 1850, about 1,800 men having been thrown out of employment. Wages to the amount of \$18,000 per week were thus stopped.

The steam and fire engine manufactory of W. P. Eichbaum, in Allegheny, turned out engines, hydraulic and letter presses, sugar-mills, sawmill machinery, etc., to the amount of \$54,500 in the year 1849. Henry J. Demler manufactured tin, copper and sheet-iron goods to the amount of \$12,000 during 1849.

"There are in Pittsburg and suburbs fourteen rolling and slitting mills, giving employment to over 2,000 operatives. Of these mills we have the following report for this day: Running full time—None. Running half time—Lyon, Shorb & Co., G. & J. H. Shoenberger, Spang & Co., Semple, Bissell & Co., Graff, Lindsay & Co., Coleman, Hailman & Co., Lewis Dalzell & Co., Stewart, Lloyd & Co. Idle—Cuddy, Jones & Co., A. Miller & Son, Wood & McKnight, Lorenz, Sterling & Co., James Wood & Co., Bailey, Brown & Co. Men thrown out of employment in Pittsburg by the stoppage of iron mills under the operation of the tariff of 1846, 1,450. By the stoppage of six of our mills and the shortened time of eight, \$14,000 a week hitherto paid as the wages of workingmen is now withheld from them. In the neighboring counties of Arm-

(d) Commercial Journal, May, 1851.

(e) Resolution of a big iron meeting here in 1851.

(f) Commercial Journal, May 22, 1851.

strong and Clarion about one-half of the furnaces are closed and in possession of the sheriffs and of the other half the majority are idle. The stoppage of these mills about Pittsburg has deprived the workingmen of more than \$750,000 a year for wages, which they were in the habit of receiving, and would still receive but for the tariff of 1846" (g).

The *Post* denied this condition of affairs, and said: "The iron manufacturing establishments here are stopped once a year for repairs, etc., and whenever this is done the Federal presses commence telling the people about the ruin which was prophesied to follow the adoption of the tariff of 1846 (h).

"The process of manufacturing the common blister steel is common enough among us, but that of cast-steel is novel, and the Cast Steel and File Works of McKelvy & Blair in the Fifth Ward are the only establishment in which it is carried on in Pittsburg. They employ about fifty hands and turn out incredible quantities of files, from the smallest rat-tail to the heaviest mill-saw file. This is another and interesting branch of Pittsburg manufacture which has been scarcely known and has certainly not been duly appreciated. They are building new works on a much more extensive scale and will then employ over 100 men and turn out over three times the product of the old works" (i).

"You will recollect that no tariff to protect the industry of the country ever was passed without the assistance of Pennsylvania, and I regret to say that no tariff law that took away protection from the industrial pursuits ever was passed unless it was through the agency of some recreant Pennsylvanian" (j).

In 1853 there were in this immediate vicinity seventeen rolling-mills, twelve large foundries, twenty engine and machine shops, and it was estimated that all these, when in operation, consumed 7,515,000 bushels of coal per annum (k).

In the autumn of 1853 the Renton Iron Company, with a capital of \$150,000, became the owner of the Renton and Dickerson patents for making iron direct from the ore and of converting ore into wrought-iron at about the cost of converting ore into pig-iron. In the furnace of W. Dewees Wood, at McKeesport, the process was first put in operation in Western Pennsylvania.

"We are pleased to learn that the rolls in the Clinton Mill (Messrs. Bennett, Marshall & Co.) were put in operation for the first time on Thursday afternoon. They were found to work admirably and produce a number of T-rails of superior quality. The works will be in full operation next week and are expected to turn out about thirty-five tons of rails per day. This is a new branch of business in Pittsburg" (l).

The Clinton Rolling Mill was thus built and put in operation in 1853. A considerable number of rails were made in 1854 but not proving profitable the owners, for the time being, dropped that branch and made merchant bar-iron and nails.

On June 17, 1854, the iron puddlers of this city struck for an advance of wages, which was refused by the employers in the rolling-mills. Men were brought from the East to take their places. In 1854 there were shipped from Pittsburg iron and nails to the value of \$7,500,000 (m).

"As we look about us we cannot but be struck with the idea that iron is entering more extensively every day into the make of buildings for which stone or wood was formerly used. Already the most elegant mantelpieces of iron are taking the place of wooden and marble ones. Iron pillars for halls, pilasters, capitals of columns, window sashes, etc., have already ceased to excite particular

(g) Commercial Journal, September 12 and 25, 1851.

(h) *Post*, September 26, 1851.

(i) Commercial Journal, August 9, 1851.

(j) Speech of Governor Johnston in 1851.

(k) C. S. Eyster, in *Philadelphia Register*, December 17, 1853.

(l) Commercial Journal, September 3, 1853.

(m) Commercial Journal, January, 1855.

attention, and not only the house itself but its furniture and interior ornamentation is of this same material. The establishment of Knapp & Wade, in this city, is providing a large amount of iron ornaments and pillars of various kinds for the new custom-house, now in process of construction at New Orleans" (n).

The average value of railway iron imported annually into the United States for the four years, 1851-54, inclusive, was more than \$8,000,000, "during which time our rolling-mills have been languishing, the fires in our furnaces going out, and the ruin so long impending has at last come down upon our heads" (o). This ruin referred to the proposed law to release from bond all railway iron, and was looked upon as a crushing blow to the railway iron producers of Pittsburg. The Houston Bill for the reduction of the tariff of 1846 was passed by the House of Representatives, Congress, in February, 1855, and provided for lowering the duty on iron from four to twenty-four per cent.—on bars and rails the latter figure. Thomas M. Howe, member of the House, delivered a powerful speech against the bill, which failed to pass the Senate. In 1854 there were manufactured in Pittsburg and its immediate vicinity 5,000 tons of railway iron (p).

"The manufacture of railway iron was almost an experiment. Everything pertaining to the work had to be created. Various kinds of machinery requisite for the business were to be made and put in operation. Vast outlays of money for the erection of buildings were called for. Men trained to this particular business were needed in the outset. The capabilities of our iron for this purpose were to be tested. . . . These remarks will apply, to some extent, to manufactures of other iron fabrics. . . . The fact is, we have never had, as a State, anything like a fair chance to develop our mighty resources. Except a little encouragement that came to our people in 1852 and 1853, what has there been to cheer them? And that was the effect of a fictitious prosperity which smiled but to deceive. We repeat it, we have not had justice at the hands of the Government. We need a tariff that shall discriminate in favor of our peculiar manufactures" (q).

"Locomotive Building in Pittsburg.—We stated some days ago that the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad Company were having a locomotive constructed at their works for the use of the road and that it would be, when finished, the first one made in the city. In this we are glad to learn we are in error. As long ago as 1834 and 1835 the firm of McClurg, Wade & Co., of which A. T. McClurg was a member, Bayardstown, were engaged in that line of business to some extent. They made some five or six for the Portage Railroad, which, for durability and excellence, are not surpassed, as several of them are in use at this time. Several locomotives of their manufacture were sent to Philadelphia" (r).

In 1856 Wardrop, Stout & Williams began manufacturing reaping, mowing and thrashing machines. In one day in April four reaping machines were shipped away by this firm to purchasers. This was noted as a great advance (s).

"The completion of the Pennsylvania Railroad has given a new impulse, and, to some extent, a new direction to our trade in pig-metal and blooms. So great, indeed, has been the increase that the company have found it expedient to make special provision for the business" (t).

"Looking through the extensive establishment of Messrs. Lippincott & Barr yesterday we had an opportunity of examining a very perfect specimen of the thief-proof safe, which they have just completed for the banking house of N. Holmes & Sons" (u).

(n) Commercial Journal, February 7, 1855.

(o) Commercial Journal, February 28, 1855. (p) Commercial Journal, March 3, 1855.

(q) Commercial Journal, March 17, 1855. (r) Commercial Journal, August 17, 1855.

(s) Commercial Journal, April, 1856. (t) Commercial Journal, July 4, 1856.

(u) Commercial Journal, September 10, 1856.



*Wm. W. W.*



The newspapers here in September, 1856, published long accounts of the new Bessemer process of "making malleable iron without fuel." The discovery was at once seen to be so important that many at first could not believe the report true. Its vast importance was promptly conceded. In 1856 Pittsburg was manufacturing an excellent quality of rifle and shotgun barrels, including twisted stubs, besides fine cutlery and surgical and dental instruments.

In 1856 the manufacturers in Pittsburg of anvils, axes and shovels were Forster, Garbutt & Co. (Temperanceville), Holmes & Co., Lippincott & Co., Postley, Nelson & Co., William Day, Newmeyer & Graff, and Stuart, Sauer & Co. (Beaver Works, New Brighton). The manufacturers of boilers were William Barnhill & Co., J. Blair & Co., Joseph Douglass, Thomas Douglass, Douglass & English and Robert Walker. Brass and bell founders—Andrew Fulton, A. & S. McKenna, Phillips & Co. and James Welden. Coppersmiths—Fitzsimmons & Morrow, Howard & Rodgers, Kean & Keller, James T. Kincaid, W. B. Scaife and J. B. Sheriff. Cultivator teeth manufacturers—D. B. Rodgers & Co. Engine manufacturers—W. W. Wallace, F. & W. M. Faber, Haigh, Hartupee & Co., Irwin & Co., Cyprian Preston, Cridge, Wadsworth & Co. and J. B. Warden & Son. Founders—John Anderson & Co., Bollman & Garrison, Alexander Bradley, S. S. Fowler & Co., Graff, Reisinger & Graff, Knapp & Wade, Livingston, Copeland & Co., Daniel McCurdy, Marshall, McGeary & Co., Mitchell, Herron & Co., J. C. Parry, Payne, Lee & Co.; Pennock & Hart, William Price, Robinson, Minis & Millers, Smith & Co., Warwick, Atterbury & Co. Manufacturers of bar, nail, sheet, etc., iron—Bailey, Brown & Co., Brown, Floyd & Co., Coleman, Hailman & Co., Everson, Preston & Co., Graff, Bennett & Co., Jones & Lauth, Lewis, Dalzell & Co., Lorenz, Stewart & Co., Lyon, Shorb & Co., Lloyd & Black, McKnight & Brother, G. & J. H. Shoenberger, Spang & Co., James Woods & Co., Woods, Moorhead & Co. and Zug & Painter. Makers of nuts and washers—Knapp & Carter. Makers of railroad spikes,—Porter, Rolfe & Swett. Revolver manufacturer—Josiah Ellis. Rivet-makers—W. P. Townsend & Co. Scalemakers—Livingston, Copeland & Co. Spring, axle and steel manufacturers—Coleman, Hailman & Co., Joseph Dilworth & Co., Isaac Jones and Singer, Hartman & Co. Safe manufacturers—Burke & Barnes, Lippincott & Barr, W. T. McClurg. Sheet-copper manufacturers—C. G. Hussey & Co. Spikemaker—L. Severance. Tackmakers—Chess, Wilson & Co., Wire manufacturers and workers—Francis Cluley, J. R. Taylor & Co. and R. Townsend & Co. Wrought-nail and gaspipe manufacturers—John Fitzsimmons and William Pick.

In Allegheny in 1856 were the following establishments: Founders—Agnew, McCutcheon & Lindsay, Henry Anshutz, Jacob Berner, R. Hall, C. Kingland and Olenhausen, Crawford & Co. (v).

"In 1856 we have forty-four foundries for brass and iron, employing over \$1,500,000 of capital and 2,000 hands. . . . There are in Pittsburg, Allegheny and suburbs twenty rolling-mills, employing a capital of \$5,000,000 and more than 3,000 hands" (v).

The following table shows the kind and quantity of metal manufactures produced here in 1857 (w):

Industries.	Value of Products.
25 Rolling-mills.....	\$10,730,562
26 Foundries.....	1,248,300
1 Cannon foundry.....	40,000
16 Machine-shops.....	836,300

(v) Directory of 1856.—George H. Thurston.

(w) Pittsburg as It Is, 1857.—Thurston.

Industries.	Value of Products.
7 Boiler-yards.....	\$ 305,000
4 Shovel and ax factories.....	823,742
2 Forges.....	224,500
7 Chain factories, 100 blacksmiths.....	261,000
1 Railroad-spike factory.....	250,000
3 Safe factories.....	116,000
3 Cutlery factories.....	30,000
2 Smut machine factories.....	40,000
1 File factory.....	12,000
1 Boiler-rivet factory.....	40,000
1 Sickle factory.....	30,000
6 Saddlery-hardware factories.....	44,000
1 Rivet-mill.....	20,000
1 Wire factory.....	40,000
2 Gun-barrel factories.....	28,875
1 Gun and rifle factory.....	40,000
1 Repeating pistol factory.....	15,000
2 Domestic hardware factories.....	450,000
3 Plow factories.....	192,000
1 Copper rolling-mill.....	200,000
28 Copper and tin smiths.....	192,000
10 Brass foundries.....	75,000
3 Key factories.....	166,000
3 Agricultural implement factories.....	80,000
1 Wire cloth factory.....	10,000
Iron railings.....	52,000
Total metal.....	\$16,592,279
Other manufactures.....	22,430,156
Grand total.....	\$39,022,435

"Congress has at length adjourned. And now comes the question of bread for the hungry and clothing for the naked mechanics of our own and other States, who are ready and willing to work; but to all whose earnest entreaties the present rulers give but a stone and a fig leaf. Shall our own honest mechanics, their wives and children, be supported in a hard-earned competency, or shall we become hewers of wood and drawers of water to Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester? At the meeting recently held in Philadelphia, on which occasion Henry C. Carey presided, and Messrs. Lewis, Collamer, Fost, Simon, Cameron, Marshall, Thompson, Covode and Morris delivered speeches, the free trade tariffs of 1846 and 1857 found no favor. Their remarks carried us back to the time when a Baldwin, a Forward, a Porter and a Stewart uttered the sentiments of Pennsylvania in behalf of protection. The free trade tariff has become entirely inadequate to afford revenue to this economical administration. We are compelled to borrow \$40,000,000" (x).

It was acknowledged by all parties after the adjournment of Congress in 1858 that the want of revenue would soon force the Government to revise the then existing tariff. "Shall revenue be the sole element to be taken into consideration in this revision, or shall protection be recognized as fully equal, if not a superior, element? We think it would be especially appropriate for the workmen of Pittsburg, this Birmingham of America, to lead off in the assertion of their rights" (y).

(x) Commercial Journal, June 19, 1858.

(y) Commercial Journal, June 30, 1858.

In March, 1858, the Fort Pitt Iron Works, owned by Knapp, Wade & Co., were destroyed by fire; estimated loss, \$37,500. The rolling-mill of Zug & Painter barely escaped. Lippincott & Barr made a large line of safes. Knapp, Carter, Wilson & Co. made nuts, bolts, washers, etc. S. S. Fowler conducted a general foundry business. John Cartwright made surgical instruments. Phillips & Co. made a general line of foundry products. J. Cochran & Co. made iron railings, vault-doors, window-guards, etc. Alexander Bradley made stoves. So did Payne, Bissell & Co. Jones, Boyd & Co. made cast-steel, plows, springs, axles, etc.

In 1858 Moorhead & Co. were engaged in manufacturing a superior quality of corrugated iron, which they had greatly improved. Porter, Ralfe & Swett conducted a large spike factory. They began rolling iron in 1858. Large quantities of copper ore arrived here in 1858 from the Lake Superior country, via Cleveland, for Hussey & McBride and Hanna, Garretson & Co. Burke & Barnes manufactured safes of all sizes and of excellent quality. William B. Scaife made all sorts of iron and copper steamboat equipments. Pittsburg copper stock in 1858 was the most valuable in the Eastern markets. Postley, Nelson & Co. made gun-barrels, scythes, etc. Park, McCurdy & Co. made copper goods of all kinds and conducted copper-smelting works. D. B. Rogers & Co. made cultivator teeth. S. Severance made boiler rivets, spikes, etc.

In 1860 there were twenty-six steel rolling-mills, with about 3,000 hands employed; connected with them were ninety puddling furnaces. The number of heating furnaces was 130; mill machines, 260; iron consumed, tons, 110,000; foundries, 18; hands employed therein, 1,800; boiler-yards, 8. There were beside many works for forges, safes, tools, cutlery; several cotton-mills, with a product of about \$2,000,000 per year; about twenty-three glasshouses, and four devoted exclusively to looking-glasses (z).

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(z) Dispatch, November 12, 1860.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE BRANCH BANKS—DEPRECIATION OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY—NO MONEY IN THE WEST—FOREIGN COIN — BRANCH OF THE BANK OF PENNSYLVANIA—ITS FIRST OFFICERS—MONEY HANDLED BY IT—ITS VALUE TO PITTSBURG—BRANCH OF THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES—FIRST OFFICERS—RESTRICTION OF DISCOUNTS DURING THE HARD TIMES—RESOLUTIONS OF COMPLAINT—STATISTICS—HOSTILITY TO THE BRANCH AND THE PARENT BANK—THE VETO OF PRESIDENT JACKSON—EXPIRATION OF THE CHARTER IN 1836—PENNSYLVANIA BANK OF THE UNITED STATES—ITS BRANCH HERE—HOSTILITY AND LOSS OF PRESTIGE—FAILURE OF THE BANK—CLOSING OF THE PITTSBURG BRANCH.

The story of the financial struggle of the colonists during the Revolution is one of intense interest. The efforts made by the authorities of this State to conduct the expenses of what to them was a gigantic war of long and galling continuance, with very little specie, steady issues of paper money, which sank immensely in value, and repeated shifts and enactments by the Supreme Council to sustain its purchasing power, reflect upon them the highest renown.

Colonel Daniel Brodhead, commander of the American forces at Pittsburgh, his troops and the few families that lived here during the Revolutionary War, suffered severely for want of money, and, when remittances came, which they occasionally did, the event was welcomed with great joy, and a general jollification and settlement of balances resulted. "Credit may be said to be at an end, the innumerable certificates granted by the quartermaster and commissary departments and by the authority of the State having extinguished all confidence" (a). Such was the condition of money in this vicinity near the end of the war. Hard money was rarely ever seen; barter, in a great degree, was employed to settle accounts, and the paper issues of this State and of Congress had little or no value or use. Colonel Brodhead's appeals for hard money would now appear pathetic, were it not for the fact that his military policy was so manifestly dilatory and ineffective. The officers of the garrison and the few traders here, so far as money was concerned, fared better than anybody else. The coin quickly went to the merchants for debts previously contracted, and then, just as quickly, went East again for more goods. It was truly "a time that tried men's souls."

By act of the Supreme Council, a mode of adjusting and settling the payment of debts and contracts entered into between January, 1, 1777, and March 1, 1781, was provided. The object of the enactment was to reduce the amount of all such debts and contracts to the true value of specie at the times the same were incurred, and to release such debtors from all further obligations upon their payment of such amounts in specie. It was therefore enacted that the following scale of depreciation should be the rule to determine the value of the several debts, contracts and demands referred to in the act, compared with silver and gold (b):

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(a) Letter of Joseph Reed to George Washington, April, 1781.

(b) Enactment of April 3, 1781.

	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
January.....	1.5	4	8	40.5	75
February.....	1.5	5	10	47.5	75
March.....	2	5	10.5	61.5	
April.....	2.5	6	17	61.5	
May.....	2.5	5	24	59	
June.....	2.5	5	20	61.5	
July.....	3	4	19	64.5	
August.....	3	5	20	70	
September.....	3	5	24	72	
October.....	3	5	30	73	
November.....	3	6	38.5	74	
December.....	4	6	41.5	75	

By this act and others passed both before and after April 3, 1781, the settlement of all debts and contracts was thus partly reduced to a specie basis. The funding system of Pennsylvania had its origin in the act of March 1, 1786, when a loan was opened by the authorities to receive Continental in exchange for State certificates. In 1787 the notes of the State outstanding consisted of the following:

1. Certificates issued by the State on her own original contracts in the course of the war; the amount of which, by the estimate of the comptroller-general, was £226,882 7s. 9d.;

2. The certificates, called "depreciation certificates," issued to the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, amounting to the sum of £627,585 11s. 4d.;

3. The certificates comprehended under what was called the funding law, amounting to £1,500,000.

The extreme scarcity of money of any sort at Pittsburg from the close of the Revolution until the Indian war of 1791 checked all banking or business enterprises of an elaborate scale. In fact, this may be considered the only period ever experienced by this vicinity in time of peace when money of any kind to transact the ordinary operations of business was almost wholly wanting. In March, 1787, when the project of building a market house was under discussion, John Scull said in the *Gazette*: "As for the inhabitants of this place, in general, to enter into an association to buy no provisions but in that market (on market days) is truly absurd; for many of us don't get as much cash in a week as would purchase a pound of beef." All the merchants complained earnestly of the want of cash, and all announced that they would receive produce for their commodities. In 1788-9 considerable money was spent here by members of the Ohio Company and others on their way down the river in pursuit of new homes, and by the soldiers stationed here, or passing through here. The little hard money in circulation consisted of the coins of foreign countries. Reckonings were principally made in pounds, shillings, pence, crowns (of France), milled dollars (of Spain), etc.

In 1787 it was noted (c) at Pittsburg that copper cents were being coined at the mint in New York and would probably soon make their appearance in the Western country. Mr. Scull said he was glad of it, because it would "free us from the floods of light, half-coined British halfpence introduced among us."

An immense business was done by the brokers of Philadelphia, and large profits made by them in buying and selling all sorts of Continental and State certificates, and no doubt the merchants and manufacturers of Pittsburg found it necessary, as well as profitable, to handle the same paper in much the same way.

(c) *Gazette*, September, 1787.



On August 4, 1790, Congress estimated the value of foreign coins (all of which were in circulation in this locality) as follows:

Pound of Great Britain.....	\$4.44
Livre turnois of France.....	.185
Florin or guilder of United Netherlands....	.39
Rix dollar of Denmark.....	1.00
Rial of Spain.....	.10
Milree of Portugal.....	1.24
Pound of Ireland.....	4.10
Tael of China.....	1.48
Pagoda of India.....	1.94
Rupee of Bengal.....	.555
Crown of France (in 1793).....	1.10

By act of Congress, February 25, 1791, the Bank of the United States was established, with a capital of not to exceed \$10,000,000, divided into 25,000 shares of \$400 each. This bank was chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, but no branch of the same was established in Pittsburg. Many memorials against rechartering the bank were sent to Congress from all parts of the United States in 1808-10—one from Pittsburg (d) signed by "Henry Phillips, Joseph McClurg and seventy-eight others." This memorial is too long to be quoted here, but it is a spirited address well worth reading. It was a general attack upon the system. The Legislature of Pennsylvania instructed its representatives in Congress "to use every exertion in their power to prevent the charter of the Bank of the United States from being renewed, or any other bank from being chartered by Congress, designed to have operation within the jurisdiction of any State, without first having obtained the consent of the Legislature of such State" (e).

In the act of March 30, 1793, the State took an important step in banking operations by chartering the Bank of Pennsylvania, with authority to establish branches. Among its measures were the following:

*"Whereas*, The establishment of a bank upon a foundation sufficiently extensive to answer the purposes intended thereby, and at the same time upon such principles as shall afford adequate security for an upright and prudent administration thereof, will promote the regular, permanent and successful operation of the finances of this State and be productive of great benefit to trade and industry in general; therefore, *Be it enacted*, etc., That a Bank of Pennsylvania shall be established at Philadelphia; the capital stock thereof shall not exceed three million dollars and shall be divided into shares of four hundred dollars each."

"Section 15. It may be lawful for the directors aforesaid to establish offices at Lancaster, York, or Reading, or wheresoever else they shall think fit, within the State, for the purpose of discount and deposit only, and upon the same terms, and in the same manner, as shall be practiced at the bank; and to commit the management of the said offices, and the making of the said discounts, to such persons, under such agreements, and subject to such regulations as they shall deem proper, not being contrary to law, or to the constitution of the bank: *Provided always*, That no office of discount or deposit be opened in any town or borough of this State without the previous consent of the corporation of such town or borough: *And provided also*, That the directors shall have liberty to recall and annul the said offices of deposit or discount, if found injurious to the real interests of the incorporation." . . . "All notes or obligations of the Bank of

(d) American State Papers, Vol. II, Page 479.

(e) Resolution adopted January 11, 1811.

Pennsylvania issued at its branches shall be payable at the said bank, as well as at the branch where they issued."

Commissioners were appointed to receive subscriptions of stock and the corporation thus created was given a life of twenty years. The total amount of debts of the corporation, "whether, by bond, bill or note or other contract," was limited to \$3,000,000, and the transactions of the institution were confined strictly to a banking business. The act contained a provision that the Governor, on behalf of the Commonwealth, should be allowed to subscribe at par for 1,250 shares, and for the same number of shares at any time after the expiration of ten years from March 4, 1793. All notes or obligations of the bank issued at its branches were made payable at the parent bank as well as at the several branches.

It was not until the Indian war of 1791 and 1792 and the whisky insurrection of 1794 that the country west of the Alleghenies received any considerable quantity of money. Pittsburg was the center of all financial operations connected with these movements.

While it is true that informal banking operations may have been conducted here prior to 1804, it is equally true that no regularly organized banking association, even of a private character, was instituted before that date. Complete files of the *Gazette*, extending from July, 1798, to 1803, contain no mention of any banking operations whatever conducted here during that time. The State Library at Harrisburg contains not an item of any such operations in Pittsburg previous to 1803-4. Early in 1803 the following notice appeared in the *Pittsburg Gazette*:

"Borough of Pittsburg, 22d of March, 1803.

"The freeholders and other inhabitants, householders, are hereby requested to attend a meeting of the corporation at the Courthouse on Saturday, the 26th inst., at 4 o'clock p. m., in order to take into consideration a proposition of the directors of the Bank of Pennsylvania for establishing a branch of their bank within this borough, providing it is approved by the corporation.

"By order of the Burgesses and assistants.

"WILLIAM CHRISTY, Town Clerk."

"The directors of the Bank of Pennsylvania have elected the following gentlemen directors of the Branch Bank about to be established in this place: John Wilkins, Jr., Presley Neville, Oliver Ormsby, James O'Hara, James Berthoud, Ebenezer Denny, Joseph Barker, George Stevenson, John Woods, Thomas Baird, John Johnson and George Robinson. Thomas Wilson, who is appointed the cashier, arrived here on Sunday last (f), and on Monday evening a majority of the above named directors met and elected John Wilkins, Jr., president" (g).

A notice was issued by Thomas Wilson, cashier, dated January 4, 1804, that on Monday, January 9, the "Office of Discount and Deposit at Pittsburg" would open for business. It was announced that the office would be kept open from 9 o'clock a. m. till 3 o'clock p. m., Sundays and holidays excepted; that each Thursday would be discount day, but that paper for discount must be handed in on Wednesday; that discounts would be made for a period not exceeding sixty days, and such paper must have the personal security of two names and be made payable either at the bank or at some house in Pittsburg; and that drafts on the Bank of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, payable at sight, would be issued at a premium of one per cent. (h).

On the 23d of December, 1806, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in obedience to resolutions of the House of Representatives of December 8, reported that the Branch at Pittsburg had paid into the United States Treasury during the year ending September 30, 1804, the sum of \$225,781.93; during the

(f) December 11, 1803.

(g) Gazette, December 16, 1803.

(h) Gazette, January, 1804.

fiscal year 1805, \$486,825.45, and during the fiscal year 1806, \$477,669.89, or a total for the three years of \$1,190,277.27; that the moneys had been drawn from time to time as required, so that the deposits therein fluctuated, and thus average balances or permanent deposits in the Branch could not be given with precision. He also exhibited a table, showing the cash balance belonging to the Government and remaining in the Branch on the last day of each quarter, as follows: March 31, 1804, \$116,123.60; June 30, 1804, \$165,637.93; September 30, 1804, \$191,781.93; December 31, 1804, \$180,732.39; March 31, 1805, \$329.25; June 30, 1805, \$155,172.06; September 30, 1805, \$67,354.70; December 31, 1805, \$2,674.15; March 31, 1806, \$28,729.82; June 30, 1806, \$98,968.46; September 30, 1806, \$42,548.48 (i). There is no doubt that this Branch greatly assisted in laying the foundation of prosperity here and gave manufacturers their first practical ideas of the value of its loans. In fact, while this Branch remained here, it did an enormous business for that day and greatly contributed to the phenomenal growth of the borough from 1804 to 1811.

The Branch office at Pittsburg probably, from its establishment, was intrusted with the Government deposits arising from the sale of public land, etc. It was arranged that whenever the deposits in this Branch were required by the Government, the parent Bank of Pennsylvania should honor drafts or checks for the full amount. It was enacted, March 11, 1815, "that each branch bank within this Commonwealth shall receive in payment, as well as from other banks as from individuals, any note or notes of the original bank of which it is a branch." The greatest amount of deposits at any one period from March 4, 1811, to January 8, 1812, was \$154,474.17. On the 30th of September, 1811, the amount was \$69,562.82. On the 17th of January, 1811, it was \$137,442.11, received wholly, or nearly so, from the sale of public lands. On the 28th of November, 1814, there was in the Branch belonging to the Government only \$910.59 (j). So great was the need at this time of money to carry on the military expenses of the Government that all the banks in the Union containing national deposits were thoroughly drained. On January 1, 1816, there was in the Branch belonging to the Government a special deposit of banknotes to the amount of \$616,088.76; March 1, 1817, the amount had fallen to \$37,225.83; June 1, 1817, it was \$98,904.83; September 1, 1817, it was \$209,607.23; still later in 1817 it was \$16,314.88. On June 28, 1817, the Treasurer of the United States drew on this Branch for \$633,127.04. On December 27, 1817, \$255,880.35 of Government funds was drawn from the Pennsylvania Branch at Pittsburg and deposited in the United States Branch recently established here. On February 18, 1818, \$20,848 more was thus transferred, after which no more special deposits were placed in the former Branch, which ceased to exist. It should be noted that, in 1817, special deposits of the Government were made in the Bank of Pittsburg and in the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank of Pittsburg. They, in common with all other State banks in which deposits were made by the Government, fought hard against the relinquishment of this privilege.

It should be borne in mind, therefore, that Pittsburg had two Branch banks. One, which was established in 1804 and continued until February, 1818, was a Branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and in it were stored the moneys of the Government as *special* deposits. The other was a branch of the Bank of the United States, and succeeded in 1817-18 as the custodian of the public money, but not as a *special* custodian. The former was a Pennsylvania bank, intrusted with the Government funds; the latter was chartered by Congress and was a child of the Government. The first Branch and the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company (later the Bank of Pittsburg) carried this borough through the War of 1812, greatly to their credit.

(i) American State Papers, Vol. III.

(j) American State Papers, Vol. II.



On June 1, 1818, George Poe, Jr., cashier of the Branch of the Bank of the United States at Pittsburg, sent to the Treasury Department "an account for services rendered in arranging the special deposit of banknotes in the late office of the Bank of Pennsylvania at Pittsburg" (k). On August 11, 1820, he was allowed \$367.50 for his services.

By act of Congress, approved April 10, 1816, the second Bank of the United States was established, with a capital of \$35,000,000, divided into 350,000 shares of \$100 each. Of this amount the Government subscribed for 70,000 shares, amounting to \$7,000,000, and the balance was opened to the subscription of individuals, companies or corporations in the several States, neither of which was permitted to subscribe for more than 3,000 shares. Of this stock it was provided that \$7,000,000 should be paid in "gold or silver coin of the United States, or in the gold coin of Spain, or the dominions of Spain. . . . or in other foreign gold or silver coin," upon certain specified estimates of valuation. It was also provided that payments for stock should be partly made in the funded debt of the United States; that at the time of subscribing \$5 on each share in gold or silver coin and \$25 more on each share, either the same coin or funded debt obligations of the Government, should be paid, and the balance in specified installments; that the corporation should be styled "The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States," and should continue in existence until March 3, 1836; that it should have twenty-five directors, of whom five should be appointed by the President of the United States; that the directors should have power to elect officers and adopt rules and by-laws; that the amount of debt which the corporation might owe at any time by bond, bill, note or other contract (except in deposits) should not exceed \$35,000,000; that it should not take more than six per centum per annum for or upon its loans or discounts; that its operations should be limited to certain banking privileges specified, and that no note of less amount than \$5 should be issued. The act further recites that—

"It shall be lawful for the directors of the said corporation to establish offices of discount and deposit, wheresoever they shall think fit, within the United States or the Territories thereof, and to commit the management of said offices, and the business thereof, respectively, to such persons and under such regulations as they shall deem proper, not being contrary to law or the constitution of the bank. Or, instead of establishing such offices, it shall be lawful for the directors of the said corporation, from time to time, to employ any other bank or banks, to be first approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, at any place or places that they may deem safe and proper, to manage and transact the business proposed as aforesaid, or other than for the purposes of discount, to be managed and transacted by such offices, under such agreements, and subject to such regulations as they shall deem just and proper. Not more than thirteen or less than seven managers or directors, of every office established as aforesaid, shall be annually appointed by the directors of the bank, to serve one year; they shall choose a president from their own number; each of them shall be a citizen of the United States and a resident of the State, Territory or District wherein such office is established; and not more than three-fourths of the said managers or directors, in office at the time of an annual appointment, shall be reappointed for the next succeeding year; and no director shall hold his office more than three years out of four, in succession; but the president may always be reappointed" (l).

Among other provisions it was declared that the Treasury of the United States should be furnished from time to time with statements of the amount of the capital stock of the corporation and of the debts due to the same; of the moneys deposited therein; of the notes in circulation and of the specie on hand; and

(k) American State Papers, Vol. IV.

(l) Extract from the Enactment of April 10, 1816.



should have a right to inspect such general accounts in the books of the bank as related to such statement; that the bills or notes of the corporation originally made payable or which should become payable on demand should be receivable in all payments to the United States unless otherwise directed by Congress; that the bank should facilitate the transfer of public funds from place to place within the United States without charging commission or exchange; that it should not suspend nor refuse to redeem any of its notes, bills or obligations in gold and silver, nor refuse the payment "of any moneys received upon deposit in said bank, or in any of its offices of discount and deposit."

The officers of the Bank of the United States performed the duty of commissioner of loans for the State of Pennsylvania, were the agents for the payment of pensions of every description in this State, and were charged with the superintendence of the branches of the bank (m). The bank found it impossible at first to sign its notes fast enough to supply its branches with the necessary currency, which checked the progress of some of the branches and prevented the continuance of others (m). The banks of the principal cities which had suspended in 1814 resumed specie payment, by special agreement with State and United States banks, February 20, 1817. According to existing laws, in 1818, specie and the bills and notes of the Bank of the United States were alone receivable in all payments to the Government.

"We understand that the directors of the Bank of the United States have determined upon establishing a Branch bank in this city and have elected the following gentlemen directors: Adamson Tannehill, George Stevenson, William Robinson, Jr., George Boggs, James Ross, Robert Patterson, Walter Forward, S. Barlow (Meadville), Ebenezer Denny, Thomas Baird, Anthony Beelen, William McCandless, William Hill, George Poe, Jr., cashier" (n).

The *Mercury* of November 14, 1817, announced that Adamson Tannehill had been elected president of the board of directors of the Branch.

"The Office of Discount and Deposit, established in this city by the Bank of the United States, commenced business on Monday last. We understand notes intended for discount must be lodged in the office on Wednesday in each week" (o).

By the 18th of May, 1818, the Government's deposit of the notes of State banks in the Branch at Pittsburg had been reduced to \$212,095.67, and by June 22, 1818, to \$158,532.20 (p). This reduction was owing to the heavy demands of the Government for funds to pay its current expenses and its notes falling due.

About the 1st of June, 1818, E. J. Roberts and John Taggart were sent out as agents of the Branch at Pittsburg by George Poe, Jr., cashier, to collect certain accounts due the bank. They presented to the cashiers of the Farmers' Bank of Canton, Ohio, the German Bank of Wooster, and the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie their own notes for redemption, to the aggregate amount of \$68,626. They reported that the Canton bank paid part in coin, but refused to pay the balance, though offering to assign judgments for more than the amount; that the Wooster bank refused to pay anything or assign a reason for so doing; that the Cleveland bank at first complied by counting out nearly the whole amount in specie, boxing and marking it with the letters "U. S.:" but when, after much trouble, means were obtained for carting it, the directors, who in the meantime had held a hurried meeting, refused to let it go, and refused to receive it as a special deposit of the Government, and even refused to return the notes, or to give a certificate of deposit, but tendered a post note due in twenty days, or nothing. In other banks the agents were similarly treated. Every effort was made by the banks to avoid paying in first-class paper or specie, for the evident

(m) American State Papers, Vol. III.

(o) *Mercury*, January 16, 1818.

(n) *Mercury*, October 24, 1817.

(p) American State Papers, Vol. IV.

reason that they did not have it and wanted time to collect. The branches, therefore, were unable to collect their dues and the parent bank was compelled to borrow foreign specie to meet the demands of the Government (q).

On May 7, 1818, George Poe, Jr., gave to his agents, Messrs. Taggart and Roberts, notes and drafts to the amount of \$99,011 to collect. They were authorized to receive in payment notes of the Bank of the United States, its branches, of the Banks of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Richmond and its branches, Pittsburg (except the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank), banks of the District of Columbia (except the Merchants'), and specie.

On the 25th of June, 1818, the Branch at Pittsburg exhibited discounted bills on personal security to the amount of \$910,276.14; had due it from other branches \$106,009.79; owned \$14,123.13 in real estate; had on hand in notes of the Bank of the United States and its branches \$338,250, and notes of other banks \$164,604.20, and specie \$64,035.44; owed the parent bank \$1,358,946.98, and had on hand individual deposits to the amount of \$54,345.56 (r).

On October 1, 1818, the Branch in this city exhibited the following statement: Bills discounted to the amount of \$1,008,254.30; was the creditor of specie-paying banks to the amount of \$39,500; had on hand the notes of specie-paying banks, \$146,967.20, and showed a total amount due the Bank of the United States of \$1,194,721.50. At this time the individual deposits reached the sum of \$63,814.66. On September 30, 1818, there was due the Treasurer of the United States from the Pittsburg Branch the sum of \$157,713.51. By October 1, 1818, the Branch had outstanding \$420,000 of bank, branch and post notes, and had on hand of the same \$232,380 (s). On November 1, 1818, it had on hand in specie \$91,672.64, but individual deposits had fallen to \$20,840.64. By December 24, 1818, the Branch had issued \$420,000 of its own notes. The following statement shows the disposition of the loans of the Branch on February 3, 1819 (t):

To mechanics and manufacturers.....	\$479,111.22
To merchants.....	183,406.62
To farmers.....	30,300.00
To corporations, churches and others.....	44,945.00

Total.....\$737,762.84

By September 23, 1819, it had outstanding loans on discounted bills to the amount of \$689,661.05; on domestic bills of exchange, \$38,405; had on hand in specie \$10,242.53; owed the parent bank and its officers \$1,120,931.37, and had on hand individual deposits to the amount of \$17,649.18 (u). After the Bank of the United States went into operation, its stock rapidly increased in value, as shown by the following statement (u):

December, 1816, per share.....	\$ 37 to \$42
April, 1817, per share.....	81 to 82
August, 1817, per share.....	140 to 156
November, 1818, per share.....	110 to 112
December 14, 1818, per share.....	110 to 114

The enormous shrinkage in the value of the stock, as shown in the above table, was caused by the panic of 1818-19, one of the severest the banks of Pittsburg, as well as those of the country generally, ever were called upon to undergo. The numerous suspensions which resulted, thus retiring all small change in circulation, occasioned intense distress among business men, and were the imme-

(q) American State Papers, Vol. IV.  
(s) American State Papers, Vol. III.  
(u) American State Papers, Vol. III.

(r) American State Papers, Vol. III.  
(t) Mercury, February 12, 1819.

date cause of the issuance of large quantities of small notes of denominations varying from twenty-five cents to two dollars by individuals, brokers, private bankers, turnpike and bridge companies and municipal authorities. Pittsburg was soon flooded with these "shinplasters," issued both here and elsewhere.

"The United States Bank, which a few years ago was identified with Federalism and scouted from the haunts of civilized society, was recalled and reinstated in all her former splendor, with tenfold power and influence." . . . . "We have heard it further stated that the affairs of the Branch of this place have been canvassed by the mother bank, in consequence probably of our town meeting; the investigation, it is said, has resulted highly in favor of the Branch, whose conduct has been approved and commended in every respect." . . . . "We should not be surprised if the hostility against the old Bank of the United States were to reappear with twofold bitterness against the present one. That the investigation will be fatal to the continuance of the branches west of Pittsburg is beyond a doubt." . . . . "There are three banks here: The Branch of the United States Bank, the Bank of Pittsburg and the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, but the buildings they occupy were originally intended for private dwelling houses." . . . . "The Branch Bank of the United States in this place and the other Western offices have been authorized to purchase bills of exchange drawn on New Orleans, giving therefor checks at four months after date on the bank at Philadelphia, the operation to commence at the season when produce is usually sent down the Mississippi" (v).

Adamson Tannehill, Thomas Baird, William McCandless, James S. Stevenson, John Little, Richard Biddle, James Riddle, Matthew B. Lowrie and William McKnight were elected directors of the Branch of the United States Bank in Pittsburg for the year, October, 1819, to October, 1820. James S. Stevenson was elected president for one month; but about December 1, 1819, was succeeded by Dr. George Stevenson. The Directors of the mother bank elected these men and voted out the following, who were prohibited by law from serving any longer, their terms having expired: Ebenezer Denny, Anthony Beelen, Oliver Ormsby, Robert Patterson, George Wallace, William Robinson, Jr., and George Boggs (v).

Previous to October, 1819, no definite capital had been assigned to the branches of the Bank of the United States, but on October 5th of that year the capital of the Pittsburg Branch was fixed at \$700,000, exclusive of \$12,900.76 estimated worth of realty, fixtures, etc. (w).

"The Bank of the United States never has lost a single cent by its loans in Pittsburg, and there is no danger, no suspicion of a loss in future. We state upon undoubted authority that the amount of bills discounted, including bills of exchange, does not exceed \$600,000. Upwards of \$400,000 of this sum were discounts transferred from the Bank of Pennsylvania when the present Branch Bank was located here. Of course, not more than \$300,000 have been loaned by the present directors. About four months since an order came from the parent board for a uniform curtailment of five per cent.; the last discount day was the fifteenth of this curtailment, and we are informed that only one or two instances have occurred of a failure in complying with this demand. The bank, in granting an extended period for payment, has accepted from its debtors the pledge of a part only of their estates as ample security. . . . When the whole amount of large possessions was offered, honestly offered, by one or two of our townsmen, whose enterprise left them embarrassed when the day of our adversity arrived, even the bank, smarting as she must have been under the losses with which she was threatened from other places, was perfectly satisfied with the security of a portion

(v) Various issues of the Gazette from December, 1818, to October, 1819.

(w) American State Papers, Vol. IV.

of the offered property. Not a single stock note was ever discounted, for no stock was held here except the amount necessary to enable citizens to sit as directors; nothing, we candidly believe, was done but upon good personal security, in addition to what may be termed real security; that is, the actual proprietorship on the part of the borrowers of valuable real property. In times of common prosperity, such as Pittsburg has seen, and such as, we confidently believe, she will see again, the property of one of the individuals alone upon whom suspicion of failure has fallen would be amply sufficient to pay the whole amount loaned by the board in their new capacities of directors of the Branch of the United States" (x).

By 1820 the financial condition at Pittsburg had not visibly improved. On June 21, 1821, the Branch had outstanding of its own notes \$136,650; had individual deposits on hand, \$34,038.82; specie on hand, \$59,751.42, and had discounted bills on personal security to the amount of \$668,725.61 (y). On February 20, 1824, the Branch had on hand in specie \$57,283.06; in notes of the Bank of the United States and its branches, \$108,735; owned real estate worth \$35,000; had discounted on personal security, \$661,653.76. It had on hand individual deposits, \$43,650.05; deposits of the Treasurer of the United States, \$46,272.73; was the creditor of the Bank of the United States and its branches to the amount of \$682,366.46, and its own notes were in circulation to the amount of \$134,227.50. On January 25, 1826, the Branch had outstanding on bills discounted on personal security, \$748,857.10; on domestic bills of exchange, \$80,687.91; owned real estate worth \$77,905; had on hand in specie, \$37,675.77; had issued in notes, \$176,977.50; owed the parent bank and branches, \$61,829.02, and had individual deposits on hand to the amount of \$72,708.22 (z).

On December 30, 1823, the Branch had outstanding \$145,437.50 in notes; had on hand deposits to the amount of \$58,479.61, and owed to the Bank of the United States and its offices \$678,410.14. It had discounted on personal security bills to the amount of \$665,308.66; owned \$93,889 worth of real estate; was the creditor of the Bank of the United States and its offices to the amount of \$39,568.87; had on hand \$8,015 worth of State banknotes, \$50,330 of notes of the Bank of the United States and its branches, and \$21,385.68 in specie.

Alexander Brackenridge, James S. Stevenson, John S. Riddle, John Towne, Samuel Thompson, William McKnight, Charles Avery, George Boggs, William McCandless, John Little, James Park and Thomas Bakewell were appointed directors of the Branch on the 14th of October, 1828, for the coming year. On the 20th of October the directors reelected Mr. Brackenridge president.

From 1826 until the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States by President Jackson, Pittsburg enjoyed remarkable prosperity. The removal was made at a period when manufacturers required the accommodation of bank loans—had absolutely depended upon them. In the light of subsequent history it seems that it would have made little difference whether there was a large curtailment of loans by the Bank of the United States or not, so long as business men depended upon them and were fearful they would not be granted. The panic was one affecting credit. The Branch was compelled to act as directed by the parent bank. From February 1, 1833, to February 1, 1834, the Branch here reduced its discounts to the amount of \$242,000; its bills of exchange to the amount of \$335,000; its deposits to the amount of \$170,000; and its circulation to the amount of \$363,000.

"This branch has recently been compelled to decline purchasing bills on the West, which has caused much embarrassment and difficulty to the manufacturers and commission merchants here by deranging entirely their former very convenient and advantageous plans of doing business, and at the same time depriving

(x) Pittsburg Gazette, September 14, 1819.

(y) American State Papers, Vol. V.

(z) American State Papers, Vol. V.

them of so much cash capital. During the time of the prosperity of the Branch . . . . . the manufacturer had only to make his sales to merchants or others at Nashville, St. Louis, etc., then draw his bill at four or six months, and then he could at once get the money at the Branch. Thus, on the very day he would be prepared to go on to receive and execute other orders of equal amount. Such were the facilities which the Branch formerly afforded and under which our manufacturers prospered so much and arrived at their recent prosperous condition" (a).

The directors of the Branch chosen October 24, 1834, were A. Brackenridge, John Little, James Park, Thomas Bakewell, Benjamin Darlington, Abishai Way, William Holmes, Samuel Thompson, John D. Davis and James Thompson. Mr. Brackenridge was elected president.

"*Resolved*, as the sense of the Senate and House of Representatives, that, whereas, the Bank of the United States has tended, in a great degree, to maintain a sound and uniform currency, to facilitate the financial operations, to regulate foreign and domestic exchange, and has been conducive to commercial prosperity, the Legislature of Pennsylvania recommend a renewal of its charter, under such regulations and restrictions, as to the power of the respective states, as Congress may deem right and proper" (b).

By resolution the General Assembly of Pennsylvania instructed its representatives in Congress to use their exertions to secure a renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States (c). During January and February, 1835, it became apparent in Pittsburg that the Bank of the United States would not be rechartered, and, in consequence, would be obliged to close its doors in March, 1836. Accordingly, in order to supply the money thus withdrawn from circulation and prevent any embarrassment among local business men, several petitions were forwarded to the Legislature asking that "The Commercial Bank of Pittsburg" might be chartered. A writer in the *Gazette* of February 11, said:

"It is not to be presumed that, taking into view the wholesome conditions of the loans made at the Branch bank in this city, it will not be necessary to make any curtailment of discounts much, if any, before the expiration of her charter; but it must be apparent to any intelligent mind, that if another institution is not prepared to take the place of the present Branch bank in supplying the wants of the community, the expiration of the United States Bank charter, or the discontinuance of the Branch in this place to discount, will be the signal for a severe pecuniary pressure throughout our community, and our manufacturers and artisans will not be the last to suffer. To the State banks these notes and bills (d) have performed the office of specie. All the State banks have discounted upon the possession of them with the same freedom and boldness as they would have done on an equal amount of the precious metals" (e).

In March, 1834, Mr. Webster introduced a bill in the United States Senate to extend the charter of the bank for six years, or until March, 1840. This bill was voted down by the supporters of President Jackson. It then became evident to the bank officials that they could look for no hope nor relief from that quarter, whereupon they applied to the State of Pennsylvania for a charter as a State institution. The General Assembly, in 1836, rechartered "the present stockholders of the Bank of the United States (excepting the United States and the Treasurer of the United States), and such other persons as may become stockholders," with a capital of any amount not exceeding \$35,000,000, the charter to continue alive and in operation until March 3, 1866, and the institution was granted general banking privileges. It was permitted to establish two branches of discount and deposit within the State—one at Pittsburg.

(a) *Gazette*, February 14, 1834.

(b) *Laws of Pennsylvania*, April 2, 1831.

(d) Of the Bank of the United States. (c) *Laws of Pennsylvania*, February 10, 1832.

(e) Report of Committee on Finance, February, 1834.



"The United States Bank is now an institution changed in its very essence, as much as it well can be unless it should cease to be a bank. It was a national institution quartered upon us, which was a thing obnoxious to many people of this State; it is now an institution of our own, as entirely as the Bank of Pennsylvania or the Bank of Pittsburg. The name is retained on account of the bank-note plates on hand, the impressions of which are familiar to business men and better than new; but what is of still more account, its wise management has given its name a commercial value. All those who are opposed to a National bank and who prefer the State banks should join in support of this, as its existence will be the most effectual preventive of a National bank. It has ceased to hold a semi-alien character and is now the child of Pennsylvania. It is all our own, and while our neighboring states evince a disposition to aim a blow at our fast rising prosperity by striking at the bank, it will cling to the bosom of its mother for protection. A proposition has been made in the Ohio Legislature to prohibit the currency (circulation) of the bills of this bank in that State. Such an outrage upon the institutions of any State has never been attempted before, and, if carried into effect, will arouse every Pennsylvanian in defense of our State rights—not a claim of right to nullify United States laws, but a claim to defend our own institutions and interests" (f).

Congress enacted that within three months therefrom the Bank of the United States and its several branches should pay into the National Treasury "all the money in their possession for the redemption of the public debt of the United States," etc. (g).

The Secretary of the Treasury was required (h) to assume and exercise the agency of, and the direction in behalf of, the Government over its property in the Bank of the United States, and was invested with authority to act as such agent of the Government, and was clothed with other power looking to the termination of the business career of the bank so far as the Government interests were concerned. On April 20, 1836, the right or power of the United States Bank to pay pensions was repealed and taken away by Congress. From March 3, 1834, to April 19, 1834, the Branch here, as agent of the Government, had paid out to about 900 pensioners nearly \$40,000.

The *Kittanning Gazette* of July, 1836, said that the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States was reported to be doing more business than ever it did under the old charter. The *National Gazette* at this time said that the national finances were fairly set on a prosperous footing. On July 25, 1836, Michael Allen, Jacob Forsyth, William W. Irwin, Jesse Lippincott, William Bell, Patrick Mulvany, William Wade, Charles Avery, John M. Snowden, Abishai Way, Thomas Bakewell and Moses Atwood were elected directors of the Pittsburg Branch of the United States Bank. Michael Allen was chosen president. On July 6, 1836, it was announced that the bank was now open for business under the charter granted by this State.

In the fall of 1836 the Bank of the United States offered the Government for each share it held in that institution the sum of \$111.47 (i). At this time, so severe was the attack on this institution, owing doubtless to the partisan rancor engendered by the Jacksonians against the very name of the bank, as well as against its officers, there was strong talk throughout Pennsylvania that the institution, though chartered by the State, should surrender that instrument and demand back the large bonuses (j) for various public improvements it had given as a condition for its charter (k).

(i) *Pittsburg Times*, March 9, 1836. About six months later the *Times* was as bitter in its denunciation of the bank as it had formerly been warm in its praise.

(g) April 11, 1836. (h) Act of June 23, 1836. (i) *National Gazette*.

(j) These bonuses amounted to \$6,000,000. (k) *Pittsburg Gazette*, September, 1836.

When the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank went into operation in 1833, James Correy, cashier of the Branch, seeing that the parent bank would not be rechartered, accepted the position of cashier in the new bank, leaving John Thaw, formerly bookkeeper of the Branch, to wind up the affairs of the latter. In fact, July 5, 1833, he succeeded Mr. Correy as cashier of the Branch. On June 25, 1836, the branch having been chartered by the State, Mr. Correy was recalled and reinstated as its cashier (l).

*"Resolved, That the chartering of the Bank of the United States as a State bank was an act of the greatest expediency and the soundest wisdom, and has placed Pennsylvania on a footing of prosperity which cannot be shaken.*

*"Resolved, That the veto messages of Governor Ritner meet our entire approbation and that if the doctrines relative to banking and currency expressed be carried into practice, Pennsylvania will be safe from a recurrence of the distress which followed the litter of small banks of 1814" (m).*

On the 10th of May, 1837, the Bank of the United States gave to the Government, to settle its claim, four bonds for \$1,986,589.04 each, dated March 3, 1836, and falling due September, 1837, 1838, 1839 and 1840, drawing six per cent. interest per annum. The conclusion to accept this proposition from the bank was arrived at in Congress on May 31, 1837, each share to be estimated at \$115.58. On July 7, 1838, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to sell upon the best possible terms two of the above-named bonds, falling due, respectively, September, 1839, and September, 1840. The one falling due September, 1837, had been paid before it was due.

By its charter, the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States was required to lend to the State, whenever required, after due notice, the sum of \$6,000,000 at six per cent. interest. On the 15th of January, 1841, the State banks, in conformity to law, resumed the payment of their notes in specie, and continued to do so until the 4th of February, 1841, when they were again compelled to suspend. This was precipitated by the action of the Bank of the United States, which, on that date, closed its doors. The Bank of the United States, having paid out within twenty days, pursuant to its notice to the public, upward of \$6,000,000 in specie and specie funds, was forced to suspend. A dreadful run had been made upon it. When the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States suspended the Branch at Pittsburg did likewise. Its notes were soon at eight to twelve per cent. discount and its stock from \$38 to \$48 per share. Soon the notes were fifteen per cent. discount and the stock \$23 per share. In May, 1841, the notes fell to twenty per cent. discount; by January, 1842, to twenty-five per cent. discount; by December, 1844, to thirty per cent. discount, and in some places were quoted as low as fifty and sixty per cent. discount. In June, 1841, W. H. Denny was appointed agent of the trustees of the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States to collect the debts due the Branch at Pittsburg (n).

On the 4th of September, 1841, the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States assigned, whereupon its stock fell to any price brokers were willing to give. The Branch at Pittsburg shared the fate of the mother bank. Its notes fell to from forty to seventy per cent. discount. Slowly its affairs were wound up—debts paid and dues collected. It took many years to close the account between the State and this bank. By act of February 26, 1853, the State Treasurer was authorized to receive from the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States \$150,000, "in full satisfaction of all claims."

(l) Gazette, September 8, 1836.

(m) Action of Anti-Masonic County Convention, September 6, 1836.

(n) Mercury and Democrat, June 30, 1841.





## CHAPTER XIV.

PRIVATE AND STATE BANKING OPERATIONS—THE ACT OF MARCH, 1808—ITS REPEAL IN MARCH, 1810—BANK OF PITTSBURG ESTABLISHED IN 1810 FORCED TO CLOSE—ORGANIZATION OF THE PITTSBURG MANUFACTURING COMPANY—ITS USEFULNESS DURING THE WAR OF 1812—THE "MAMMOTH BILL" OF 1813-14—BANK OF PITTSBURG—ITS OFFICERS AND MANAGEMENT—VIEWS OF THE TIME ON BANKING—SUSPENSION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—PUBLIC EFFORTS TO SECURE SMALL CHANGE—INTENSE FINANCIAL DISTRESS—BEAVER BRANCH OF THE BANK OF PITTSBURG—FARMERS' AND MECHANICS' BANK—ITS ROBBERY BY PLUYMART AND EMMONS—RUIN AND CLOSING OF THE BANK—CITY BANK OF PITTSBURG—MERCHANTS' AND MANUFACTURERS' BANK—PITTSBURG SAVINGS INSTITUTION—THE EXCHANGE BANK—ISSUE OF CITY BILLS—REMOVAL OF THE GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS BY PRESIDENT JACKSON—GREAT EXCITEMENT—PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS—DELEGATION SENT TO WASHINGTON—THEIR INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT JACKSON—COUNTER-MEMORIAL—GREATER BANKING CAPITAL DEMANDED—THE SUSPENSION OF 1837—THE HARD TIMES REVIEWED—ANTI-BANK MOVEMENTS—SHINPLASTERS—RESUMPTION AND SECOND SUSPENSION—RELIEF LAWS—STATISTICS—PRIVATE BANKERS.

The act of March 28, 1808, relating to the association of individuals for the purposes of banking provided: "That if any association of citizens or others shall hereafter be formed within this Commonwealth for the purposes of banking or of borrowing or loaning money, in any manner or upon any terms whatever, each and every person becoming a member of such association or interested therein by subscription, contribution, stock or agreement, to participate in, profit or otherwise, and his assigns, shall be individually and personally liable for the debts and engagements of such association in like manner and to the same extent as if he, she or they, had personally contracted such debt or made such agreement, any agreement of such association with their creditors or others, or any declaration by them in any manner made, to the contrary notwithstanding."

The act further provided that no person should be answerable for the debts of such association contracted after his connection with the same had been severed, and that no company incorporated by the laws of any other of the United States should be permitted to establish within Pennsylvania any banking-house or office of discount and deposit.

The act of March 19, 1810, provided that after May 1, 1810, "It shall be unlawful for any association of persons who now are, or hereafter may be, connected for the purposes of banking, and who are not incorporated by law, to make, utter, or issue any bills or notes in the nature of banknotes payable to bearer, or order, or otherwise; to loan any sum or sums of money upon any actual or accommodation note or notes; to receive any sum or sums in the nature of deposits; or to do or perform any other act which an incorporated banking company may lawfully do." It was also declared unlawful for any person or persons whatever to make any deposits in such banks, or to offer at such banks any note for discount, or to take or transfer any stock of such association for the purpose of banking and a penalty of \$100 for every such offense was attached to



the enactment. It was likewise made unlawful, after May 1, 1810, for any person to offer or accept in payment the notes issued by an unincorporated bank knowing them to be such; and any payment so made with such notes was declared null and void. But it was provided that nothing in this act should be so construed as to release any person from a debt contracted before its passage; nor that the act should be "applied to any partnership in trade or business in such manner and for such purpose as hath been hitherto usual and may be legally done."

The act of 1810 did not prevent private bankers from continuing their operations, nor prevent them from issuing paper money; but such continuance and such issues were unlawful, though in almost every instance they received the approval of the local communities, owing to the extreme scarcity of small currency. In fact, notwithstanding this prohibitory law, individuals of Pittsburgh, and the city itself, issued small denominations of paper money at a later date. The Bank of Pittsburgh, which had begun operations a few months before the passage of this law and had emitted a small quantity of its notes, was thus forced to discontinue, though it reorganized later and continued a partial banking business as the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company. This act of March 19, 1810, was not repealed until April 3, 1841.

Early in the month of February, 1810, an association of individuals of Pittsburgh, sanctioned by the restrictive act of March 28, 1808, commenced a banking business under the name of the "Bank of Pittsburgh." By the act of March 19, 1810, the law of 1808 was made prohibitory and obliged the Bank of Pittsburgh to suspend its operations "under heavy losses and great disappointments." They, therefore, in 1810, memorialized the Legislature to grant them a charter to conduct banking operations and offered in consideration thereof to transfer to the State \$40,000 of the capital stock of the bank, or conditionally \$45,000 to \$60,000 to certain public improvements in the Western country. In behalf of the company this memorial was signed by William Wilkins (its president), Abraham Kirkpatrick, William McCandless, John Darragh, James Martin, Thomas Cromwell, Henry Fulton, Joseph McClurg, Robert Spencer, Francis B. Holmes, John Scull (owner and editor of the *Gazette*), William Woods, Nicholas Cunningham, Ephraim Pentland, Robert Simpson, George Sutton, Thomas Bracken, William Hayes, James Morrison, James Riddle and Jeremiah Barker, directors. The memorialists failed to receive their expected charter in the time desired and accordingly continued their operations of banking and insurance under the name of the "Pittsburg Manufacturing Company." From the start the institution issued its own notes, based upon the reputation and wealth of its stockholders, and from the start had the unlimited confidence of the community. Some of the notes issued by the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company were in circulation, though uncurrent, as late as June 25, 1819 (a).

"A meeting of the stockholders of the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company will be held in their office on the first Monday of July next for the purpose of electing fifteen managers for the ensuing year.

ALEX. JOHNSTON, Chief Clerk."

"Pittsburg, June 9, 1812.

"The office of the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company will be opened on Tuesday the 16th inst. for the transaction of business (b). Independent of affording facilities to the manufacturing interest, insurances will be effected on houses, stores and other buildings, with the furniture, goods, utensils of trade and materials for manufacture therein contained, against loss or damage by fire;

(a) American State Papers, Vol. III, page 818.

(b) Commonwealth of June, 1812.

and on vessels descending or boats ascending or descending the rivers, together with their cargoes against loss or damage by the perils of navigation. Hours of business from 9 o'clock a. m. until 3 o'clock p. m.

"Pittsburg, June 16, 1812. ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Chief Clerk."

On October 13, 1812, the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company ordered that a further installment of five per cent., equal to \$2.50 on each share of the capital stock of the said company, should be paid by the stockholders on or before January 1, 1813. In January, 1813, the company again applied to the Legislature for a bank charter. In a long editorial in the *Mercury* advocating the granting of the charter the editor says (c):

"The borough of Pittsburg alone, without referring to other examples, is a striking evidence of the truth that banking companies when conducted with becoming liberality give a spring to the exertions of the industrious farmer, mechanic, manufacturer and merchant. For, since the establishment of this institution among us, our manufactures and commerce have increased beyond all calculation, and consequently it has greatly promoted the prosperity of the farmer and mechanic." . . . "During the late pressure of the agents of the United States Government for money to pay the troops, etc., destined for the north and northern frontiers, this unincorporated institution, whose political influence has unfortunately excited the mistaken apprehensions of some worthy men, granted extensive accommodations at their own inconvenience to the agents of the Government—accommodations without which our military operations would have been essentially retarded."

"Whereas, The 'Pittsburg Manufacturing Company' is composed of the same people, was grafted on and grew out of the former association, called the 'Bank of Pittsburg,' it is thought but fair and reasonable that the present company discharge the remaining debts of the former, and refund the money advanced by individuals to defray expenses" (d).

On January 14, 1813, the company declared a dividend of three per cent. for six months on all stock actually paid in; and on July 1, 1813, declared another dividend of four and one-half per cent. for six months on the paid-in stock. On July 5, 1813, the company elected its managers as follows: William Wilkins, Thomas Cromwell, John Darragh, N. Cunningham, George Anshutz, Jr., W. McCandless, James Morrison, Christopher Cowan, James Adams, William Hays, George Sutton, John M. Snowden, John Morrison, James W. Nicholson, Craig Ritchie; and, on the 12th of July, William Wilkins was elected president. On January 1, 1814, the company, by its chief clerk, Alexander Johnston, Jr., called on all stockholders for the payment of five per cent. of their stock, receivable at its office on Market Street. At this date, also, the company declared a dividend of four and one-half per cent. on its paid-in stock. Its prosperity was almost unprecedented.

"The banking business has again assumed a degree of importance. The bill usually termed the 'Mammoth Bill' is resuscitated and made the order of the day for the 6th of January (1813) with every appearance of finally passing both branches" (c).

This general banking law of the State provided among other things (f): "That the several banking companies enumerated in this act shall make loans to the amount of one-fifth of their capital actually paid in, for one year, to the farmers, mechanics and manufacturers of the district in which the bank shall

(c) Issue of January 28, 1813.

(d) Minutes of Tuesday, April 20, 1813.

(e) Cor. of *Mercury*, Harrisburg, December 20, 1813.

(f) This act was passed by the Legislature on March 21, 1813; but Governor Simon Snyder returned it unsigned, with his objections, to the House where it originated; whereupon, on March 21, 1814, it passed both houses by two-thirds majority and became a law.

be established if applied for, on sufficient surety being given by bond, mortgage or note, or otherwise, at six per cent. per annum. And whenever the Legislature of the State may require it, the aforesaid several banks, having had sixty days' notice of such requisition, shall loan to the Commonwealth a sum not exceeding one-tenth of their capital stock paid in at the time such loan shall be required at an interest not exceeding six per cent. per annum, for any term not exceeding five years."

Inasmuch as this law became the basis of nearly all banking operations in the State for many years, more of its principal provisions are herein set forth. It was provided that forty-one banks should be organized under the act, two in Pittsburg, one of which should be called the "Bank of Pittsburg," with a capital of \$600,000, and one the "Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg," with a capital of \$450,000; that commissioners appointed under the act should open books for the subscription of stock in shares of \$50 each. It was further

"Provided, That the commissioners appointed for the Bank of Pittsburg are hereby authorized and required on application to them made for that purpose by the president and board of managers of the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company, to take and consider the subscriptions *bona fide* made to said company as part of the stock of the said Bank of Pittsburg; but none of the said stockholders shall be at liberty to subscribe for any of the new stock until six days after the books for subscription are opened by virtue of this act. And said president and managers of the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company shall manage the concerns of the Bank of Pittsburg (except as to the duty of commissioners) until a new board of directors shall have been organized agreeably to the provisions of this act."

It was also provided that each person subscribing for stock should pay \$5 per share down on the same; that if fifty or more persons should subscribe not less than half the number of shares allotted to that banking district and should pay in twenty per cent. of the stock subscribed, they should be entitled to a charter; that the seven persons first named in the patent should call a meeting of the stockholders to choose thirteen directors by ballot; that the stockholders should determine where the banks should be located; that aliens and members of the Legislature should not be eligible to the directory and that stockholders should vote at follows:

"For each share not exceeding two shares, one vote; for every two shares above two and not exceeding ten shares, one vote; for every four shares above ten and not exceeding thirty, one vote; for every ten shares above thirty and not exceeding fifty, one vote; but no share nor number of shares above fifty shall confer any right of voting, nor, excepting at the first election, shall any share confer a right of suffrage which shall not have been held three calendar months previous to the day of election."

The law required that directors should make the necessary by-laws, appoint cashiers, clerks and others; that a cashier's bond should not be less than \$5,000 nor more than \$100,000; that the total amount of debts which the corporation might owe, "whether by bond, bill, note or other contract," excepting deposits, should not exceed double the amount of the capital stock actually paid in; that stock should be assignable and transferable on the books only; that "dividends of so much of the profits of the said several institutions as shall appear advisable to the directors of each, shall be declared at least twice a year," . . . but dividends shall in no case exceed the amount of the net profits actually acquired by the company, so that the capital stock shall never be thereby impaired; that each institution should expend not to exceed \$30,000 on grounds and buildings; that it should hold only such lands, tenements and hereditaments as were necessary for the transaction of its business; that it should not "deal or trade with

any profits, stocks, money or effects in buying or selling any goods, wares or merchandise whatsoever;" that the several corporations should not deal nor trade in anything but bills of exchange, gold or silver bullion, and in the stock and treasury notes aforesaid, or might sell goods really and truly pledged for money lent and not redeemed in due time, or dispose of goods which may be the produce of their lands; that each corporation should issue notes of no less denomination than \$5; and that it should pay an annual tax of six per cent. on its dividends and should forfeit its charter upon failure so to pay.

The commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions for the stock of the Bank of Pittsburg were John M. Snowden, D. S. Scully, John Speer, Thomas Cromwell, George Dawson, James Martin, Joseph Wilson and Robert Highlands of Allegheny County, and others in the two other counties of the district; and those for the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg were Jacob Negley, John Neal, George Evans, John Feariss, Thomas Hazleton, George Steward and George Robinson of Allegheny County, and others in the other two counties; and the "directors of said bank shall be by trade or occupation mechanics or farmers, actually employed in their respective trades and occupations." The latter restriction was changed in 1819 by the following law:

"That the stockholders of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg shall be, and they are hereby authorized at their next election, for directors of said bank, and annually thereafter, during the existence of the charter thereof, to choose from among the stockholders of said bank, six persons as directors who are not by occupation mechanics or farmers" (g).

The number of shares allotted to the Bank of Pittsburg in Allegheny County was 10,000, in Beaver County 1,000 and in Butler County 1,000, total 12,000; to the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank in Allegheny County 8,000, in Butler County 1,000, total 9,000 shares. By a special provision the subscriptions already given to the Bank of Pittsburg might be applied toward the new stock. It was made lawful for the (then) existing officers of the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company to take charge of the new institution and manage the same until their successors should be duly elected.

The passage of the general banking act of 1814, particularly that portion relating to the Bank of Pittsburg, was secured largely through the sagacity and persistence of William Wilkins. From 1810 to 1814 the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company, through Mr. Wilkins and others, endeavored to secure a charter of incorporation; but the enemies of general or special banking laws were too numerous to permit the accomplishment of this object. In 1813 the "Mammoth Bill" passed both houses, but was vetoed by the Governor. In 1814 it again passed over his veto and became a law. In the meantime the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company continued to do a banking and an insurance business, regardless of the fact that the former privilege was prohibited by the law of 1810. It was claimed by the editor of the *Gazette*, in his issue of August 26, 1840, that Mr. Wilkins admitted having "tricked the Legislature" to secure the charter for the Bank of Pittsburg. What the editor doubtless meant was that, owing to the vehement hostility to banks, Mr. Wilkins was obliged to draw freely upon his strong resources of finesse and diplomacy to secure the charter.

"On motion, resolved, that the stock of the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company be, and the same is, hereby transferred to the Bank of Pittsburg, for the purpose, and in order that the stockholders may be considered as subscribers to the Bank of Pittsburg to the amount of shares by them respectively held, agreeably to the provisions of an Act of Assembly entitled, 'An Act Regulating Banks.' Hereby, nevertheless, reserving the right in the present board of man-

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(g) Act of the Legislature, March 27, 1819.

agers of declaring such dividend or dividends as they may think expedient (not impairing the capital stock) among the said stockholders of the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company, of the profits which have or may accrue up to the time at which the business will be carried on in the name of the Bank of Pittsburgh."

The Bank of Pittsburgh gave notice that books for the subscription of stock, pursuant to law, would be opened May 10, 1814, at the office of the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company by the commissioners appointed under the banking act. On July 4, 1814, the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company declared a dividend of four and one-half per cent. on the paid-in stock for the six months ending July 1, 1814. On Monday, November 23, 1814, William Wilkins was duly elected president of the Bank of Pittsburgh; Alexander Johnston, Jr., cashier; George Luckey, teller; William Baxter, bookkeeper, and William M. Black, watchman.

Under the act of March 21, 1814, twenty-seven banking districts were formed in the State; forty-one banks were authorized to commence operations; thirty-nine were chartered; thirty-seven began business, and of the latter eleven forfeited their charters, of which eleven the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburgh was one, without fault of its own. By this act the counties of Allegheny, Beaver and Butler were constituted one banking district in which three banks might be established—two in Pittsburgh and one in Beaver County. By supplemental acts banks were authorized to issue notes of less denomination than \$5 for short time (h), to relieve the pressure for small change, which time was extended to October 1, 1817 (i); and judges (j), officers in the accounting or treasury departments and land offices, and persons authorized to receive moneys of the State, were debarred from holding the positions of directors and cashiers in the banks formed under the act of 1814. County commissioners were required by law to report regularly to the State Treasurer all banks, incorporated or otherwise, individuals, etc., doing a banking business within their jurisdiction. All notes in the nature of banknotes issued after January 1, 1815, by company or individual not duly incorporated were declared null and void (k).

The charter of the first bank of the United States expired in March, 1811, and was not renewed. The next year the war with Great Britain was declared; the products of that country were shut out; prices of all kinds greatly increased; large demands were made for specie to carry on the war; the fund of paper money in circulation was immensely increased and at last, in 1814, banks generally were obliged to suspend specie payments. The Bank of Pittsburgh was one of the few, perhaps the only one, in the State to steadily redeem all its notes on demand in specie.

The war with Great Britain stopped the exportation of specie to that country and led to its accumulation by the banks, which were thereby enabled to issue large amounts of their own notes and afford to business men liberal facilities for obtaining discount. Later, when heavy demands for coin came from the East, the banks were compelled to call in their circulation and discounts, the panic struck all classes and prostrated banking and industrial operations.

On March 22, 1817, it was enacted that, Whereas, notes and tickets in the nature of banknotes had been issued by individuals as well as by corporations not established for the purpose of banking, and had been productive of inconvenience, fraud and loss to the public and tended to retard the restoration of specie currency, after the 1st of May, 1817: "No bank or office of discount and deposit shall make, issue, reissue or circulate, under the penalty of \$25

(h) Act of December 28, 1814.

(j) Act of January 27, 1819.

(i) Act of March 22, 1817.

(k) Act of March 21, 1814.



for each note or bill so issued, any banknote, promissory note, ticket or engagement of credit in the nature of a banknote . . . of a less denomination than one dollar;" and in the same act all, except duly and really incorporated bodies for that purpose, were prohibited from making, issuing, or circulating any paper in the nature of a banknote.

Previous to this, in September, 1816, representatives of the banks of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia and of Eastern Kentucky and Ohio, had met at Steubenville "for the purpose of unity in measures to support the credit of the Western banks." At this meeting William Wilkins, John White, Simon Perkins, C. Hammond and Bezaliel Wells were appointed a committee to determine a day for the resumption of specie payments, subsequent to the resumption of the banks of the Atlantic cities. They concluded that, inasmuch as the banks of the Atlantic cities had relief from the Bank of the United States to assist them in effecting resumption, they, also, should have the aid of such bank before actually opening their vaults for the payment of specie. Should they resume before the other banks, they rightly concluded, they would at once be drained of all their specie by the branch bank at Pittsburg, because a large special deposit of their notes was held by the Branch to the credit of the Government. This committee addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Treasury (1):

"Pittsburg, March 15, 1817.

"We beg leave to suggest that the continuance of the United States deposits in this Branch is a very serious disadvantage to the Western banks. It places them in the power of an institution, the directors of which are not at all identified in feeling or interest with the Western banks or country."

They urged that the Government deposits should be taken from the Branch and placed in one of the sound State banks. In response to the action of the State banks, the directors of the Bank of the United States agreed, in April, 1817, to receive the amounts due from the State banks, with interest, on August 1, 1817, or in seven monthly installments, the banks guaranteeing prompt payment. This proposition was accepted by the State banks. The compulsory resumption in 1817 was followed in 1818-19 by one of the severest periods of stringency Pittsburg ever experienced. The newspaper editorials and correspondence of that date reveal the dreadful extent of the mischief.

"What has been their (the country banks.—Ed.) practical effect in Pennsylvania? Ask the cultivators of the soil, not one of whom but regrets the hour in which banks were introduced. . . . At first their dealings were confined almost exclusively to the several counties in which they were organized; it was a mere transfer of the business of money-lending from individuals to the bank, and so far they were useful in putting a stop to usury. But the facility of obtaining loans soon increased the disposition to borrow. The farmer must make purchases which he and his family never dreamed of when money was hard to be got. Gradually he opens his mind to speculation. From the competition of these who have equal power to raise money, land is run up to an extravagant height and payments are made among each other by checks on the bank. All goes on smoothly while these negotiations are confined within the sphere of the institutions, because there its operations are carried on, not by issuing species of banknotes, but by creating and transferring bank credit. . . . No more cash or bank money is required than may be found necessary for change and for the payment of laborers. Thus the bank is enabled to extend its loans to an enormous amount, infinitely beyond its cash means; yet it is safe, because land is pledged for the repayment of its loans, and the poor agriculturists bring their farms to town with as much facility as

(1) American State Papers.

Bernam's wood came to Dunsinane. One effect of the facility of obtaining money is the creation of a thirst for trade by which the farmer has heard that a fortune can be made easily and rapidly. The bank, finding that it has not suffered from going beyond its cash means, becomes flushed with success and is fearless of consequences. Thus, every man who has a tract of land may command a bank credit. . . . From this point matters begin to wear a more serious aspect. In order to be shopkeepers goods must be purchased. Relying on the assistance of the bank the trader goes fearlessly to Philadelphia or Baltimore, and such is the competition among the merchants there, that he finds no difficulty in procuring what he wants on an extensive credit. It is perhaps known that he is a freeholder and a man of some note, so that he is secure in being received with smiles and treated with great courtesy and hospitality. But in opening shop his expectations are not quite answered. He has a number of competitors and no experience; so that he realizes but little but vexation and embarrassment, while the great influx of goods deranges the system of business and causes a depreciation which is ruinous to the long established dealers. . . . At length the time comes round when the merchant over the mountains must be paid. He will not accept a check on the bank, because he keeps no account there. The money must be paid and the bank is consequently pressed to do what it is unable to perform; that is, to pay specie, or such paper as will circulate beyond its own petty sphere. It grows peevish and commences by cutting off the discounts of those who are first importunate or who employ artifices to drain its cash means, which drives the poor harassed devil to a shaver. . . . At length the bank discovers its situation and finds that palliatives will do no longer. It begins to draw in. Here is the crash. The bank sacrifices the real estate of its debtors to secure its own solvency; the stockholders divide the funds after having become enriched by the dividends which were made in its flourishing times. Who is the ultimate sufferer? Why, the poor farmer who must give up his property and emigrate westward to recommence his career" (m).

Great fear was manifested at this time that farmers would be deluded into borrowing too much from banks, and thus suffer and perhaps lose their farms. The editor of the *Gazette* did not believe it and said: "Of the whole sum discounted by banks in this city we venture to say that there has not been a *bona-fide* loan of \$10,000 to farmers (n). Whenever the chartered banks of Pennsylvania refuse to redeem their paper, and when the debtors of those banks become insolvent, then the popular slang against banks may have some justification (o). When the several banks in the United States suspended specie payments, not only dollars, but every denomination of small silver and copper change disappeared. To supply their place a host of banks, corporations, turnpike, bridge and private trading companies and even individuals, made a requisition on every engraver and printing press in the country and overflowed us with small change bills. While specie payments continued suspended (1814 to 1817.—Ed.) these 'ragged representatives performed their office' and were of very general use, as no inquiry was made to the source from whence they emanated, provided they wore a fair, legible face. The paper change in circulation at present constantly reminds us of its faithful services and nothing but rents and patches and pasting and pinning is to be seen 'on its once fair form.' Now and then we have a three, five or six cent note, ingeniously altered to fifty cents, presented to us in payment by some of our more unlettered customers, and when we discover the imposition to them, vinegar might be made from their sour and distorted countenances. And, to add to our conveniences, some of our

(m) "A Subscriber" in the *Gazette* of June 9, 1818.

(n) Mistake. See first chapter on banking.

(o) *Gazette*, June 9, 1818.



public-spirited, enterprising citizens have very kindly manufactured and emitted a new edition of six and one-half cent tickets, purporting to be the issue of the borough of Pittsburg, and the ingenious gentleman has succeeded to admiration in the paper, type and well-known signature of L. Stewart; and if, in his zeal to accommodate, he had not mistaken the arm and hammer for an *urn*, he would have performed well indeed. From Greensburg eastward not a small bill is to be seen. Small specie is so plenty that at every turnpike gate east of the mountain change can be had and is made in every instance, even to half cents, and Eastern gentlemen who travel through this place are not only astonished at our small-change currency but very indignantly refuse to touch it, preferring to lose any small change due to them rather than pollute their pocketbooks with the 'ragged stuff,' as they very properly term it. Specie payment having been long since resumed by every responsible and solvent banking institution, and small specie change beginning gradually (even with us) to resume its lawful and destined circulation, it would be a good thing if the trading class of citizens in the city would consult their own and the public interest by aiding to restore these pleasing, smiling, jingling little pocket companions to their wonted home. As current change of every kind is extremely scarce here (to which truth every visitor of the market and every dealing man can certify), it would greatly facilitate business and add very much to our convenience and purse if a sufficiency of small specie could again be restored to our city."

On the 26th of September, 1818, the merchants, traders, and citizens of Pittsburg, in mass meeting assembled, on which occasion Ebenezer Denny was chairman and Alexander McClurg secretary, adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed, to consist of John Darragh, Esq., mayor of the city, Alexander Johnston and Morgan Neville, Esqs., cashiers of the banks, who are requested to collect subscriptions (receivable in such money as is of par value in the city of Philadelphia) and procure from the proper source the amount of such subscriptions in specie change, and, on its arrival in this city, to divide the net proceeds thereof among the subscribers in proportion to the several sums respectively subscribed. *Resolved*, That from and after sixty days from this date, the individuals composing the present meeting will not give currency to the notes or tickets of any bank, corporation or individual whatever under the denomination of one dollar" (p).

The remarkable fact in connection with the financial distress of 1818-19 is, that the people generally, including a man so well informed as Morgan Neville, the editor of the *Gazette*, placed the blame of the large discounts almost wholly upon the banks. They seemed to think that the temptation to borrow should be removed rather than that prudence and self-restraint should prevent a farmer or merchant from mortgaging his farm or his goods for a larger sum than he could pay without a foreclosure. And yet, it was urged, where was the difference between the farmer who could not meet his note with currency, and the banker who could not meet his with specie? In the former case the farmer, unless he paid his note within a reasonable time, lost his farm; in the latter case the banker, unless he redeemed his paper within the same time, lost his credit, his business and his bank. But the people blamed the banker and the outcry was almost universal.

"The excessive issues of the banks during the suspension of specie payments and the great exportation of the precious metals to the East Indies during the present year, have produced a pressure upon them which has rendered it necessary to contract our discounts for the purpose of withdrawing from circulation a large proportion of their notes. This operation, so oppressive to their debtors, but indispensably necessary to the existence of specie payments, must

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(p) *Gazette*, September 25, 1818.

be continued until gold and silver shall form a just proportion of the circulating currency. In passing through this ordeal punctuality in the discharge of debts, both to individuals and the Government, will be considerably impaired, and well-founded apprehensions are entertained that, until it is passed, payments in some of the land districts will be greatly diminished. The extent to which the payments in the treasury during the year 1819 will be affected by the general pressure upon the community which had been described and which is the inevitable consequence of the overtrading of the banks and the exportation of specie to the East Indies, aggravated by the temporary failure of the ordinary supply of precious metals from the Spanish American mines, cannot at this time be correctly appreciated" (q).

"From the extensive demand for specie; the high premiums now actually giving for that article; and from the general scarcity of any currency in the market by which specie can be obtained at a reasonable and fair price; it is not improbable that the period is very near when there must, of necessity, result a general suspension of specie payments" (r).

"Without the interference of our Legislature the situation of our country will become deplorable. People to the eastward can have no conception of the state of things west of the mountains. Among us we have none of that class of society called persons of independent circumstances; we have no men who can live without a constant application to business. The desire to increase our fortunes induced almost every member of society to engage in speculation which naturally involved a connection with banks. Our anticipations relative to our speculations are disappointed and we are left without the means of refunding the debt we contracted. We have real property to show as the evidence of our wisdom, but this real property has depreciated so much, or rather our resources have become so completely exhausted, as entirely to destroy the possibility of raising funds by a transfer of real estate. At this gloomy crisis circumstances have forced (for we cannot suppose the existence of a malignant spirit sufficient to make it a voluntary act) the Bank of the United States into a system the result of which, if persisted in, must be ruin. When it is known that the loans of the five Western branches have entirely been exhausted in the payment of merchandise to the eastward; when it is known that not a dollar of these remittances finds its way back except occasionally to pay the traveling expenses of a collecting merchant, the unreasonableness of the Branch demands may be easily appreciated when they require in payment either their own notes or specie; they refuse even the paper of their sister branches. The conclusion is irresistible; the debtors of the branches must extort from the country banks for their paper that which will be received; the country banks, of course, must apply to their discounters who, not being able to pay, must have their property brought to sale by the sheriff, when it will be sacrificed most cruelly. Such is the state of affairs through the West at this moment. All eyes are turned upon Congress and the State legislatures. The people are waiting with fearful anxiety. It is a melancholy fact that we have arrived at such a pitch of luxury as almost to require sumptuary laws. The trade to the East ought at all events to be checked for the present; the importation from Europe ought to be shackled. . . . Whether it is to be done by prohibitory laws or by bank regulations is doubtful; we think there might be a salutary combination of both. . . . All these arguments are no doubt *locally* tenable, but they will not suit our views. Agriculture never can and never ought to be our dependence. We are too far removed from the ocean; the expense of transportation is too enormous to allow us a chance of

(q) Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, November 21, 1818.

(r) Mercury, November 20, 1818.



fair competition. Our real happiness depends upon manufactures; by these alone can we be restored; to these alone ought the views of the West to be directed, and we think we do not risk a contradiction when we assert that the same measures which check British importations will relieve us from the oppression of banks and will encourage manufactures" (s).

At this date the notes of the Bank of Pittsburg, one of the strongest institutions in the West, were at five per cent. discount in Philadelphia, and notes of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg could find no sales there at any price. Notwithstanding this fact regarding the notes of the Bank of Pittsburg, that institution continued to pay coin upon demand for its paper. The editor of the *Washington Examiner*, having expressed a doubt of its ability to do this, the Pittsburg *Mercury* said (t): "Let the editor point out a single instance in which the bank has refused to redeem its notes in specie, either when held by a bank or an individual. If he cannot do this, and persists in refusing fairly to retract his error, he makes himself chargeable with maliciously slandering a respectable and honest institution, to their injury, and the injury of the public. We again repeat, that the Bank of Pittsburg *has not suspended, nor does it intend suspending specie payments.*"

The editor of the *Mercury* further said in answer to a notice in the *Baltimore Patriot* (u): "We can assure the *Patriot* that, though the bank has been hard run to be sure, yet it will ride out the gale in triumph. . . . We are authorized to state that the notes of the Bank of Pittsburg are received in Philadelphia at the Bank of Schuylkill, at par" (v).

In reading the monetary discussions of that time, it seems that the people could not rid themselves of the idea that banks as well as brokers were in some degree a culpable set and should not have taken advantage of the early conditions in Pittsburg and in the country to establish banking systems. It was really a formative period in finance, when brokers as well as bankers were undergoing a sort of development side by side with the banking systems. In February, 1819, the Legislature enacted that all banks which did not pay specie on or before August 1, 1819, should forfeit their charters.

"As for banks paying specie, far be it from us to deprive them of this glory, in a wanton manner; but in investigating a subject, and in trying to produce a state of things which may prove beneficial to the community, truth ought to be told. We therefore assert, without fear of denial, that no bank in the State is paying specie; no bank has been paying specie since the suspension first took place and that no bank can pay specie; and the impossibility contained in the last position is proved on the face of the late reports to the Auditor-General. When we take this round assertion, we have reference to the spirit and not to the letter of the term 'specie payments.' What we mean by specie payments is the facility offered in the redemption of notes, by which specie change of any denomination, at least silver dollars, may be had by application to a bank. This we contend is not the case. We hear daily complaints from the cities that the officers will pay nothing but plugged Portuguese and other foreign gold. We know it to be the same case here; we have lately seen gold paid out of the Branch in this place, which the holders would certainly find more difficulty in passing than they would the worst Ohio paper (x). We conclude, then, that one of the great causes of our distress is the want of a circulating medium of some kind or other. . . . We have but little bank paper in circulation, and this is generally Ohio trash, about which we are perfectly ignorant. The issue of the Pittsburg banks does not

(s) Gazette, November 24, 1818.

(u) Issue of December 25, 1818.

(x) Gazette, February 5, 1819.

(t) Issue of December 11, 1818.

(v) Mercury, April 9, 1819.

amount to more than \$80,000; this can be of no service here. We would propose then, as we cannot be worsted by it, and as we must have a paper circulation or none, that means be taken to substitute our own for Ohio trash. If so respectable an institution, for instance, as the Bank of Pittsburg would issue \$300,000 and not pay specie, surely we would be better off than with the contemptible trifle she has in circulation with all her character for punctuality and ability. We do not see in what respect we should not be bettered. It would give the bank an opportunity of extending its discounts in a currency we have confidence in. It would give more life to our manufactures and rouse our dormant spirit of enterprise. If specie payments are to be the order of the day, discounts may be curtailed. Our paper will not remain in circulation and we must implore the aid of Ohio to supply us with a medium for market and for our merchandise. If they are discontinued we can have a medium of our own and we can extend the hand of patronage to the real supporters of Pittsburg. We consider the question simply this: Is it better to have no notes in circulation with the useless reputation of paying specie; or to have a respected medium without this reputation?" (y).

The feverish and exaggerated character of this editorial of a column and a half is an indication of the pressure under which this community was then laboring. The general suspension which had taken place about February 1, 1819, and had been contemplated for some time previously, forced all the banks of Pittsburg to a curtailment of discounts, to a probable withdrawal of a considerable portion of their circulation, and to a partial suspension, at least, of specie payments. At a town meeting held Saturday, February 13, 1819, to consider the question of petitioning for a removal of the Branch from this city, the largest number met that had ever assembled here up to that time (z). David Logan was called to the chair and John Gilland appointed secretary. An animated discussion ensued, in which many of the leading citizens participated. Three days later at an adjourned meeting, the following preamble and resolutions were passed:

*"Whereas*, The Bank of the United States has been conducted in a manner disgraceful to the directors of that institution and highly injurious to the community; and

*"Whereas*, The Branch Bank of the United States, located in this city, has produced effects extremely detrimental to the interests of the Western District of Pennsylvania; therefore be it

*"Resolved*, That our representative in the Congress of the United States be instructed to urge the necessity of a new law repealing the charter of the Bank of the United States, and be it further

*"Resolved*, That the members of the Legislature from the district composed of Allegheny and Butler counties be requested to procure an act of the Legislature to be passed, taxing the Bank of the United States and such of its branches as now are, or hereafter may be, established in this Commonwealth such an amount as the wisdom of the Legislature may deem proper" (a).

It has been declared at this meeting, as well as both before and after it was held, that the Branch was of little advantage to the community, and that it oppressed the State banks; but the committee of Congress appointed to inquire into the management of the bank reported that neither it nor its branches oppressed the State banks, "either by wanton demand of specie, or by the rejection of their notes, and that much of their distress resulted from their having emitted too large a volume of paper" (b). The State banks and the branches of the Bank

(y) Gazette, February 5, 1819.

(a) Pittsburg Gazette, January 16, 1819.

(z) Gazette, February, 1819.

(b) American State Papers, Vol. III.

of the United States were from the first more or less hostile to each other. It was charged by the former that the latter acted oppressively and capriciously toward them, subjecting them to inconvenience and depriving them of advantage; and by the latter that the former desired to reap all the advantages of their situation without incurring any responsibility under the charter of the latter (c). This fact will, in a measure, account for the bitter editorials in the *Gazette*, written by Morgan Neville, cashier of the sorely-pressed Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, against the Branch here, for curtailing its loans and demanding specie.

"We should be much gratified to know whether the whole county of Allegheny, in which there is certainly not \$150,000 of available specie, whose merchants have to remit annually \$300,000 to purchase goods for the home consumption and whose exports since the destruction of manufactures are nothing, can possibly establish anything for a circulating medium to support the present state of trade and living? By way of collateral information also we should like to know how the bank debt of \$1,000,000 is to be paid" (d).

Pittsburg during this crisis suffered more than most communities. Large quantities of depreciated fractional currency were in circulation; the infant manufactures had been crushed by the immense importation of cheap British goods; the large discounts made by the bank were met with correspondingly large curtailments of loans and the settlement of balances, and the great demand for money forced to the bottom the value of real estate and other securities.

"About three months ago the price of bank money at the brokers' offices in this town, if you wanted to buy Ohio paper and the like, was three per cent. . . . On the stoppage of the banks the brokers bought at ten and sold at twelve and a half cents. . . . About two weeks ago the current money took a new fall here while it continued stationary in Philadelphia; the brokers gave fifteen per cent. and took eighteen. . . . We are threatened with a heavier exchange, some think twenty-five per cent. . . . If the city of Pittsburg, therefore, remits to the Eastern country to the amount of \$200,000 a year, and only one-half of it passes through the broker's hands, he will earn of the city about \$14,000 if there is any truth in figures" (e). . . . "Among the evils which tend to embarrass us, I look upon the system of brokerage, with which we are so liberally indulged in Pittsburg, as one. When we are compelled to pay from seventeen to twenty per cent. on notes taken currently in business to obtain bank money, it indicates 'something rotten in Denmark.' Will anyone say that these notes cannot be collected in the usual course of trade from the different banks at a less loss than half this sum? I will admit that the high price of Pittsburg and United States money among us is owing in a great degree to its scarcity. But what causes the scarcity? Because the money is bought and withdrawn from circulation by brokers who transmit it backward and forward to the different banks and brokers eastward and westward at an enormous profit. I have it from undoubted authority that since the establishment of our two brokers here (f) they have transmitted to the eastward \$192,000. If a country merchant arrives with Eastern money his first step is to the brokers to sell it. If these 'professional gentlemen' were not among us the value of these notes would be fixed by our merchants, who would allow for them a moderate premium and in many instances would receive them at par. . . . If an Ohio or Kentucky merchant comes to town with Eastern or Pittsburg money, the proceeds of his tobacco or cotton, he sells to

(c) American State Papers, Vol. IV, page 262.

(d) *Gazette*, June 25, 1819.

(e) *Gazette*, February 16, 1819.

(f) These brokers were John Towne and the two Gilmores—James and Gordon. They had established exchange offices here in 1818.

the brokers. If they could not do this the money would fall in the hands of the merchant or storekeeper at a moderate or fair rate. They (the brokers) accumulate large profits from our necessities, for there is no appeal from their tribunal; and if the banks are moneyed monopolists, brokers are still more so. Add to this that the profits they derive from their business, perhaps \$15,000 a year, go to the Eastern cities, these establishments being but branches of those there" (g).

"The reduction of discounts in Pittsburg has been greater than the new loans made at the Branch; so no new capital can fairly be said to have been brought among us by this emanation of the national bank. . . . During the halcyon days of the late war a great issue of paper money had taken place and immediately after the peace an enormous mercantile debt had been contracted. Pay-day has arrived; the products of our soil are insufficient for the purpose; our manufactures have left the field to the triumphant British and naught remains to balance our account with but the notes of the Western banks" (h). . . . "But a short time since the whole American world were calling out 'Shame upon them (the banks) for not calling in their notes and making them more precious by rendering them scarcer;' they have no sooner commenced a system of curtailment, in obedience to public opinion, than they are attacked open-mouthed for their wanton cruelty in attempting in these hard times to add to the distress of the community by demanding their just debts" (i).

Gradually the community grew out of the hard times. By 1822 the banks were lending freely and the severe stringency was past. Late in 1819 the banks of Pittsburg, exclusive of the Branch, had on hand in gold \$12,451.81, and in silver \$18,236.88 (j). In July, 1820, the notes of the Bank of Pittsburg and of the City Bank of Pittsburg (k) were at par in this city, while those of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, the Pittsburg and Greenburg Turnpike Company and the bills of the city of Pittsburg, were at four per cent. discount. The panic of 1817-21 really left traces of its withering effects until the revival in 1826. The act authorizing joint stock banks was passed in 1826, but no bank was established under it until 1834.

On November 9, 1819, William Wilkins having been elected to the State Legislature, tendered his resignation to the directors of the Bank of Pittsburg. By the act of 1824, the bank was rechartered with the same capital. By the act of January 17, 1834, it was again rechartered for fifteen years, and it was made lawful for the institution to extend its capital by the creation and sale of new stock to any amount not exceeding, with its former capital, the sum of \$1,200,000, with the proviso that five per cent. of such new issuance should be paid into the State treasury to be placed to the credit of the common school fund. The bank was permitted to establish an office of discount and deposit in Beaver County and was prohibited from issuing or reissuing notes of less denomination than \$5 and from receiving any such notes of other banks. In January, 1834, W. H. Denny, president, issued the following announcement:

"Notice is hereby given that a public sale of new stock will take place on Monday, the 24th inst., at the house of George Beale in the city of Pittsburg—sale to commence at 10 o'clock a. m.

"P. M'KENNA, Auctioneer."

Late in 1834 the bank called for the purchasers of new stock to pay installments thereon as follows: \$10 on January 10, March 10 and May 10, 1835. It continued to call for such installments from time to time as they became due. Early in January, 1835, the bank had outstanding of its own notes \$136,950.

(g) Gazette, February 18, 1819.

(h) Gazette, April 21, 1819.

(i) Gazette, June 11, 1819.

(j) American State Papers, Vol. IV, page 916.

(k) This institution was conducted for a short time.

Previous to 1833 the bank's paid-in capital amounted to only about \$250,000 (l). By act of April 3, 1837, the bank was authorized to expend the sum of \$60,000 for the purchase of a lot and the erection thereon of a banking house. In 1835 a branch was established at Beaver, but proved unprofitable, paying less than four and one-half per cent. dividend per annum on the stock employed there, and was, for that reason, removed in the spring of 1839 (m). The amount of specie sent to its Beaver Branch by the Bank of Pittsburg was between \$6,000 and \$7,000 and the amount of its notes nearly \$100,000 (n). The Branch was capitalized at \$200,000. The stockholders of the bank insisted upon receiving the same dividend as was received by the stockholders of the mother bank. The business of the Branch did not warrant the payment of more than a four per cent. dividend. The mother bank refused to pay more than this dividend, and, accordingly, the Legislature was petitioned by the stockholders of the Branch to compel the mother bank to pay them the same dividend paid to others. The Legislature appointed a committee to investigate the affairs of the Branch, who reported against such payment. The citizens of Beaver had owned between \$60,000 and \$100,000 of the stock, and had claimed that the mother bank had restricted the operations of the Branch, but this claim was disproved by the investigations of the committee. It was shown that specie had increased greatly in the Branch, owing to the excellent standing of the parent bank. Among other things the committee said:

"The character of the bank at Pittsburg was sounder than that of any bank in the West during the suspension of specie payments. Its notes were taken by many when other paper was refused; consequently, persons indebted to the bank at Beaver probably often paid their debts to the bank in specie, finding the notes of the bank more convenient for the ordinary business transactions and much less cumbersome. . . . The stock of the Bank of Pittsburg, after this extension (the rechartering of 1834) was obtained and at the same time that this institution went into operation, commanded a premium of twelve per cent. and was always in demand. Indeed, stock of the Bank of Pittsburg at this time (June, 1839) is more desirable than the stock of any other banking institution in the West. There is not, therefore, a shadow of want of good faith on the part of the bank; but if there be any evidence of the want of good faith it is on the part of the citizens of Beaver toward the bank" (n).

The latter statement referred to the fact that the citizens of Beaver, after securing the Branch of the Bank of Pittsburg had also secured a Branch of the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States with a capital of \$500,000, thus cutting the possible dividends of the former Branch down to the lowest limit in that comparatively small community. The distress complained of from the withdrawal of the Pittsburg Branch could not, the committee stated, be attributed to that cause. The citizens of Beaver claimed that rechartering and increasing the capital of the bank were made conditional upon the establishment of the Branch, and that the withdrawal of the latter in 1839 forfeited the charter of the parent bank. As a matter of fact, as shown by the report of the committee, those who had framed the bill had purposely left it discretionary with the parent bank to close the Branch whenever it became unprofitable, and therefore did not establish it in perpetuity.

The Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, incorporated under the act of March 21, 1814, formally began operations by opening books for the subscription of stock at the house of William Morrow on May 10, 1814, under the management of the commissioners appointed by the Legislature. The following notice was signed by the commissioners appointed under the act of incorporation, as

(l) "Allegheny County's Hundred Years."—Thurston.

(m) Gazette, January 26, 1839. (n) Report of Legislative Committee, 1839.



follows: Jacob Negley, John Neal, George Evans, John Ferris, Thomas Hazleton, George Steward, George Robinson, Matthew B. Lowrie, William Campbell and Robert Layman (o).

"The stock of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg is now selling rapidly. There remain but few shares to be sold to enable it to go into operation. We presume it unnecessary to state the advantages which may result to the farming and mechanical interests from the operations of this bank. They are evident. The books will still continue open daily at the house of Major Steward, Turks' Head, in Wood Street, and on Wednesdays and Saturdays at McMartin's tavern near the market-house, Market Street."

The Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank had an unfortunate and melancholy career. From the time of its establishment in 1814 to April 6, 1818, it enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity and gained the confidence of the community. It declared dividends regularly on its paid-in stock, and issued its own paper to the amount of nearly \$50,000, and had in its vaults ready to be issued nearly \$100,000 more. On the night of April 6, 1818, two men, Joseph L. Pluymart and Herman Emmons, who had managed to get duplicate keys to the bank and its vaults, entered and robbed the institution of a large sum of money in specie, notes and other valuables, and escaped down the river in a boat. About forty-four miles from Pittsburg they landed and concealed all the money, except about \$1,200, in a rocky ravine, and continued on down the river. The officers of the bank knew nothing of the robbery until the usual hours for opening the doors on the morning of the 7th, when the cashier found the vault open and the money gone. An alarm was immediately given, messengers were dispatched in several directions, handbills and circular letters announcing the crime were hurriedly struck off and other means taken to discover the robbers. William Leckey, one of the directors, accompanied by three or four others, entered a skiff and started down the river in anticipation of catching the criminals, who were thought to have gone in that direction. Up to this time the real robbers had not been suspected. Investigations, however, led to the discovery that Pluymart and Emmons had been in the city for some time and had gone down the river in a boat very early on the morning of the 7th. Other circumstances pointed to their guilt, whereupon a second boat was dispatched down the river to overtake them. In the meantime the first boat had overhauled the two men near Wheeling, and, after examining them and finding nothing suspicious, had released them, and they had continued on down the river. The robbers, when about to be overtaken, had slipped overboard the \$1,200 of stolen money in their possession, which act saved them from suspicion and arrest for the time being. Anticipating that the boats would not catch the two men, the directors sent J. Trembly on horseback to Limestone to endeavor to intercept them there. The second boat, in which were Mr. Montgomery and others, by going night and day, caught them about thirty miles up the river from Cincinnati, whereupon they were arrested and soon lodged in jail in that city. A few days later they broke jail and Pluymart escaped, while Emmons was recaptured, after breaking his arm, and brought to Pittsburg. After much persuasion he confessed, and, in a boat at night, was taken down the river by the bank officers and several other citizens, and disclosed the place where the money was concealed. But Pluymart, who had escaped, had been there and had taken away the most of the coin and considerable of the bills, together with a solid gold medal, weighing twenty-nine guineas, which belonged to Morgan Neville and had been granted to his grandfather, General Daniel Morgan, by Congress, for gallantry at the battle of "The Cowpens." This was never recovered. Emmons, probably as a condition of his confession and disclosure, was permitted to escape the clutch of the law. Among

(o) Mercury, July, 1814.



those who were active in catching the robbers were Messrs. Peebles, Geary, Steward, St. John, Piatt and Hopkins. At this time John Scull was president of the bank and Morgan Neville cashier, and both were joint owners of the *Gazette*. A little later the paper said editorially:

"The robbery of this institution and the consequent shock communicated to public credit had for the last sixty days caused a serious depression of commercial spirit. Indeed, the consequences of a rapid curtailment of discounts which this loss must have produced, had it not most fortunately been retrieved, were most fearfully anticipated by every virtuous citizen. However, the cloud has hovered over us without bursting. We hope that that portion of credit which was affected by this circumstance will sustain but a temporary embarrassment. As the character of the bank has been somewhat injured abroad, it is to be expected that a considerable quantity of its notes will be presented for payment as soon as it is generally known that its operations have recommenced. On this account a modified curtailment of discounts will probably be adopted by the board in order to enable it to meet every demand with punctuality. But from our knowledge of the directors and from the known liberality of their proceedings as a board, we feel perfectly safe in asserting that their conduct at that critical moment will be marked by all the delicacy and indulgence that the imperiousness of the circumstances will admit of" (p).

The sum of money actually taken by the robbers has always been a matter of dispute. It was claimed by the bank officials at the time that the sum embraced about \$100,000 in notes (mainly their own) and a few thousand dollars in gold and silver. It seems that Pluymart was a professional robber, had planned this crime and had managed to escape and get away with all the coin he could carry without exciting suspicion. Some time after this he was captured at Ogdensburg, New York, but succeeded in escaping, though he was retaken. On his person was found \$5,000 in gold and bills. All this, less expenses, was turned over to the bank here by the authorities at Ogdensburg. It would seem, then, that all the money stolen, with the exception of a few thousand dollars, was recovered. Some have stated that the amount stolen was greatly exaggerated. In the trial of Pluymart, ten years later, for this robbery, the evidence disclosed the fact that the amount of bills taken was between \$60,000 and \$70,000, and the amount of specie about \$9,000. A reward of \$3,000 for the recovery of the money and \$1,000 for the robbers, if brought to trial, had been offered. Pluymart, at the trial in 1828, was convicted and sentenced to three years in the penitentiary, and to pay a fine of \$1,000, but later again managed to escape. He was soon afterward pardoned by Governor Shulze while evading the officers. This act of the Governor's created much unfavorable comment at the time, because Pluymart was shown to be a professional robber and always had succeeded in breaking jail. He was a slippery rogue, but a man of talents and fine presence.

On the 19th of March, 1819, the board of directors of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank announced that, owing to the unfortunate robbery of April 6, 1818, the bank had received such a shock that they found it necessary to curtail its issues and gradually retire every note in circulation. They said:

"Its credit being entirely destroyed abroad, either from the presumption of an actual bankruptcy in consequence of the robbery, or from a suspicion, ungenerously encouraged by a portion of our citizens, that there was some unfairness in the conduct of its management, its notes flowed in so rapidly as soon to render useless the most prudent efforts to sustain its character for punctuality. Hopes, however, were entertained, after a candid statement to the public of the amount of notes in circulation and of the sum due by discounts,

(p) *Gazette*, June, 1818.

that its credit might still be so far supported as to prevent pressing demands for specie until, by a moderate call upon the borrowers, the whole amount in circulation might have been gradually drawn in. These hopes, it seems, have been wrongly founded. Although the notes do pass currently out of doors, they are constantly presented for payment and specie is inexorably demanded, as if no misfortune had happened to the bank. . . . . At the time of the robbery the amount of notes in circulation was \$48,963; the sum loaned, \$154,520. Owing to the pressure of the times and to an unwillingness on the part of the board to embarrass the mechanical part of our population, to whom a considerable portion of the loans are made, the curtailment has not been as great as circumstances would have justified. The sum now in circulation is \$18,000, and the bills discounted amount to \$121,786. It will take but a short time to call in this amount of notes, and the public may rely with confidence on the call being regular and undeviating" (q).

But no improvement took place in the affairs of the bank. Its notes were soon at one per cent. discount in Pittsburg, and before long were rejected entirely by the banks of Philadelphia. In February, 1819, the State Treasurer refused to receive them at any discount. In November, 1819, they were four per cent. discount in Pittsburg.

"In order that the public may have a correct conception of the value of the notes of this bank, it is thought necessary to state that the amount of notes in circulation does not exceed \$9,000, while the debts due the bank amount to \$118,000, which have been loaned to the most solvent individuals in this city and its vicinity in small sums, and which, it is confidently presumed, can be collected without difficulty and at a trifling expense.

"By order of the board.

JOHN SCULL, President."

"Whereas, From the embarrassment of the times all banking operations, even of the ablest institutions, are so seriously shackled as to deprive them of every useful feature; and, Whereas, The utility of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg has, by its unfortunate robbery in 1818, been in a particular manner destroyed so as to render any attempt at continuance unprofitable and unpopular; therefore,

"Resolved, That the affairs of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg be wound up as soon as the nature of the case will admit" (r).

The bank was many years in closing up its career; in fact, it continued to do a small and uncertain business until about the year 1825. By failing to pay the tax required by law on its dividends it forfeited its charter in 1821, although it still continued to transact an insignificant business. The following act may be said to have terminated its career: "That all the corporate powers, rights and privileges heretofore exercised and enjoyed by the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg, under their charter, be and the same are hereby declared to be in full force for the liquidation and settlement of their transactions and accounts until the same are fully liquidated and settled, and no longer, nor for any other purpose" (s).

In 1817 a number of gentlemen established the "City Bank of Pittsburg" on Wood Street, of which Rev. Robert Patterson became president and Anthony Ernest cashier. The bank issued a considerable quantity of its notes—how large a quantity it not known—and accommodated business men with discounts. On January 20, 1818, the State Treasurer, pursuant to law, published his annual list of all the banks or associations for the purpose of banking, and individuals or corporations issuing orders or notes payable to bearer or order in the manner or

(q) Gazette, March 19, 1819. Statement authorized by the board of directors and signed by Morgan Neville, cashier.

(r) Action of the directors July 29, 1819.

(s) Act of April 12, 1825.

nature of banknotes, among which was the City Bank of Pittsburg. This association was not incorporated, but issued its paper "in the nature of banknotes" (t). In July, 1820, the notes of this bank were at par, and continued to circulate for several years later. This institution was referred to as late as 1823 (u). After the bank closed Mr. Patterson, who kept a large bookstore, continued to redeem the notes as they came home.

In 1833 the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank of Pittsburg was established. The following commissioners were appointed to carry into effect the provisions of the act: Jacob Forsyth, Michael Tiernan, Samuel Smith, Thomas S. Clarke, Samuel Church, James Adams, Jr., William Stewart (merchant), Robert S. Cassat, Josiah King, Edward D. Gazzam, Andrew Watson, William M. Carlisle, George Miltenberger, William Holmes, George Ogden, Cornelius Daragh, George A. Cook, William Marks, James B. Irwin, William Robinson, Jr., Samuel Walker, Samuel Fahnestock, Richard Grey, John Sampson, Joseph Oliver, Thomas Scott, James Kittey, James S. Craft, Samuel Pettigrew, William B. Foster, David Lynch, Charles H. Israel, Humphrey Fullerton, Jr., William Eichbaum and Robert C. McFarland. It was provided that the capital stock should not exceed \$600,000 at \$50 per share; that the stock should be sold at public auction in Pittsburg; that each purchaser might take not to exceed thirty shares, and that he should pay at the time of purchase \$5 on each share of stock, in addition to the premium at which the stock should sell.

The first board of directors consisted of Michael Tiernan, Trevanion B. Dallas, Isaac Lightner, Jacob Forsyth, George A. Cook, Frederick Lorenz, Thomas Scott, Thomas S. Clarke, Samuel Fahnestock, Francis G. Bailey, Samuel Smith, John H. Shoenberger and Samuel Church. Michael Tiernan was elected first president, James Correy first cashier, Thomas S. Clarke and Samuel Smith tellers. At the first meeting of the board (June 5, 1833) a committee had been appointed to visit James Correy, cashier of the Branch, to tender him the same position in this bank. A lot on Fourth Street was purchased for \$7,500, and preparations were made to erect thereon a suitable building for occupancy, in accordance with plans presented by Thomas Scott, the cost to be \$6,400. On November 5, 1833, the first dividend of fifty cents on each share was declared. From December 20, 1834, to January 9, 1835, this bank issued its own notes to the amount of \$96,000. By act of April 1, 1835, the bank, which, before that date, had been required to pay a tax on its dividends, was released from such obligation.

The Legislature, in 1834, enacted that Harmar Denny, Michael Tiernan, Stephen Colwell, John McKee, William Bell, Jr., John D. Davis, Sylvanus Lothrop, John Arthurs, Thomas S. Clarke, Thomas Bakewell, Alexander Laughlin, John Graham, James Ross, Jr., John Caldwell, Samuel Roseburg, Samuel Church, Abishai Way, Alexander Brackenridge, A. Holmes Hodge, George Ogden, Gabriel Adams, Malcolm Leech, Hugh Davis, Frederick Lorenz, Adam Hays, Thomas Hind and James R. Speer, and all other persons becoming members, should be created a corporation, to be styled the "Pittsburg Savings Institution." They were permitted to hold real estate (except under security engagements) not to exceed the value of \$5,000, to have a capital of not less than \$25,000 nor more than \$200,000, in shares of \$25 each, and it was provided that such capital should be liable at all times to the demand of depositors; that shares should be transferable on the books of the company; that affairs should be managed by seven trustees, elected annually; that the necessary officers of the institution should be elected by the trustees; that the corporation might invest its funds in the public stocks of this State, the United States and real securities, and in discounting notes and personal securities the rate of discount not to

(t) Franklin Republican.

(u) American State Papers, Vol. IV.



exceed one-half per centum for thirty days, nor could promissory notes, bills, bonds and other negotiable securities be purchased at a greater rate of discount; that the institution might receive deposits in any sum not less than \$1, to be paid to such depositor with such interest as might be agreed upon, providing the amount of the deposit should be at least \$5, and that depositors, under certain conditions, should be eligible to membership after six months (v). The office of this institution was located on St. Clair Street, near the Allegheny bridge. James Fulton was first president, James Anderson secretary and Reuben Miller, Jr., treasurer. The institution advertised to receive deposits and pay interest, as follows: Deposits for thirty days, three per cent.; for sixty days, three and a half per cent.; for ninety days, four per cent.; for six months, five per cent. (w). Business had been done for several years before the passage of the act of incorporation under the name of the "Pittsburg Saving Fund Company."

"We are gratified to learn that the Pittsburg Saving Fund Company is in a condition of prosperity far beyond what its projectors anticipated. It commenced business about three years ago (about 1831) by each stockholder paying in the sum of \$10 and continuing the payment of \$2 per week ever since. These weekly payments are, by the charter, to be continued for ten years, and we have been informed that not a single instance of omission of payment has yet occurred. It is understood that the actual funds on hand upon which the business is done amount to about \$40,000, and this sum receives every week a large accession" (x).

In the crash of 1837 this bank seems to have led a quiet existence, and no doubt its operations were limited to its capital and the perils of the hour. Late in 1840 its officers were: Gabriel Adams, president; Thompson Bell, treasurer; W. G. Alexander, secretary. By act of March 19, 1841, the name of Pittsburg Saving Fund Company, which had been previously adopted, was changed to "The Farmers' Deposit Bank of Pittsburg," which was authorized to increase its stock and deposits to \$500,000, thus repealing the law of 1837, which limited the capital and deposits to \$200,000. Its directors were James Marshall, Joseph Long, James McCauley, William Young, Henry McGeary and William Douglass (y). After this date it figured in all the financial operations of this vicinity.

The Legislature enacted in 1828 that notes of denominations less than \$5 should be withdrawn from circulation, and from all portions of the State, including Allegheny County, came remonstrances for the repeal of the law. In December, 1828, a committee of the Legislature was appointed to examine these remonstrances, investigate the condition of affairs and the probable effect of the law, and report thereon. The report bears date December 19, 1828. The petitioners from Allegheny County were answered by the committee that trade was an interchange of commodities and not of banknotes; that it was very important that small change should not be depreciated nor spurious; that the law would put out more silver in small denominations and thus cure the evils complained of; that silver could be obtained from any sound bank in redemption of its paper; that portions of the State, including Pittsburg and vicinity, had been vexed by the circulation of small notes of uncertain or no value; that to repeal the law would bring out floods more of it; that the greatest loss fell upon the poor man, owing to his inexperience in detecting counterfeits and in knowing solvent from insolvent banks; that the law would probably end the career of banks in neighboring States that were issuing small bills and circulating them along the boundary; that travelers could not drain the county of its specie if the people had anything to sell which the travelers desired to buy; that the bill was aimed partly at those contractors on the many internal improvements then in progress in the

(v) Act of April 11, 1834. (w) Gazette, March 21, 1834.

(x) Pittsburg Times, November, 1834. (The amount paid in was overestimated.)

(y) Gazette, January 1, 1842.

State, who purposely secured these notes from outside banks on very liberal terms, with which to pay their workmen, and that some of these small outside banking concerns used the name of New York or Philadelphia, with the word "near" obscured and in small letters, for the purpose of catching the inexperienced or careless. They further reported that

"It would appear from all the acts passed to regulate the currency of this State that the settled policy of Pennsylvania was to prohibit the circulation of small notes, inasmuch as banks incorporated by her acts are prohibited from issuing notes of a less denomination than five dollars; and your committee cannot but view with deep concern any attempt made to change that policy adhered to for the last twenty years, with the exception of a short time during the war, when circumstances rendered it necessary to suspend specie payments, the effects of which, though at the time unavoidable, are felt even to this day. For the last two years exertions have been made and acts passed to perfect that policy, and it was confidently expected that the act of the last Legislature would have been regarded and suffered to go into operation so as to fully test its effects by experience before any portion of our fellow citizens should have thought proper to petition for its repeal. By the terms of the act the circulation of small notes is not prohibited until after the 1st of January, 1829; more than eight months was thus allowed to prepare the public for the change. As yet no evils can have been suffered by the petitioners, and until some specific injury or inconvenience is pointed out, your committee trust that the house will persevere in a system which not only had the assent of a large portion of the last Legislature, but was received with joy by the community in general" (z).

As a matter of fact Pittsburg at this time was enjoying one of the most prosperous times in her history. Large sums of money were being spent by the State in numerous public improvements, and all branches of business were infused with an activity as unusual as it was enjoyable. Prices of all kinds went soaring. Flour jumped from about \$5 to \$8 and \$9 per barrel (a). Hotels were crowded to their utmost capacity with strangers looking for promising fields of investment. All this was true, in spite of the fact of the dearth of small and reliable change, complained of by the petitioners. In the Legislature Mr. Petrikin of Center offered a resolution, permitting the Bank of Pittsburg to issue bills of less denomination than \$5, but it failed to become a law.

"If our banks were permitted to issue a limited amount of two-dollar bills, it would mitigate the evil complained of and at the same time keep in circulation a convenient proportion of silver; for neither one dollar nor three dollars could be paid or exchanged, nor could change be made for a five-dollar note without the aid of specie. With this privilege to our banks the prohibition of foreign small notes would be an advantage to the community" (b).

On February 26, 1825, the City Council enacted that \$6,000 should be issued in city bills of the denomination of one and two dollars, bearing interest from date, "for the redemption of old, worn and defaced city bills now in circulation," the same to be redeemed from fines, forfeitures, debts and taxes; and the corporate property of the city was pledged for their redemption. On January 29, 1827, a new issue of city bills of the denomination of one and two dollars was ordered to be circulated by the City Treasurer; and again on October 29, 1827, \$5,000 in new bills was issued to replace old and worn bills, under the above conditions.

In September, 1826, Pittsburg city bills were at a discount of one and one-

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(z) Gazette, December 26, 1828.

(a) This was probably the first "corner" on that commodity ever introduced into the Pittsburg market. The canal contractors engineered it successfully.

(b) Gazette, January 20, 1829.

half per cent., but in August, 1827, were quoted at one per cent. discount, and so continued during the balance of the year. In November, 1827, the city emitted \$5,000 in one and two dollar bills, bearing interest from date, for the purpose of redeeming its torn and defaced paper then in circulation. On December 24, 1827, the city had in circulation of these bills \$12,389.69. They bore interest and were at a discount, but they, as well as the water certificates, which also bore interest, circulated freely in this vicinity, owing to the scarcity of small change. By December 29, 1828, there were in circulation city bills to the amount of \$14,625, and they were still at a discount of one per cent. The water certificates outstanding at this time amounted to \$59,900.

During the fiscal year ending December, 1831, the United States Bank extended its loans over previous accommodations to the amount of about \$20,000,000. In 1832, while its petition to be rechartered was pending in Congress, it had outstanding loans to the amount of nearly \$70,000,000. In 1832 President Jackson vetoed the bill to recharter the Bank of the United States, which occasioned much excitement throughout the country, and particularly at Pittsburg, where the news was received in July, and where extensive and liberal banking accommodations were necessary for the prosperity of manufacturing and other enterprises. In the summer and fall of 1833 the hostility threatened serious consequences. As early as July, 1833, the directors of the Bank of the United States became convinced that President Jackson contemplated severe measures, whereupon they gave orders to all the branches to shorten the time of their loans, and took other measures to protect themselves. By the middle of August the Branch here had already curtailed its loans to a considerable amount, against (c) the earnest remonstrances of many business men. At this time the directors of the parent bank, anticipating the threatened removal of the Government deposits from its vaults, passed resolutions not to increase the amount of bills discounted, nor to allow bills of exchange, except in its five Western branches, to run longer than ninety days. On September 24th they gave orders for the removal of much of their reserves to the Atlantic cities. On October 1, 1833, they included Pittsburg in these limitations and restrictions, and gave orders that all branches should purchase bills on Atlantic cities and for a period not to exceed ninety days. The receipt of State bankbills was restricted to the banks where the branches were located. When the Government deposits were actually withdrawn by President Jackson early in October, 1833, there was intense excitement in Pittsburg; and the Branch here, to save itself from serious injury, began to curtail its loans to a degree that threatened to prove embarrassing to many of its patrons and injurious to the enterprises of Pittsburg, though, upon investigation, this is shown not to have been the result. However, during the year 1833, the reduction of its loans at Pittsburg amounted to about \$577,000.

"Since the 1st of January, 1833, the Bank of Pittsburg, by calling in her unpaid installments of stock, had been enabled to increase her loans from about \$850,000 to \$1,120,000, having an increase of \$270,000. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank of Pittsburg had in the meantime been created, and had discounted bills and notes to the amount of \$382,000, thus affording increased accommodation to the amount of \$652,000 from these two banks. We should suppose that even our Senator [William Wilkins—Ed.] will admit that the time when these two local banks were extending their discounts was a very proper time for the United States Bank to contract hers.

"Another fact our distinguished Senator might have mentioned in explanation of the reduction of discounts here: When the new bank went into operation Mr. Correy, the old and very popular and courteous cashier of the Branch, was elected cashier of the new bank, and thus many persons were induced to

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(c) This was denied by the bank, but local newspapers state that such was the case.

transfer their accommodations from the Branch to the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank" (d).

"In publishing the amount of the discounts of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank yesterday we relied upon the return made by the officers of that bank up to the 1st of October. Between that time and the 1st of January, 1834, this bank has called in several installments of stock, and her discounts, on the 31st of December last, amounted to \$665,000, which, added to the increased discounts of the Bank of Pittsburg, amounts to \$935,000, exceeding the reduction in the Branch by \$358,000, thus showing conclusively that the pressure here is not owing to any reduction in the amount of banking capital, but to the want of a bank with the greatest facilities for transacting the exchange business" (e).

"The Bank of Pittsburg and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank of Pittsburg yesterday adopted resolutions expressive of their opinions in relation to the present pecuniary pressure and in favor of the restoration of the deposits to the Bank of the United States as the only remedy" (f).

"No serious pressure in our money market existed prior to the 1st of December, although the loans in the United States Branch were lessened during the last year about \$700,000; but no pressure was felt, for the simple reason that the other banks furnished to the community the amount called in by the Branch. Our city banks cannot now purchase one-fourth of the domestic bills required for mercantile and manufacturing operations, and the Branch has been compelled to decline this business entirely in consequence of the vindictive, unrighteous war waged against her. The pressure in our money market is consequently very great and must soon be much greater.

"It is well known that the manufacturing interests of this city are the main foundation of her prosperity. If these should be compelled to stop their operations, property would depreciate fifty per cent. in less than six months, and there would not be one dollar in circulation where there are now ten or fifteen. The population would decrease one-half in less than six months. The neighboring farmers would get but little for their produce; most of the vendors of foreign fabrics would be compelled to close their shops, and Pittsburg would be a gloomy, deserted city" (g).

Hon. William Wilkins, then a member of the United States Senate, sustained the attitude of the President toward the Bank of the United States. He declared in the Senate in January, 1834, that there was no real distress in the Western country; that real estate in Pittsburg was higher than ever before, and that farmers, manufacturers and merchants were doing well at good prices. Despite the fact that he had read of the distress here in the local newspapers sent to Washington, and in private letters written to him, he made this strong statement in the Senate, and, by so doing, fired with resentment the anti-Jacksonian element of this vicinity. Convinced of the reality of the pressure here, but wrongly attributing it to the removal of the deposits, they determined to communicate directly with Congress in a manner that could not be misrepresented nor misunderstood.

On Monday evening, January 20, 1834, "a very respectable and numerous assemblage of the citizens of Pittsburg convened at the house of George Beale," to take into consideration the representations made by Mr. Wilkins in the Senate and the causes of the monetary evils of the times. Thomas Fairman was elected chairman and George W. Jackson and S. P. Darlington appointed secretaries. A committee of three persons, consisting of W. W. Fetterman, Lewis

(d) Gazette, February 12, 1834.

(e) Gazette, February 13, 1834.

(f) Gazette, February 12, 1834.

(g) Cor. Gazette, January 30, 1834. (The Gazette was now the stanch friend of the Bank of the United States.)

Peterson and Thomas S. Clark, was appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting; and another committee of three, consisting of W. W. Fetterman, N. B. Craig and George Grant, was chosen to prepare a memorial addressed to Congress and the State Legislature on the subject of the meeting, and to secure the signatures of citizens to the same. To assist the latter committee, others, consisting of four citizens from each ward of the city and from the suburban boroughs, were appointed. The meeting was large and enthusiastic. Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

*"Resolved*, That a very great pressure exists at this time in the money market of our country, and that its inevitable tendency is to cripple and destroy our mercantile and manufacturing business, unless the evil is speedily remedied.

*"Resolved*, That, in our opinion, the removal of the deposits was an unwarrantable stretch of power on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury, in direct violation of the contract made with the Bank of the United States when she was chartered; that it is sanctioned by no law and justified on his own showing by no public necessity.

*"Resolved*, That the effects of that removal have been to create the severe pressure already adverted to, which now operates on all classes of the community and threatens to paralyze all the active industries of the country.

*"Resolved*, That we deprecate the measure as fraught with injury to the currency of the country, as the mother of a horde of State banks, subject to no control, and that we can but anticipate a renewal of the dismal scenes of 1817 to 1820, when all credit was destroyed, business stopped, our men of industry and enterprise ruined, and half the real estate in the community sold at sheriff's sale.

*"Resolved*, That we attribute the pressure solely to the removal of the deposits, as we know of no other cause which has impaired public confidence in the ability of our moneyed institutions, and has produced this great change in four short months, from a state of great prosperity to one of great distress, and that our Representatives and Senators in Congress be requested, as the best means of averting the consequences of the evil that we now suffer, to vote to have all future deposits made in the Bank of the United States.

*"Resolved*, That although we have, for some time, felt the pressure produced by the removal of the deposits, we were unwilling to memorialize Congress on the subject . . . . . until we were yesterday informed that our Senator had stated, in his place, that he had not been informed of any pressure in this city" (h).

As a result of this public meeting there was sent to Harmar Denny, Congressman, then in Washington, on January 22, a memorial, signed by about two thousand citizens of Pittsburg, Allegheny and the suburban boroughs, declaring that great distress in financial affairs existed here, and praying, among other things, for the restoration of the deposits to the Bank of the United States (i).

Mr. Wilkins, in presenting the memorial to the Senate, addressed that body at considerable length in explanation of his statement that there was no pressure in Pittsburg. He was answered by Mr. Webster, who insisted that a memorial signed by several thousand citizens, as this one was, could not be mistaken in a statement of fact so obviously true, not only to Congressmen, who were aware of the distress prevalent throughout the country generally, but to the citizens of Pittsburg particularly, who were suffering from the stringency and hard times (j). "The present is a moment of spasm and agony. The whole social and political system is violently convulsed. This, if no relief comes must be succeeded by a lethargy which will strike dead the commerce, manufac-

(h) Gazette, January 21, 1834.

(i) Gazette, February 24, 1834.

(j) Proceedings of Congress, 1834.





tures and labors of the community. This, I think, sir, is the real prospect before us" (k).

To offset the effect on Congress of this action of the friends of the bank, the supporters of the administration here prepared and circulated a counter-memorial, to which 336 signatures were secured, and forwarded the same to Harmar Denny, at Washington. In this document it was stated that (l): "We, the subscribers, do therefore most earnestly and strenuously deny every and all the positions assumed in said petition, and fearlessly assert that there is no pressure here, and that no sound man is embarrassed in his business." The entire question had thus become a dispute of the partisans. All of the leading citizens took part in the controversy, which became acrimonious and personal in the extreme. Leaving the politicians to fight it out in their own way, the banks continued their policy of caution, curtailment and partial inaction, while the real blow fell upon inexperienced borrowers and incautious business men. The fact remained, regardless of partisan claims, that there was an intense stringency here, which all clans and factions suffered alike. But the adherents of the two parties continued to wage a still hotter war.

Pursuant to the call of over six hundred citizens, "the largest meeting ever held in Pittsburg" convened at the courthouse, February 6, 1834, to consider the financial situation. On motion of Neville B. Craig, Thomas Fairman was made president, and on motion of George W. Jackson, Samuel P. Darlington and Samuel B. McKenzie were appointed secretaries. On motion of John B. Butler, Isaac Lightner and John Arthurs were chosen vice-presidents. The principal speaker was W. W. Fetterman, who, after a spirited address, offered a long set of resolutions, which was "carried by an overwhelming majority." He was supported by an able speech from Robert Burke. The anti-bank people were represented at this meeting by Charles Shaler, who opposed the adoption of the bank resolutions and sustained the action of President Jackson in removing the deposits, in "an eloquent address." He likewise offered a set of anti-bank resolutions, and moved their adoption, which motion was seconded by John M. Snowden, Sr. W. B. Conway also addressed the assemblage in support of the action of the President. This meeting was held in daytime, the discussion lasting from 10 o'clock a. m. to 1:30 o'clock p. m., two speakers of each party being permitted, by mutual consent, to address the gathering. As the enemies of the administration were in the majority, their resolutions were adopted, while the others were tabled (m).

The resolutions adopted declared that it was the opinion of the citizens of Pittsburg that Congress, in chartering the Bank of the United States, had entered into a contract with that institution; that a provision of such contract required that the public moneys should remain in the custody of the bank; that the bank had paid to the Government the sum of \$1,500,000 for such privilege and for its charter; that, therefore, "the late removal of the deposits, whether done by the President of the United States or by the Secretary, was an arbitrary, unjust and illegal act;" that the removal of the public treasures "to various local banks of unknown solvency was an unwise and hazardous measure;" that the existence of a severe pecuniary pressure here was not a matter of opinion, but a painful reality, which all knew and felt; that the pressure was the result of a combined operation of the removal of the deposits and the vindictive and hostile spirit which accompanied and followed that act; that such pressure could only be relieved by replacing the deposits in the bank; that the distress here was constantly increasing, "and that, in our opinion, we are approaching an awful and

(k) Speech of Daniel Webster in the Senate, 1834.

(l) Gazette, February 17, 1834.

(m) Gazette, February 28, 1834.

eventful crisis in the history of our country." The resolutions, presented by Judge Shaler, and which failed to pass, were as follows:

"*Whereas*, The approaching period for the expiration of the charter of the Bank of the United States renders it necessary that some means should be adopted to secure the public against the too sudden withdrawal of the currency created by that institution; and

"*Whereas*, It appears by sundry public acts of the present Executive of the Union that submitting himself to what he believes to be the will of the people, made manifest in his recent election, he has come to the determination not to give his official sanction to the renewal of the charter of the present bank; and

"*Whereas*, It likewise appears that there is no prospect of the said charter being renewed by the constitutional majority in Congress before the period to which the existence of the present charter is limited has expired, and no new bank can be created during the existence of the present Bank of the United States without an infringement of the charter; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the act of the President of the United States authorizing and directing the removal of the Government deposits from the vaults of the Bank of the United States and its Branches was a measure of public policy essential to the general and individual prosperity; was a judicious exercise of powers vested in him by the constitution; was entirely consistent with the national faith, and in accordance with that political firmness and moral integrity which have ever characterized the present Chief Magistrate, whether in the field or in the cabinet" (n).

On the 11th of February, 1834, the Jacksonians and enemies of the Bank of the United States held a large meeting in Concert Hall to counteract the effects of the meeting of February 6th and to promulgate their views and plan their future course of action. In the call for this meeting the language used was as follows: "A meeting of the citizens of Pittsburg and vicinity opposed to the domination of the Bank of the United States and friendly to the measures of the Administration in relation to that institution are requested to meet at Concert Hall on Tuesday evening at 6 o'clock." Thomas Hazleton was called to the chair. The leading speakers were Charles Shaler, John M. Snowden and Mr. Hazleton. They delivered vigorous addresses and the citizens assembled adopted a strong set of resolutions, declaring their loyalty to the administration and their hostility to the Bank of the United States.

On February 15, 1834, a large meeting was held in Mr. Sample's Long Room in Allegheny, to take action concerning the removal of the deposits. John Irwin was elected chairman, James Riddle and James Brown vice-presidents, and D. C. Stockton and John E. Park secretaries. This meeting declared that great distress existed here owing to the removal of the deposits; that the same should be restored to the Bank of the United States; that the act of the President in removing them was illegal and unjustifiable, etc. A set of the resolutions adopted, signed by 342 citizens, was forwarded to Messrs. Wilkins and Denny in Washington (o).

At the large public meeting held on February 6, 1834, by the friends of the Bank of the United States, it was determined to send a delegation of citizens East to call upon Governor Wolf and President Jackson to secure, if possible, the restoration of the deposits, or, at least, some action that would relieve the monetary crisis; and accordingly the following gentlemen were appointed and sent upon that mission: Isaac Lightner, Alba Fisk, William Leekey, John Sampson, Thomas Fairman, Hugh Davis, Samuel Fahrenstock, Thomas Williams and J. H. Shoenberger (p).

(n) Gazette, February 7, 1834.

(o) Gazette, February 17, 1834.

(p) Gazette, March 6, 1834.

At 2 o'clock p. m., March 6th, pursuant to call, a large meeting gathered at the courthouse and formally received the report of this delegation. Benjamin Bakewell was made president; William Ebbs, John Lloyd, George Darsie and John Graham, vice-presidents, and Richard Hughes and Samuel P. Darlington, secretaries. The delegation delivered a written report, of which the following were the principal particulars: That only an informal expression was secured from Governor Wolf, to the effect that he had already made known his views on the subject in his message and otherwise; that Mr. Wilkins expressed regret at some declarations which had fallen from him in the Senate on the presentation of the memorial from Pittsburg, but insisted on the purity and disinterestedness of his motives, and stated that he considered the delegation and the citizens of Pittsburg wrong in ascribing the cause of the distress to the removal of the deposits. The delegation were treated with much consideration by Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Denny, both of whom accompanied them to the White House and introduced them to President Jackson. The interview was both long and stormy. The President took no pains to conceal his hostility to the Bank. It appeared from his remarks that he had ordered the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States to the State banks to protect the latter, which were threatened with ruin by the too rapid curtailment of the discounts and circulation of the former. Both Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Denny participated in the conversation, the former siding strongly with the President and the latter, in several hot verbal encounters, sustaining the delegation and the Bank. The President asked: "How do I know the true state of public opinion with you? You tell me of great distress, and I hear of large memorials on one side; and on the other side I have received an account of a very large meeting, approving of the removal of the deposits. How am I to judge?"

The chairman of the delegation answered that, out of the 336 names signed to the counter-memorial, upward of two hundred were not on the tax lists, nor known to the committee, and that "they must be either names of strangers, of persons under age, or fictitious;" that the reason why there was no great cry of distress before Mr. Wilkins left home was owing to the introduction in the city of what was considered foreign, or outside capital, in the stock of a new bank (q), the principal part of which had been taken in Philadelphia, and in the increase of the capital of the Bank of Pittsburg. The delegation took the position that the restoration of the deposits to the Bank, even though that institution should not be rechartered, would restore immediate confidence and relieve distress. But the President denied this conclusion, was not to be moved from his purpose, and declared:

"I will never return the deposits to the Bank of the United States, to the bank having the whole of her capital, thirty-five millions, at the disposal of one man, for corrupt purposes. I will protect the morals of the people. See the large amount of the funds of the Government applied to corrupt the press! It was my duty to take the deposits from such a corrupt institution. I can't bow down and worship the golden calf; the Spanish Inquisition could not compel me to worship the monster. . . . ."

"Why, would you believe it, gentlemen? the Bank wanted to bribe me; wanted to bribe Andrew Jackson. They agreed to pay off the national debt; if I would give them a charter—a bonus that would pay off the national debt; but Andrew Jackson was incorruptible; I would not bow down to the golden calf" (r).

"The experiment shall be tried with the State banks. I will protect the State

(q) Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.

(r) Gazette, March 6, 1834.

banks. They would have been destroyed by the vile monster before this time if I had not sustained them. Go home, gentlemen, and tell your Branch to act harmoniously with the State banks and relieve the people. I will not molest the Bank of the United States or its branches, but I will support the State banks."

"General, we are sorry that your old friend and acquaintance, Mr. Bakewell, was unable to accompany us in consequence of the illness of his son-in-law, Mr. Campbell."

"Yes, yes! I know Mr. Bakewell; he is a very good man, a very good man, but a worshiper of the great idol—a worshiper of the Bank; but I can't worship the golden calf. Andrew Jackson is not to be corrupted and will take care of the morals of the people" (r).

. . . . .  
DIALOGUE (S).

Committee.

May its please the President, we have come  
To tell you the trouble there is at home.  
Our City of Pittsburg is silent and sad,  
No longer 'tis filled with happy and glad;  
The hum of business and bustle is o'er,  
And we pray you the Bank deposits restore."

President.

"And why do you come with your grumblings to me?  
No peace do I have in this land you call free;  
You should go to Nick Biddle (t), he sits in his chair,  
Undisturbed by complaints and unruffled by care;  
He views his ten millions, he pockets his pay,  
And cares not a groat what the Government say.  
The people may cry or the people may laugh,  
I will not bow down to the great golden calf."

The meeting passed resolutions approving the conduct of the delegation and reaffirming the views previously expressed of the cause of the distress. They were read by John D. Mahlon, who supported them in an eloquent address, as did also Joseph Patterson. Neville B. Craig, W. W. Fetterman, James Brown, Cornelius Darragh, Joseph Patterson and S. P. Darlington were appointed delegates to attend a convention to be held at Harrisburg "for the purpose of devising measures to restore the prosperity of the country." Walter Forward, Robert Burke, W. W. Fetterman, John Morrison, John Irwin, John P. Bakewell, George R. White, John McGill, Thomas Scott, James H. McClelland, William Mackey, R. C. Townsend, George W. Jackson, John B. Butler, Jacob Painter, Robert Galway and Reese R. Jones were appointed a committee of correspondence, to assist in relieving the public distress. Harmar Denny was publicly thanked for his course in defense of the interests of his immediate constituents (u).

The chairman of the delegation and Mr. Denny, during the interview with the President, were the spokesmen in behalf of the Bank and the distressed business men of Pittsburg and Allegheny. Not only did the friends of the Bank memorialize Congress, but they also addressed one to the State Legislature, to which, it was reported, there were signed 1,792 names, the document in double lines measuring more than forty-three feet in length. There was an intense fear in this city that the distress would increase unless something

(r) Gazette, March 6, 1834.

(t) President of the Bank of the United States.

(s) Boston Independent Chronicle.

(u) Gazette, March 14, 1834.



was done by Congress to restore confidence. The thought of the Whigs was that the distress would end if the deposits were replaced in the Bank of the United States. The Jacksonians here wisely declared that the distress was not caused by the removal of the deposits, was only a scare, not real, and that the Bank should be crushed before it gained any greater power. The city slowly recovered from the panic of 1834 as from the effects of an opiate. During 1835 business enterprises of all kinds wearily dragged themselves along, with little profit and little hope. However, there was quite a monetary revival early in the autumn of 1836, as times had become better, regardless of the banking law. One writer in the *Gazette* said: "We are getting along very well just now in spite of the law. I never knew prices so fair and money so plenty" (v). It seemed to the stricken city then as if the sunlight of sound money and prosperity was about to illuminate the gloom; but the hope was crushed the following year, when values of all kinds were shattered and pandemonium took charge of business and finance.

In 1836 William Robinson, Jr., Samuel Roseberg, David Fitzsimmons, John Gallagher, John Willock, John M. Snowden, Jr., William Bagaley, James Marshall, William W. Irwin, Robert Galway, Watterman Palmer, Sylvanus Lothrop, Washington W. Fetterman, John Morrison, Robert Knox, John Grier, David Leech, Joseph Long, E. J. Higby, John Hays, A. Leech, John F. Wrenshall, Samuel R. Johnson, Peter Peterson, Tobias Myers, Andrew Watson, Samuel Walker, Samuel Cooper, William Howard, James Thompson, Foster Graham, William G. Alexander, Christopher L. Magee, Edward Simpson, Alexander McN. Semple, George Wallace, William Daily, William Stewart, Daniel McCurdy, Henry Olmstead, Samuel Smith, of the county of Allegheny; David Dick and John McFarland, merchants, of Meadville, Crawford County, were appointed commissioners to carry into effect the act establishing a bank, to be called and known as the "Exchange Bank of Pittsburg," agreeably to the acts of March 21, 1814, March 25, 1824, and April 1, 1835 (w). It was provided that the stock of the bank should not exceed \$1,000,000, and that the shares should be \$50 each. The first meeting of the board of directors was held May 18th, the board consisting of William Robinson, Jr. (through whose efforts principally the Bank secured its charter), B. A. Fahnestock, Samuel P. Darlington, John Freeman, James E. Ledlie, Sylvanus Lothrop, Tobias Myers, James W. Brown, George Wallace, Harvey Childs, Samuel Baird, John Grier and W. G. Alexander. The first president was William Robinson, Jr., and the first cashier John Forster, Jr. (x). Stockholders in the Exchange Bank of Pittsburg were called upon in June, 1836, to pay \$5 on each share held by them, on the first Monday in August, September and October respectively. In November, 1836, they were called upon to pay \$10 on each share. At this time the bank had decided to establish a branch at Holidaysburg, with W. W. Williams as cashier, in conformity to the enactment of 1836. This bank since its commencement has at all times been closely identified with the prosperity of the "twin cities" and Allegheny County. In early years particularly it was the institution principally relied upon for temporary loans to carry on local corporate expenses.

It was stated in January, 1837, that "Pittsburg, with its immense manufacturing, mercantile and commercial facilities and business industry," was laboring under serious drawbacks for want of suitable banking capital, on which account much of her enterprise was paralyzed; and that the city had less than half the banking capital of Louisville, less than Cincinnati, and that all of Western Pennsylvania from Chambersburg to the Virginia line had less than the Girard

(v) *Gazette*, September 27, 1836.

(w) Act of March 2, 1836.

(x) George H. Thurston, in "Allegheny County's Hundred Years."

Bank in Philadelphia. The paper gave the following as the paid-in capital of the local banks (y):

Bank of Pittsburg.....	\$1,005,690
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.....	600,000
Exchange Bank .....	451,673
Discounted by the Branch.....	1,282,111
Savings Fund Bank.....	25,554
Total.....	\$3,365,028

Late in January, 1837, a severe stringency in the money market began to manifest itself in Pittsburg. To investigate this state of affairs and report upon it, the Board of Trade appointed a committee consisting of Lewis Peterson, Samuel P. Darlington and Thomas M. Howe, who, on January 31, 1837, declared that there was too great disparity between the banking capital invested and the business operations of the city; that owing to this fact the system of credit had been too extensively relied on, thus greatly endangering enterprises in times of monetary agitation; that the business of Pittsburg per annum amounted to \$45,000,000 while the banking capital was less than \$5,000,000; that the Branch of the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States had proved a "broken reed," though great benefits had been expected from it by reason of the representations of its directors; and that, as a measure of relief, they (the committee) would recommend that another representation of the needs of the community for greater banking capital should be made to the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States, with the request that the Branch here should be capitalized for \$3,000,000. The committee thought this course preferable to the mooted one of chartering new banks (z).

"It was with these impressions (of the importance of the business of Pittsburg) that they (the directors) declined collecting the debts of the office of the late Branch at Pittsburg, but transferred them all on long credits to a bank at Pittsburg, in order that the latter institution might give a similar indulgence to its debtors. It was in the same spirit that, although a new bank was established in Pittsburg at the same time that this institution (Pennsylvania Bank of the United States) was chartered, the board of directors contributed a still further addition to its capital by fixing there its present Branch. From these two sources the banking facilities of Pittsburg have, within the last year, been increased about two millions of dollars. That there is still ample employment for more capital in the prosecution of the vigorous improvements and occupations of your city is a source of pleasure, and they (the directors) would be happy to supply it were it in their power" (a).

This letter, which was signed by Nicholas Biddle, president, further stated that the bank was unable to increase the capital of the Branch at Pittsburg to \$3,000,000, as had been requested by the Pittsburg Board of Trade.

Late in February, 1837, a large public meeting was held at the house of George Beale to memorialize the Legislature for a new bank. Of this meeting John Anderson was president, William Porter and William Ebbs vice-presidents, and Messrs. Miltenberger and McCandless secretaries. James S. Craft stated the object of the meeting, and on motion a committee of five (John D. Baird, J. W. Brown, John McGill, B. P. Hartshorn and James S. Craft) was appointed to prepare the memorial. This was at once done. The memorial stated that the interests of Pittsburg would be promoted by the incorporation of a bank

(y) Harris' Intelligencer.

(z) Gazette, February 11, 1837.

(a) Letter of the directors of the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States to the Pittsburg Board of Trade.

to be called the "Mechanics' Bank," with a capital of not less than \$3,000,000; that the citizens had been disappointed in the Branch; that the present banking capital was inadequate to meet the requirements of business; that enterprises already in existence were checked and those projected delayed for this reason; that assistance from the present banks to a beginner was not to be expected; that many small dealers could not get a dollar from the banks on any pretext; that all business was cramped and embarrassed, and that many investments giving employment to poor people must be closed. This memorial was extensively signed and sent to the Legislature (b).

A great flourish was made at the time by the projectors of this (Mechanics') bank. It does not seem ever to have been incorporated, though it may have issued notes. It was referred to by the *Daily American* of January 6, 1841, as a "fraud." During the legislative session of 1839-40 a bill was introduced to charter the Pittsburg Bank of Pennsylvania, but did not pass.

During the early part of the legislative session of 1835-6 William Robinson, Jr., was charged with memorials from a number of business men of Pittsburg, and authorized to use his endeavors at Harrisburg to secure a charter for a new financial institution to be called the Exchange Bank. This was before the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States had been chartered by the Legislature and at a time thought to be opportune for the establishment here of another bank, inasmuch as the charter of the Bank of the United States would expire in March, 1836, and the Branch at Pittsburg be removed (c). But, unexpectedly to these gentlemen, though such a step had been contemplated, the Legislature chartered the Bank of the United States for \$35,000,000, yet it also chartered the Exchange Bank, the bill of the latter taking precedence of all other bank bills at that session of the Legislature.

Numerous petitions were sent from Pittsburg early in March, 1837, to the Legislature praying for the incorporation of a bank with a capital of \$3,000,000. It seemed the citizens had come to the conclusion that greater banking strength would remove many, if not all, of the financial difficulties of the city and county (d). In view of the fact that surrounding states authorized their banking institutions to issue notes in less amounts than five dollars, and to the further fact that specie of small denominations was largely withdrawn from circulation in Pittsburg and vicinity, the citizens were obliged either to use the paper of small denominations of other States, issue their own paper of small denominations, or suffer great inconvenience in the settlement of light balances. As a matter of history, they chose what at the time seemed to be the lesser of the two evils and circulated freely their own small notes and the small notes of neighboring States, which constantly fluctuated in value, thus consigning the business man to the mercy of the broker and speculator and obliging him to charge two profits on his goods or wares in order to make one. This state of affairs continued for several years.

At half-past seven o'clock on the morning of May 15, 1837, news having been received on the 13th that the banks of New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Baltimore had suspended specie payments, "a very large number" of citizens of Pittsburg assembled at the courthouse, pursuant to previous notice, to take some action to meet the emergency. John Tassey was appointed president of the meeting, William Hays and John Anderson, vice-presidents, and J. W. Burbridge and D. M. Hogan, secretaries. Charles Shaler, solicitor for one of the banks, moved the adoption of a set of resolutions, which motion was seconded by David Lynch. The resolutions were adopted almost unanimously and were as follows: (e)

(b) Gazette, February, 1837.

(c) Gazette, March 9, 1837.

(d) Gazette, March 15, 1837.

(e) Gazette, May 15, 1837.

*"Resolved,* That under the existing circumstances of commercial and manufacturing embarrassment, it has become expedient that the banks of this city, following the examples already set them by the banking institutions of other great commercial cities in the Union, should suspend specie payments.

*"Resolved,* That we have implicit confidence in the stability of all the banking institutions of the city of Pittsburg, and in the prudence and precaution which have marked the conduct of their officers and several boards of directors; that the suspension of specie payments will not, or ought not, in the remotest degree, to impair their credit, or prevent the free circulations of their notes.

*"Resolved,* That we pledge ourselves to receive the notes of the banks of Pittsburg in all payments and business transactions, as heretofore, and that we recommend to our fellow citizens in town and country to give them credit and circulation as fully as though they were paid in gold and silver on demand.

*"Resolved,* That an immediate application be made to the Governor to call the Legislature together with all convenient speed, that measures may be adopted suitable to the present exigencies.

*"Resolved,* That a committee of ten persons be appointed to communicate the above resolutions to the bank institutions in the city, and to assure them that the citizens of Pittsburg will hold themselves bound to sustain them in measures they may think proper to adopt to sustain their credit and the credit of the city, under the present calamitous state of the country.

*"Resolved,* That the same committee prepare and circulate, for immediate signature, petitions to His Excellency the Governor, requesting a call of the Legislature.

*"Resolved,* That the same committee be requested to hold meetings every evening at the Merchants' Exchange reading room, in order to act according to exigencies, and to call, if necessary, public meetings in order to devise means necessary for the security of the public, and for sustaining still further the credit of the banks.

*"Resolved,* That the banks be requested to take immediately into consideration the propriety of making arrangements for the creation of a circulating medium of a denomination less than five dollars.

*"Resolved,* That the City Councils be requested to take into consideration the propriety of issuing small bills, to fill up and supply a circulating medium during the suspension of specie payments.

Whereupon the following persons were appointed: Charles Shaler, William McKnight, Lewis Peterson, R. N. Havens, William Ebbs, John Hays, Dr. W. A. Simpson, James Cuddy and James May. At a special meeting of the directors and officers of the banks, held at eight o'clock a. m. the same day, the following preambles and resolutions were adopted:

*"Whereas,* The banks in the cities of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore have resolved on a temporary suspension of payment in specie for their notes and other liabilities, it has become the imperative duty of the officers of similar institutions in this city, with the view of preventing the entire abstraction of the precious metals from Pittsburg, to adopt measures of safety for themselves, and ultimate security for the community; and

*"Whereas,* A large portion of our citizens have expressed their opinions as to the propriety of immediate and prompt action on the part of the banks in the existing emergency, and in conformity with their views; therefore it is

*"Resolved,* That the banks in this city, from and after the passage of this resolution, suspend the payment of specie.

*"Resolved,* That the directors and officers of the banks in this city pledge themselves to use their utmost exertions to confine, guard and restrict their





operations, with a view to the earliest possible period for the resumption of specie payments.

"JOHN GRAHAM, President of the Bank of Pittsburg.

"Attest: John Snyder, Cashier.

"M. TIERNAN, President of the M. & M. Bank.

"Attest: J. Carothers, Cashier.

"W. ROBINSON, President of the Exchange Bank.

"Attest: J. Forster, Cashier."

In view of the political controversy afterward growing out of the action of the meeting which passed the resolutions of suspension, more than casual mention should be given the proceedings. News of the suspension of the eastern banks reached Pittsburg Saturday, the 13th of May. With time to think over Sunday of the probable consequences of rash proceedings, the meeting was held at an unprecedentedly early hour on Monday, the 15th, before the banks had opened their doors, when resolutions favoring or recommending suspension were passed. It would appear, from subsequent correspondence and arguments on the subject, that this meeting, if not actually sanctioned or authorized by the banks, met, at any rate, their unanimous approval. All of them thought it best to suspend and did so. It is useless to speculate on what the banks would have done had not this meeting advised them to suspend specie payments. It may be stated as a reasonable certainty, however, that no bank in Pittsburg could have withstood the storm. They were unprepared for it. It was asserted in the newspapers soon afterward and in subsequent political campaigns, that the meeting was held and the resolutions were adopted for the purpose of giving the banks an excuse to suspend specie payments (f). Of course the banks then claimed and have ever since maintained that they were not obliged to suspend.

From all parts of the Union came news of suspensions, and yet the *Gazette* said: "We have little or no excitement upon this subject; our citizens seem disposed to submit with a good grace to what was imperatively necessary. Some inconvenience for want of small bills has been felt, but we trust will soon be remedied by our Councils." The canal transportation lines resolved to suspend their freightage from the East, because the commission merchants here would not receive and pay freight on goods, and because they could not collect enough money to pay State tolls and other expenses. The postmaster of Pittsburg received orders, on May 16, 1837, to take nothing but specie in payment for letters, to deposit the same in no bank, but keep it in his own possession. This act was denounced by the press and citizens generally as wholly inconsistent with the times (g). Fifty-four prominent men and business houses of Pittsburg announced, through the press, on May 19th, that they would receive in exchange for any goods they might have for sale "the scrip or certificate of city loan of the denomination of from twenty-five cents to two dollars," and recommended all others in trade to do the same. The County Treasurer, John M. Snowden, announced that the notes of the city outstanding would be received at the treasury in all payments due the county (h).

"On Monday a gentleman well acquainted with business and with the suspension of specie payments went into the Bank of Pittsburg and exchanged about \$200 of silver for their banknotes, deliberately preferring the notes. On Tuesday, one of our oldest, most wealthy and experienced merchants, who began his early career in our county by honest labor at fifty cents a day, but has risen to the highest eminence by persevering industry, sent \$300 of specie as a deposit to the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank. On Wednesday an old farmer who has lived in our county and sold his produce in our city for upward of thirty

(f) Daily Gazette, August 22, 1839.

(g) Gazette, May 17-18, 1837.

(h) Harris' Intelligencer, May 20, 1837.

years, and who owns stock in two banks, brought in his cash and took up his dividends to buy more bank stock. An old German, hearing the news, said he had in his house several hundred dollars in specie and he would give it to our banks to keep them in the hour of trial; that he was not afraid of our banks. A farmer on Thursday last, hearing that our merchants were in want of money, brought into the city a large sum to lend them in order to aid them in their distress. Now this is cheering. Let all follow the example and we will soon have better times" (h).

A public meeting was held here the 18th, in which Dr. L. Callahan, Thomas Hamilton, Z. McDonald, Orrin Newton, James Anderson, Patrick McKenna and others took a prominent part, and passed resolutions of the following import (i): That banks should be solicited to redeem with specie all their bills of the denomination of \$5 presented at their counters, but not more than \$10 at a time to any one individual, nor to any individual more than once a day; that the Branch should be required to redeem its \$10 notes on demand; that each bank should make an immediate report under oath of the condition of its affairs—amount of debts, credits, nature and amount of securities, and the amount of specie on hand, and that the banks should be required to publish their discounts, names of individuals, the several accommodations, etc. To this communication the banks replied that the suspension had resulted from the recommendation of one of the largest meetings of the citizens ever held in the city; that such a course was necessary for the present; that it would not be prudent to attempt to withdraw from circulation the \$5 notes as suggested, because such bills constituted the largest amount issued by the banks; that such a course would be almost equivalent to a resumption of specie payments; that the Auditor-General of the State alone was authorized to call upon banks for a statement of their affairs; that to reveal for publication individual names, discounts, accommodations, etc., would establish a system of espionage into personal affairs totally subversive of all usages and practices, and that all the banks were entirely solvent and were prepared to resume specie payments the moment the banks of Philadelphia should open their vaults. Dr. L. Callahan, one of the committee of the 18th, in a speech at the meeting, declared "that if he had command of the arsenal he would compel our banks to pay specie" (j).

On May 17, 1837, Charles Shaler, Lewis Peterson, William Ebbs, John Hays, William A. Simpson, William McKnight, R. N. Havens, James Cuddy and James May, the committee appointed for that purpose, addressed a communication to the local banks, reciting, among other things, that they and the city were to be congratulated that not a single failure had resulted from the suspension of the banks and the existing monetary crisis; that the action of the citizens in recommending the suspension of specie payments here had been interposed to shield the banks from odium and save their credit; that, therefore, the citizens had the right to look to the banks for judicious arrangements to meet their current engagements; that new loans should be avoided to prevent a recoil, and ended by asking the positions of the banks on these questions, with a view to an early resumption.

The banks answered that the suspension of specie payments was a measure of precaution and not a necessity, either to the banks or to their patrons, and that all were in a sound and healthy condition; that had any other course been pursued all the specie here would have poured eastward; that the large manufacturing establishments, erected at great expense and giving employment to many people, must be sustained, and that the banks were disposed to manifest a "liberal feeling to the community." To this answer were signed the following

(h) Harris' Intelligencer, May 20, 1837.

(i) Gazette, May 20, 1837.

(j) Gazette, May 20, 1837.

names: John Graham, president Bank of Pittsburg; John Snyder, cashier Bank of Pittsburg; Michael Allen, president Pennsylvania Bank of the United States; James Correy, cashier Pennsylvania Bank of the United States; Thomas S. Clark, president *pro tem.* M. & M. Bank; Jessie Carothers, cashier M. & M. Bank; William Robinson, Jr., president Exchange Bank; John Forster, cashier Exchange Bank. In February, 1837, the banks and officers were as follows:

**Bank of Pittsburg.**—Discount days, Wednesdays and Thursdays—notes must be offered the days previous. President, John Graham; cashier, John Snyder; directors, James Irwin, James Brown, Lewis Hutchison, Hugh McShane, John Irwin, John Caldwell, Nathaniel Holmes, John L. Davis, John Bissell, William Holmes, Benjamin Darlington and Charles Avery.

**Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.**—Discount days, Mondays and Thursdays—notes must be offered on Saturdays and Wednesdays. President, Michael Tiernan; cashier, Jesse Carothers; directors, Frederick Lorenz, George A. Cook, Thomas Scott, F. G. Bailey, Isaac Lightner, Thomas S. Clark, Samuel Fahnestock, John H. Shoenberger, George W. Jackson, Samuel Church and William M. Lyon.

**Exchange Bank.**—Discount days, Tuesdays and Fridays—notes to be offered by 3 o'clock p. m. the days previous. President, William Robinson, Jr.; cashier, John Forster; directors, Tobias Myers, W. G. Alexander, Samuel Lothrop, B. A. Fahnestock, H. S. Chadwick, George A. Bayard, George Wallace, Samuel Baird, James E. Ledlie, James W. Brown, Reuben Miller, Jr., and Harvey Childs.

**Pennsylvania Bank of the United States.**—Discount days, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays—notes must be offered the days previous. President, Michael Allen; cashier, James Correy; directors, William W. Irwin, John M. Snowden, Jacob Forsyth, William Wade, Moses Atwood, P. Mulvaney, Thomas Bakewell, Jesse Lippincott, William Bell (two vacancies).

**Pittsburg Savings Fund Co.**—Discount day, every Tuesday—notes must be offered on Monday. President, James H. McClelland; treasurer, James M'Auley; secretary, John B. Bell; directors, Reuben Miller, Jr., James Marshall, G. E. Warner, Joseph Long, G. Adams and William Douglass.

Late in May, 1837, several private individuals began to issue small bills of their own; but this was discountenanced by the press and the better class of business men. During the summer of 1837 the people had abundant time and an urgent inclination to study the various banking systems—the safety fund, the private, the State and the National—in fact, it was a period of education in finance, a study of money and of credit.

On June 1, 1837, Zantzing McDonald, Orrin Newton, James Anderson, Patrick McKenna, Thomas Hamilton and Dr. L. Callahan, committee, called "a meeting of all citizens opposed to the banking system of the United States and in favor of the constitutional currency, gold and silver," to be held the same evening at the Washington Coffee-house. This may be said to have been the first distinctly hostile movement to the use of paper money and in favor of gold and silver only ever begun in Pittsburg. These men were really the pioneer hard-money men of the city. They were ultra-Jacksonians. Their organ was the *Manufacturer*, and later the *Constitutionalist*. At the meeting Mr. McKenna was made chairman and J. P. Avery and Henry Wagoner secretaries. Their proceedings were mainly political, though the following resolution, among many offered by Henry Wagoner, was adopted unanimously, on motion of Dr. Callahan:

"*Resolved*, That we decidedly disapprove of the establishment of a United States Bank to restrain the over-issues of the State banks, inasmuch as the National Bank would require some restraining power to compel that to

perform its duty faithfully to the community as much as the State institutions would."

The *Bulletin and Manufacturer* took a strong anti-bank position, and, in connection with the Van Buren ticket, announced that it was "opposed to the United States Bank and to all other banking corporations by which the people, the working and productive classes, are robbed of gold and silver, the only legal rewards of their industry."

"Money is very scarce with us, paralyzing every department of business. Things begin to wear a brighter aspect in the money market in the Eastern cities, and will, we hope, soon reach us. Let us patiently persevere and hope for better times" (k).

As a matter of history it should be stated that the recommendations of the public meeting of May 15, 1837, addressed to the banks to suspend temporarily the payment of specie, were prompted partly by the wholesale wish to benefit the whole community, including the banks, and partly by the political desire to shield the pet banks of the administration from a calamity that would be rebuked by the people at the polls in future elections. A large part of the population was then and soon afterward strenuously opposed to the suspension, and it is possible, though not probable, that the Bank of Pittsburg, if not the others, might have continued to pay specie throughout the panic and come through the storm with still greater renown. The banks at the time declared they were not obliged to suspend, but would yield to the resolutions of the public meeting (l).

Pursuant to notice, a meeting of citizens was held at the courthouse on Saturday evening, August 19, 1837, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the conduct of the city banks." Cornelius Darragh was chosen president, John B. Guthrie and John M. Snowden, Jr., vice-presidents, and Dr. E. D. Gazzam and Isaac Harris secretaries. Dr. L. Callahan was the principal speaker of the evening. He denounced shinglers and bank issues of all kinds, as well as the issues of city councils or individuals, and introduced a set of resolutions, which was laid upon the table. He was supported by Joseph Barker, but opposed by Z. McDonald, editor of the *Bulletin*. John B. Guthrie then introduced another set, which, though much milder in tone, was likewise rejected. Finally a resolution was adopted "to appoint a committee of fifty to demand of the city banks a resumption of specie payments on or before the 25th inst." The *Gazette* said: "On the whole the meeting was the most uproarious we ever attended." That paper further said: "The course pursued by some of the banks in regard to a number of our best business men, within a week or two past, has caused much excitement; and, perhaps, a meeting of business men and respectable citizens might recommend measures which would be productive of good at the present time." The fact is that a large part of the community could not rid themselves of the idea that they were entitled to exercise a sort of paternalism over the banks and require them to submit to partial domination and reveal the mysteries of their operations and existence.

"We learn with pleasure that this institution (Exchange Bank of Pittsburg) has made an arrangement by which its notes will be received on deposit and at par in the Philadelphia banks. This is the first instance of the kind that has occurred with regard to any bank west of the mountains, and it cannot be too warmly commended. While the notes of many of the Western banks are at a discount of from two and one-half to five per cent., those of the Exchange Bank pass as rapidly as those of any of our Philadelphia institutions. General Forster, the cashier, is one of the first business men of the State" (m).

(k) Harris' *Intelligencer*, July, 1837.

(l) *Gazette*, August 2, 1837. (m) Bicknell's *Reporter*.

"As was generally expected, the committee of fifty have not been able to persuade our city banks immediately to resume specie payments" (n).

"A moment's reflection will be sufficient to satisfy every man that an immediate resumption of specie payments by the banks in this city, without a corresponding course on the part of those of the East, would give a shock to the industry and prosperity of Pittsburg, from the effects of which she would not recover for years" (o).

At another meeting held September 2, 1837, the committee of fifty reported that all the banks had courteously replied to their request to resume the payment of specie, but had not shown a disposition so to resume until such a course was adopted by other banks throughout the country. The report was not favorable to the banking system generally, but expressed the belief that the city banks were perfectly solvent institutions and had been judiciously managed (p).

In November, 1837, the balance of trade between Ohio and Pennsylvania was in favor of the latter, resulting in a great advantage to the Pittsburg banks. The latter demanded their own notes, or the notes of banks in Western Pennsylvania, or exchanges on the East, at par or one-half of one per cent. advance; and, as the Ohio banks were unable to comply, demanded the specie or a certificate bearing twelve per cent. interest, which the Ohio law obliged them to pay in case they refused to pay specie. The local banks, upon the refusal of the Ohio banks to comply with the latter demand, directed their attorneys to begin suit (q).

By ordinances of May 16, 1837, July 7, 1837, and January 29, 1838, the city of Pittsburg issued small notes to the amount of nearly \$100,000. On September 24, 1838, the Mayor was authorized to borrow of the Exchange Bank \$100,000 with which to redeem such issues, and made that bank the sole depository of the city funds during the period of the loan. The borough of Allegheny, through its treasurer, John Morrison, also advertised that its certificates of loan would be redeemable at the Exchange Bank of Pittsburg and the treasurer's office (r). By January 9, 1838, the borough of Birmingham had issued scrip to the amount of \$35,000, and had previously authorized the issue of \$60,000. R. A. Bausman was burgess.

It was urged by the newspapers that a run upon a bank was the sheerest nonsense. No bank, unaided, could live through a severe run upon its cash. When business men would learn this fact and learn to require from banks proper and conservative banking methods, no run would be precipitated nor such a course of folly be permitted to paralyze business. The man of business, as well as the man of finance, was declared responsible for the suspension of specie payments, for financial panics and for the failure of banks and business houses. The sooner this was realized the sooner a safe business in all departments of industry could be conducted.

In 1837 and 1838 large quantities of Ohio bankbills, at a discount of from five to eight per cent., circulated in Pittsburg. It was said that the notes of the Pittsburg banks, notwithstanding the suspension, passed almost as well here as gold and silver (s). In the summer of 1838 the repeal of the "Specie circular" by Congress caused great rejoicing among the Whigs of Pittsburg and Allegheny.

"Our Pittsburg banks are all discounting good business paper and good drafts at short dates on the East or West. We have conversed with many of our leading men of business and we find a general impression that a more happy period is at hand. When that Monster in Philadelphia begins to hand out the

(n) Gazette, August 26, 1837.

(p) Gazette, September 4, 1837.

(r) Gazette, October 20, 1838.

(o) Bulletin, August, 1837.

(q) St. Louis Republican, November, 1837.

(s) Gazette, May 25, 1838.



hard money all the little monsters will join in concert, and we shall then enjoy all the benefits that the constitutional currency can bestow" (t).

On July 10, 1838, Governor Ritner issued a proclamation, pursuant to law, requiring all the banks of the State to pay specie on and after August 13, 1838, and on July 18 a large meeting of citizens convened at the courthouse to consider the situation. William Eichbaum was chosen president; C. Darragh, B. M. Lowrie, Thomas Bakewell, R. M. Riddle and S. M. Darlington, vice-presidents; William McCandless and M. Robertson secretaries. On motion of P. J. Maitland the proclamation of the Governor was read and received with rounds of applause. On motion of R. N. Havens the following committee was appointed to prepare resolutions: W. W. Irwin, P. J. Maitland, R. N. Havens, T. M. Howe and A. W. Foster, Sr. While the resolutions were being drafted the meeting was addressed by W. W. Irwin and A. W. Foster, Sr. Among the resolutions adopted were the following (u):

"*Resolved*, That this meeting cordially approve of the proclamation of Governor Ritner, requiring the banks to resume specie payments by the thirteenth of August next. . . . ."

"*Resolved*, That this meeting recommend to all the banking institutions of this city the propriety of acquiescing in Governor Ritner's proclamation and of contributing by all lawful means to aid him in restoring the currency.

"*Resolved*, That this meeting also recommend to the city of Pittsburg and all other corporations within the county of Allegheny the propriety of adopting Governor Ritner's suggestion, and of taking instant measures for the full and honest redemption of any notes which they may have issued and put into circulation under the denomination of five dollars."

It was also determined by resolution to celebrate the 13th of August, the day fixed for resumption, and to appoint a committee of one hundred to make arrangements therefor. An immense meeting was held on that occasion on Beale's Island. Mr. Darragh, as chairman of the committee of one hundred, called the assemblage to order, and, on motion, William Leckey was made president. W. W. Irwin read the Governor's proclamation. The meeting was then addressed by Judge Brackenridge and Messrs. Parker, Black, Darragh and Elder. Resolutions expressive of the joyful sense of the meeting were adopted (v). Previous to this date, in answer to letters addressed them by a special committee, consisting of E. D. Gazzam, Thomas Hamilton, Robert Porter and J. B. Butler, the banks had replied favorably to the demand for resumption. The Bank of Pittsburg had said, on August 6: "In answer to your note of this date we will briefly state that this bank is now paying specie for all demands made by presentation of its notes; that it has been doing so for some time past for reasonable demands; and that it had been prepared to pay specie for all its liabilities for some months past, provided the banking institutions East and West had gone into a course of action to warrant payments of this nature." The Exchange Bank replied: "That this institution, during the greater part of the suspension, but rarely refused to pay their bills of the smaller denominations in specie when demanded; that for some considerable time past its payments in specie have been much enlarged on all its obligations; and that at all times it has been prepared to coöperate with the other banks of this Commonwealth in a general resumption, and will simultaneously with them resume the payment of specie for all its responsibilities." The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank answered that "this bank is now paying specie for all demands upon it, and has been doing so for the last two or three months."

All the banks of the city had thus anticipated the action of the Governor

(t) Harris' Intelligencer, June 1, 1838.

(u) Gazette, July, 1838.

(v) Gazette, August 14, 1838.

and had resumed the payment of specie, without friction and without excitement, though not without restoring a happy sense of confidence to business men. Subsequent events proved this resumption to have been premature; or rather, to state the facts more correctly, "tinkering with the currency" caused another suspension. "Money continues very scarce, disagreeably so, and is a great drawback to our otherwise flourishing business, but we hope a few days will make a pleasing change for the better in our money markets" (w). During the winter of 1838-9 money continued extremely "tight" at Pittsburg. Complaints of its scarcity were of constant occurrence. "The scarcity of money and the depreciation of much of what is in circulation are the greatest drawbacks just now experienced." "Money is tight, and this is the only drawback we can see." "Money is tight; the banks are discounting very sparingly." "Money is extremely scarce and the complaints of the merchants are quite as loud as ever. A few Western buyers are in the market and so far they bring fair supplies of money. It is expected that relief from this source will be felt in the next fortnight" (x).

An anti-bank meeting (political) was held at the Washington Coffee-house on Saturday evening, September 7, 1839, of which James Hamill was made chairman and J. H. Smith and Thomas Hamilton secretaries. Dr. L. Callahan, Thomas Hamilton and W. H. Smith were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions. They reported a long set, among which were the following (y), which, although adopted, met with considerable opposition:

"*Resolved*, That every bank in the State of Pennsylvania is a breach of the United States Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land; that when a legislature accepts a bonus for granting a bank charter, it is nothing better than taking a bribe to enable the few to rob the many; that the Attorney-General is solicited to take immediate cognizance of the mass of illegal paper currency in this city, consisting chiefly of one, two and three dollar bills of the Ohio banks; that when any bank within this Commonwealth suspends specie payments the Legislature shall mulct them in twenty-five per cent. per annum during said term of suspension."

It was reported in September, 1839, that certain individuals in Pittsburg were in the practice of buying notes of Ohio banks of less denomination than \$5 at a considerable discount, and paying the same out at par to mechanics, laborers and others in their employ (z). At a political meeting, held in Myers' Long Room, September 18, 1839, on which occasion Benjamin Weaver presided, a committee, consisting of D. F. Miller, John Shipton and George Steward, prepared and presented, among others, the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the following are facts known to all: It was the leaders of the Van Buren party in Pittsburg who got up the public meeting which recommended the banks, in 1837, to suspend specie payments and advised the city to issue shinplasters. It was the friends of Van Buren who issued the shinplasters in Birmingham. The great body of the Whigs and anti-Masons of that place did all they could to oppose that measure. It was through the maneuvering of Van Buren officeholders that shinplasters were issued in the village of Lawrenceville."

The newspapers of October 14, 1839, contained statements to the effect that the banks of Philadelphia had suspended specie payments on October 9th, and those of Baltimore on October 10th. It was announced also that the Attorney-General was instructed to prosecute any individual or corporation that should issue and circulate notes of less denomination than \$5.

"*Resolved*, That a bank which refuses to redeem its notes deserves no indul-

(w) Harris' Intelligencer, November 16, 1838.

(x) Pittsburg Market Reports, May to September, 1839.

(y) Gazette, September 11, 1839.

(z) Gazette, September 19, 1839.

gence from the people, and that every measure which the law will warrant should be taken to enforce the payment of its notes, or, failing this, the forfeiture of its charter" (a).

It was claimed by an anti-bank meeting, presided over by John B. Butler, and held October 18, 1839, that, under the law, all banks which had suspended had forfeited their charters, and that the Governor should direct the Attorney-General of the State to issue immediately writs of quo warranto against all such institutions. Among the leaders at this meeting were Dr. L. Callahan, John B. Butler, H. H. Van Amringe, James Hamill, Dr. Edward D. Gazzam, Patrick McKenna, John W. Burrell, John Byrne, Samuel Snowden, Orrin Newton, William Paul, J. H. Smith, William Ferrell, Robert Duffy, Joseph Major, William J. Scully, Robert Kennedy, Rody Patterson, Daniel Jamieson and others (b).

On October 13, or 14, 1839, the Exchange Bank, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank and the Branch Bank suspended specie payments, while the Bank of Pittsburg announced its intention of continuing to pay in coin (c). The suspension of part, and not all, of the banks occasioned a bitter warfare between the friends of the two measures. The Bank of Pittsburg, in order to sustain itself, curtailed its business (d), restricted its purchase of exchange and called in its loans as fast as prudence and the convenience of the community warranted. By taking this course it was subjected to much vilification and abuse, although it "displayed a spirit quite as liberal and accommodating as any of the other institutions" (e). The paper further said: "We will remark in reply to doubts expressed in other foreign papers as to the power of the bank to sustain herself in specie payments that two weeks and three days have elapsed since the other banks suspended, . . . and we venture to assert that the Pittsburg Bank will fulfill all her engagements according to the strictest requirements of justice." Late in 1839 the Bank of Pittsburg, having maintained specie payments continuously, declared without compunction a total dividend for six months of \$35,681 (f).

"Bank of Pittsburg.—The Board of Directors of this institution met this morning and unanimously resolved to continue to pay specie as heretofore. We are informed that this bank has in its vaults more than sufficient specie to redeem every dollar of its paper in circulation" (g).

During the legislative session of 1839-40 it became clear that the destitute condition of the State Treasury demanded the passage of a law authorizing a State loan, which, it was evident, could be obtained from the banks only. The banks took advantage of this state of affairs to declare that, should the law requiring them to resume specie payments pass, they would refuse to take the State loan. The *Pittsburg Mercury* called this course on the part of the banks "bullying the legislature" (h).

Not the least of the evils in Pittsburg in 1839-40 was the buying and selling of gold and silver, the shaving of banknotes and the traffic in credit (i). The Secretary of the Treasury, having reported (j) to the United States Senate that the Bank of Pittsburg, after the resumption in 1838, had "suspended in part," the Pittsburg Board of Trade, by the secretary, J. King, in February, 1840, addressed a letter to the bank, asking if such had been the case; whereupon the latter, by its cashier, John Snyder, replied:

(a) Adopted by anti-bank partisan meeting held October 12, 1839; Callahan; Van Amringe and Hamilton, speakers.

(b) Gazette, October, 1839.

(c) Mercury, October, 1839.

(d) Baltimore Chronicle, October 26, 1839.

(e) Gazette, October 30, 1839.

(f) Communication of State Treasurer to Legislature, January, 1840.

(g) Gazette, October, 1839.

(h) Mercury, February 5, 1840.

(i) Pittsburger, February 18, 1840.

(j) Gazette, February 29, 1840.

"I will briefly state that the Bank of Pittsburg has never, in a single instance, to my knowledge, refused to pay its legal liabilities in coin, when demanded, since the general resumption in 1838, either for its notes when presented for payment, or its deposits, unless those *specially* made by the notes of the neighboring banks since their recent suspension."

"Has not the Secretary of the Treasury stated the truth when he reported the Bank of Pittsburg as suspended in part? . . . . She pays specie on all her notes, but not on all her deposits. She pays out the notes of suspended banks in her current discounts and in payment of depositors, and even her last dividend was paid in current notes or the notes of suspended banks. . . . . It cannot be denied in strictness that the Bank of Pittsburg *is* in part suspended. . . . . If partial suspension is so fatal to the credit of a bank that the Bank of Pittsburg must be vindicated from the charge, what will become of our other city banks whose soundness is above question? Surely a word might have been said in their favor, since we all know that, while they are reported *wholly* suspended, they rarely, if ever, refuse to pay five or ten dollars in coin when demanded" (k).

"Upward of one thousand citizens of this country have memorialized the present Legislature for a repeal of all bank charters as being a violation of the United States Constitution" (l).

On the 6th of October, 1840, the Bank of Pittsburg announced its capital at \$1,188,290; its notes in circulation, \$64,420; due depositors, \$350,849.26; notes and bills discounted, \$1,001,447.37; specie on hand, \$205,151.41. The Exchange Bank, on the 8th of October, reported its capital at \$895,980; its notes in circulation, \$580,795; due depositors, \$136,624.99; notes and bills discounted, \$929,513.86; specie on hand, \$98,907.69. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank, on the 4th of October, reported its capital at \$600,000; its notes in circulation, \$331,857.50; due depositors, \$197,145.82; notes and bills discounted, \$537,162.85; specie on hand, \$96,057.86.

The subject of banking was torn in tatters by the newspapers of Pittsburg during the early part of the year 1840. The *Constitutionalist* fiercely opposed all banks; the *Mercury*, *Pittsburger* and *Manufacturer* were somewhat milder in their denunciation; and the *Gazette* and *Advocate* sustained them in modified terms. While the compulsory resumption law was pending in the Legislature there was much excitement in Pittsburg, and bitter partisan discussions were of frequent occurrence. The resumption bill of 1840 required all banks to resume specie payments January 15, 1841, and provided that banks which had suspended, or should suspend before that date, should loan to the State \$3,100,000, and all that did not pay specie by that date should forfeit their charters.

"As to the banks in this city, the Pittsburg Bank did not suspend, and the other banks have, we believe, for some time past, looked forward with satisfaction to the time when the resumption was to take place" (m). . . . "The tightness of the money market, consequent on resumption, has had a depressing effect on business, from which, however, it will no doubt soon recover" (n). . . . In this city thus far there has been no excitement on the subject (of resumption), and we believe no run upon the banks. Our local banks are undoubtedly in a sound condition, and enabled to meet any demands that may be made upon them. The banks of Ohio and Maryland have refused to resume, and we presume that our citizens will be afflicted for some time to come with their worthless, irredeemable paper" (o).

On February 4, 1841, the banks of Philadelphia having again suspended,

(k) *Advocate and Emporium*, March 3, 1840.

(l) *Pittsburg Constitutionalist*, March 4, 1840.

(n) *Daily Advocate*, January 21, 1841.

(m) *Gazette*, January 15, 1841.

(o) *Pittsburger*, January 20, 1841.

those in other cities followed with startling rapidity. Regarding Pittsburg, it was said: "In this city everything is quiet. Our banks continue to pay specie on all their liabilities, and there appears to be no disposition in the community to demand any more specie than is necessary for immediate business wants" (p).

"It will be seen that the banks in Philadelphia have all again suspended specie payments upon all bills over \$5, the United States (Bank) taking the lead after having paid out the enormous sum of \$6,000,000 in gold and silver or their equivalents. There seems to be existing against this bank a feeling of inveterate hostility which very few institutions could withstand. The banks in Pittsburg continue to pay specie, as usual" (q). . . . "We are glad to find that the course of the Philadelphia banks has had no effect whatever on our city banks; they still pay specie and will continue to pay specie for their liabilities. It is a gratifying evidence of the confidence reposed in these institutions that there has been no perceptible increase of demand for coin at their counters since the suspension at Philadelphia was ascertained" (r). . . . "We are informed that in consequence of the late suspensions of the United States Bank and other banks in Philadelphia, the directors of the several banks in this city convened to consult as to the propriety of adopting a similar policy. We are told that the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank, without discussion or the least hesitation, resolved in substance that, as she had the ability and ample means, she would continue to redeem all her liabilities. This is the only course she could adopt to fulfill her trust and maintain the favor and confidence of the public. The Bank of Pittsburg, we believe, never has and never will even consider and entertain the proposition to suspend. We have not heard the result as to the Exchange Bank, but trust she will adopt the same policy" (s). . . . "We last week simply announced that the Exchange Bank of this city had commenced the issue of post-notes. Since then these notes have been put in circulation; or, at least, the directors have made the attempt to force them upon the people. The excitement which this act of the speculating directors of the Exchange Bank has caused in this community cannot well be told on paper" (t).

This newspaper further said the post-notes were made redeemable in one year after date, without interest, and had been offered in the city market on the previous Saturday, but had found no takers. This was a mistake, because many, then and afterward, were issued, and, although passing first at a slight discount, soon recovered and were as good as the most of paper currency. The Legislature of 1840-41 had passed a Relief Law, which permitted banks to issue certain varieties of notes, and otherwise gave them special privileges to enable them to resume upon substantial and permanent grounds. Governor Porter, an anti-bank man, in his message of 1841, although he had previously opposed such a measure with much persistence, concluded that the issue of small notes to a limited amount, based on the security of State and stock credits, was less liable to objection than at any former period.

"Our banks continue to pay specie, and there does not appear to be the least excitement in the public mind in regard to the subject. The whole community seem disposed to sustain the banks in a legitimate course of action. The Bank of Pittsburg will be under no necessity of suspending in any event. The Exchange Bank has issued post-notes. Of the policy of this measure we are doubtful, but it will tend to relieve the community at the present time" (u). "Currency is evidently becoming scarcer and the rates of discount are most ruinous" (q). . . . "Certificates of Deposit.—These are a new device of

(p) Gazette, February 10, 1841.

(q) Gazette, February 8, 1841.

(r) Daily Advocate, February 10, 1841.

(s) Pittsburger, February 10, 1841.

(t) Pittsburger (anti-bank partisan), February 10, 1841.

(u) Daily Advocate, March 18, 1841.



the financiers to regulate the currency so that payment in real money may be postponed or avoided. They were issued about a month since by two of our banks (the Exchange and the Merchants'). . . . As long as the people will consent that real money shall be banished from circulation by the chicanery of bankers, they must submit to be thus plundered. We have no faith in any plan of relief which will not restore to us a currency of specie and paper (if we must have paper) for which coin can be had on demand" (v).

N. Holmes & Son, exchange brokers, March 11, 1841, reported gold and silver at three to four per cent. premium, and the notes of the Bank of Pittsburg, Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank and Exchange Bank at three per cent. premium, and United States Bank at twelve to fifteen per cent. discount. May 13, 1841, Sibbett & Jones, brokers, placed the notes of the Branch here at twenty per cent. discount, and of all the other Pittsburg banks at three per cent. premium. They placed certificates of deposit payable in bank funds at par and specie at three per cent. premium.

"It is understood that the two Pittsburg banks will avail themselves of the provision of the Relief Bill which permits the issue of small notes, and our merchants and manufacturers, the latter particularly, anticipate much benefit from it" (w). . . . "The community is soon to be overspread with shinplasters. They will be issued under the Relief Bill. . . . They are to be put out by our county commissioners and also by our city corporation" (x).

During the summer of 1841 Pittsburg, Allegheny and vicinity found themselves in possession of a wonderful variety of money—American and foreign coin, regular issues of the banks here, special issues of certificates of deposit and post-notes, the "rag money" of other States, the scrip of the State, county, cities and the boroughs near here and United States Treasury notes. The great mass of paper formed the circulating medium. Gold and silver were at three per cent. premium; so were the notes of all the banks here. Notes of the Branch were at from seventeen to twenty per cent. discount. Certificates and post-notes circulated with the "rag money," and were, therefore, at par with the medium, though at a discount with coin. It was a remarkable period of heterogeneous bills and valuations. The manipulations of the brokers occasioned a constant seesaw or fluctuation of all money values; or perhaps, to do the brokers justice, it should be said that, as paper values were constantly changing, they merely rode up and down on the swells of the financial sea. In November, 1841, the newspapers of Philadelphia cautioned the public against the issues of the Exchange Bank of Pittsburg. In reply to these articles the *Advocate* said (y):

"There is no man in this community, of unprejudiced mind and of ordinary common sense, who doubts for a moment the solvency, yea, the entire ability of the Exchange Bank of this city to meet all demands against her promptly and in a satisfactory manner. At the time of resumption in January last she had a demand circulation from the mother bank of \$295,000, which has been presented at her counter and redeemed and now reduced to \$20,000. In February and March last, when the business community called loudly for a circulation of some sort, she conceived an issue of twelve-months' post-notes would be satisfactory. That issue was satisfactory to a great portion of our community, but prejudice and opposition from certain quarters was so strongly manifested that she stopped that issue, which had reached \$70,000, and, although payable and redeemable at a distant period and in a particular mode, she commenced calling in her post-notes, received them as cash at her counter, as she now does; and her statement, which was exhibited at her election for directors on the 15th inst.,

(v) *Mercury and Democrat*, May 5, 1841.

(w) *Daily Advocate*, May 13, 1841.

(x) *Mercury and Democrat*, June 9, 1841.

(y) *Advocate and Emporium*, November 29, 1841.

showed that circulation to be reduced to \$25,000, and which is now daily coming in and is received on deposit and in payment."

It was further claimed for this bank that Philadelphia had first issued the special certificates of deposit and that the Exchange Bank, following that example, had issued such to the amount of about \$90,000, when a law was passed prohibiting a further issue, and those in circulation were reduced to \$50,000.

"Those issues by the Exchange Bank were not made because she herself wanted assistance; her situation was otherwise, and her executive officers and her directors were prompted by a motive to benefit a large trading and manufacturing community in any way it could be done consistent with the interests of her stockholders" (z).

The *Advocate* also said that the Exchange Bank had not availed herself of the provisions of the Revenue or Relief Bill, authorizing her to suspend specie payments for five years, providing she would accept her quota of the loan to the State; that she had issued small notes in conformity to that law; that the balance of trade being in favor of Philadelphia had caused large quantities of the issues of the Exchange Bank to be circulated there, and, therefore, the consequent fear of the same in that city; that the notes of the branch of the Exchange Bank at Hollidaysburg were at par here and in the East; that the bank was known to be sound and her officers were men of sagacious minds and honorable intentions; that she was independent, asked no favors and feared not the calumny of the Eastern newspapers.

Early in November, 1841, the Bank of Pittsburg had on hand in coin \$203,344.88, and its own notes in circulation \$45,395; individual deposits \$339,630.08. The Exchange Bank (a) had in gold and silver \$161,514.12; its own notes in circulation \$137,655; certificates of deposit and circulation \$98,300; post-notes in circulation \$23,140; individual deposits \$232,071.23; issue of State scrip seventeen and one-half per cent. on its capital. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank had in coin \$55,936.17; its own notes in circulation \$28,457.50; certificates in circulation \$77,820; individual deposits \$188,197.07; issue of twenty per cent. of State scrip (b). The *National Gazette*, in commenting on the condition of the Pittsburg banks, said: "It affords us pleasure to show forth the condition of such banks as these. They furnish proofs that they have been managed prudently and with good judgment" (c). Regardless of the fact that the notes of the banks of Pittsburg were known to be good for the coin upon presentation, they were quoted in January, 1842, by William A. Hill, broker, at four and one-half per cent. premium with specie at five and one-half per cent. premium. Post-notes, State scrip and certificates were quoted at par and paper of the United States branches at fifty-five per cent. discount" (d).

For the State loan of \$3,100,000 the Exchange Bank, with a capital of \$895,980, could subscribe seventeen and one-half per cent.—\$39,199 in \$5 notes and \$117,597 in \$1 and \$2 notes. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank of Pittsburg, with a capital of \$700,000, could subscribe twenty per cent.—\$30,000 in \$5 notes and \$90,000 in \$1 and \$2 notes. Both of these banks had suspended specie payments, but the Bank of Pittsburg, with a capital of \$1,188,200, being on a continuous specie-paying basis, was exempted from subscription to this loan.

But this extraordinary period of financial dismay was now almost at an end. From 1831 to 1842 the whole country had been kept in almost a continuous

(z) *Advocate and Emporium*, November 29, 1841.

(a) This included the report of its Hollidaysburg Branch.

(b) Auditor-General's Report.

(c) Issue of December 3, 1841.

(d) *Advocate*, January 6, 1842.

state of uproar and paralyzing fear on the money question. During this momentous era the subject of banking and formed the principal contention of partisans. The war upon the Bank of the United States had led a large following to fiercely assail all banking systems, and to pursue with undeviating and unrelenting persistence the same bank after it had become an institution of this State. The Whigs fought every inch of ground, but lost in their efforts to secure and sustain a National bank. At length all parties were quieted and grounded early in the '40s on the State bank system. The banking problem had ceased to rivet the whole attention; the tariff and the annexation of Texas absorbed the venom of partisans.

In 1835 the Legislature had enacted that the tax of dividends should be as follows: "Eight per cent. of all dividends which do not exceed six per cent. per annum; on dividends exceeding six per cent. and not exceeding seven per cent. per annum, a tax of nine per cent. on such dividends; and on dividends exceeding seven per cent. per annum and not exceeding eight per cent., the said bank shall pay a tax of ten per cent.; and on dividends exceeding eight per cent. per annum, such banks shall pay a tax of eleven per cent." (e). By act of April 16, 1845, the tax on bank charters was as follows:

	Tax.
Capital, \$300,000 or less.....	\$ 200
Capital, \$200,000 to \$400,000.....	400
Capital, \$400,000 to \$600,000.....	500
Capital, \$600,000 to \$1,000,000.....	800
Capital, over \$1,000,000.....	1,000

"Be it enacted, etc., That all banks of this Commonwealth, whose charters have been extended or renewed, or whose charters shall hereafter be extended or renewed, are hereby made subject to the graduated tax upon dividends provided for by the act relating to banks, passed April 1, 1835, except in cases where there is an express exemption in the act extending or renewing such charter" (f).

Six per cent. and less.....	tax	8 per cent.
Six per cent. to seven per cent.....	"	9 per cent.
Seven per cent. to eight per cent.....	"	10 per cent.
Eight per cent. to nine per cent.....	"	12 per cent.
Nine per cent. to ten per cent.....	"	13 per cent.
Ten per cent. to eleven per cent.....	"	15 per cent.
Eleven per cent. to twelve per cent.....	"	16 per cent.
Twelve per cent. to fifteen per cent.....	"	20 per cent.
Fifteen per cent. to twenty per cent.....	"	25 per cent.
Exceeding twenty per cent.....	"	30 per cent.

"The amount of tax chargeable on the capital stock of all banks, institutions and combines incorporated by Pennsylvania, on which a profit of six per cent. per annum shall be made and declared, shall be at the rate of one-half mill on each one per cent. of such dividend or profit" (g).

Among the private banking houses and exchange offices here in early years were those of N. Holmes & Son, established about 1821, James and Gordon Gilmore about 1818, George A. Cook about 1828, Cook and Cassat, E. Sibbett & Co., Sibbett & Jones, Samuel Jones & Co., Allen Kramer about 1841, William A. Hill about 1844, William Forse about 1845, Hussey & Pettit about 1845, and others.

(e) Act of April 1, 1835.

(f) Act of April 11, 1848.

(g) Law of 1844.

## CHAPTER XV.

PROFESSION OF THE LAW—ITS AIMS AND OBJECTS—IMPORTANCE OF THE PROFESSION UNDER THE ROMAN AND THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENTS—METHODS OF FEE-GETTING—CLEARING THE GUILTY CONDEMNED—REQUIREMENTS OF THE ATTORNEY'S OATH—HIGH STANDARD OF THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY BAR—CREATION AND JURISDICTION OF THE VARIOUS COURTS—PROFESSIONAL CHARACTER OF MANY OF THE LEADING LAWYERS—OLD CUSTOMS AND PECULIARITIES—LATER IDLERS IN THE PROFESSION—CASE-HUNTERS—PRIMARY PRINCIPLES OVERLOOKED—ORATORY OF THE OLD LAWYERS—DEGENERACY AT THE BAR—CATALOGUE OF JUDGES AND ATTORNEYS.

The profession of the Law is the most honorable and useful of all professions or vocations in life. It secures to every man his civil and political rights in the government. It protects every man in the enjoyment of his personal and property rights, and secures him redress for any injury to his person, reputation or property. It is equally necessary to the public welfare. As its aim and object are to secure justice to all, rich or poor, weak or strong, it establishes the principles on which governments should be founded and administered, on which legislatures should proceed in the enactment of statutes, on which the courts should interpret the statutes, and, in the absence of statutes, give decisions to promote justice and prevent wrong.

The profession has been held in high honor by every civilized nation. Cicero said, "What is so kinglike, so generous, so munificent, as to bestow help on those who supplicate our aid? to raise the oppressed, and save our fellow citizens from peril, and preserve them to the State?" A Roman emperor declared that those advocates who perform faithfully their professional duties were as great benefactors to the State as those who fought on the battlefield to save their country. It was the rule in France until the Revolution of 1789, that all the officers of the Government be chosen from the legal profession, the *Noblesse de La Robe*. And John Davys, a quaint old English writer, says: "The profession of the law is to be preferred before all other human professions and sciences, as being most noble for the matter and subject thereof, most necessary for the common and continued use thereof, and most meritorious for the good effects it doth produce in the Commonwealth. All men, at all times and in all places, do stand in need of justice, and of law, which is the rule of justice, and of the interpreters and ministers of the law, which give life and motion unto justice."

"From the very earliest times," says Mr. Forsyth, "in every country where advocacy has been known, it has been the custom to look upon the exertions of the advocate as given gratuitously, and the reward which the client bestows as purely honorary, in discharge, not of legal obligation, but a mere debt of gratitude." This was called by the Romans *honorarium*. During the Republic, when eloquence flourished and was the passport to office, the orators gave their services with no bargain for fees, and the clients were left to indicate their gratitude by the voluntary gift, or *honorarium*. This was also the custom in France and England. But in France, in 1274, the King by an ordinance limited the amount of the *honorarium*, which in no case should exceed thirty livres (about \$6).

It has always been the law in England that the barrister has no legal right to a fee. He cannot maintain an action in court to recover a fee for his services.

It is often said that the members of the bar will do anything for money, will undertake any cause, and work as hard for a bad cause as a good one. Were this true it would be a great reproach to the profession; but it is not true—it is false in theory and false in practice. There may be bad men in the profession, as there are in all other vocations. There are bad men and hypocrites in the church. From the earliest times advocates were held to a high sense of honor, truth and justice. It was the opinion of Cicero that an advocate should not undertake a bad cause. Quintilian said: "The advocate will not undertake the defense of everyone, nor will he throw open the harbor of his eloquence as a port of refuge to pirates." An edict of the Emperor Justinian required advocates to take a solemn oath to exert themselves to the utmost for their clients in all *they believed to be right* and just, but if at the trial they discovered the cause to be unjust, they would immediately abandon it. A similar oath was required of advocates in France. Pasquier said: "Do not undertake any cause which you do not believe to be good—combat for truth and not for victory." D'Aguesseau, in addressing the bar, said: "Never pride yourselves on the miserable honor of having thrown obscurity over truth; be more sensitive to the interests of justice than the desire of a vain reputation."

In England a similar oath was required of every advocate, "that he would not maintain or defend a cause that was unjust to his knowledge." Sir Edward Coke says: "Fraud and falsehood are against the common law; and, therefore, if the client would have the attorney plead a false plea, he ought not to do it." Sir John Davys (heretofore quoted, who lived in 1612 and was Chief Justice of Ireland) said: "If the attorney fortune to be engaged in a cause, which, seeming honest in the beginning, doth in the proceeding appear to be unjust, he must give up the cause, but take care not to betray its secrets to the adversary."

The ancient laws of Scotland required advocates, at the time of admission, and yearly thereafter, to take an oath "to execute their office diligently and truly; and that as soon as they understood their client's cause to be unjust or wrongful, they shall immediately leave the same and desist from all further pursuit or defense."

In opposition to these views of the high and honorable character of the profession, the remarks of Lord Erskine in defending Tom Paine in 1792, on a charge of libel, and of Lord Brougham in the defense of Queen Caroline, in 1820, are sometimes cited. But they are not really of an opposite character. In both cases the attorney believed his client innocent. There is not a word in the remarks of either that would justify an attorney in the bringing and prosecuting of a cause he did not believe to be just, or of resorting to any falsehood or trick to gain the cause.

An attorney may very properly appear for a defendant, in a criminal or civil suit, although he may be satisfied his client is guilty, or in the wrong; but only so far as to see that his client is not condemned except upon proper testimony, and in due legal manner. He is never justified in using any falsehood or trick, or conniving at any falsehood, fraud or trick in the entire proceedings. He is never justified in saying to the court or jury that he believes his client is innocent, or that he believes the testimony of certain witnesses, when there is any doubt on the subject. And he is never justified in bringing or prosecuting a suit which he does not believe to be honest and just.

The oath which every attorney takes on his admission to the bar in this State clearly shows the high character required for the profession: "You will behave yourself in the office of attorney within this court, according to the best



of your learning and ability, and with all good fidelity, as well to the court as to the client; that you will use no falsehood, nor delay any person's cause for lucre or malice." And our Supreme Court, in *Rush vs. Cavanaugh*, 2 Pa. 189, said, a lawyer violates that oath "when he consciously presses for an unjust judgment; much more so when he presses for the conviction of an innocent man."

It is very gratifying to know that for upward of a century the bar of Allegheny County has maintained this high standard of the profession. There have been, perhaps, fewer exceptions to the rule, considering the number of attorneys, than in any other county of the State.

Under the Constitution of 1776, the judges of the county courts were not required to be learned in the law. All justices of the peace were judges of the Quarter Sessions, that is, they had a right to sit in that court. But certain ones were specially assigned as judges of the Common Pleas and Orphans' Court. All were appointed by the Governor and held office for life, or during good behavior.

By the Constitution of 1790, the president judge was required to be learned in the law, that is, a regular attorney. Two others, laymen, were associates. All were appointed by the Governor, and commissioned for life, or during good behavior. The same system was continued under the Constitution of 1838. The District Court of Allegheny County was created in 1833. It had jurisdiction only in civil causes. The jurisdiction of the Common Pleas was limited to controversies not exceeding one hundred dollars. As justices of the peace had jurisdiction of cases up to one hundred dollars, most of the civil causes in the Common Pleas were appeals from judgments of magistrates. When an associate law judge was added to the Common Pleas, its jurisdiction was enlarged to three hundred dollars. The Constitution of 1873 abolished districts, which gave jurisdiction to the Common Pleas of all causes.

An amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1851, requiring the judges to be elected; the law judges of the county courts for a term of ten years, and the lay associate judges a term of five years. In 1859 a law was passed abolishing the lay judges for this county (except those in office) and providing for the election of an associate learned in the law.

The United States District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania was established by act of Congress in 1818, the judges to be appointed, of course, by the President of the United States, with an unlimited term of office. The judges of this court, and also of the county courts, when appointed by the Governor, were most frequently from other parts of the State, and not members of the Allegheny County bar. The judges thus appointed were: Jonathan Hoge Walker, Thomas Irwin, and Winthrop W. Ketcham, of the United States District Court; Samuel Roberts, Benjamin Patton, Jr., and John W. Maynard, of the Common Pleas, and Robert C. Grier and Hopewell Hepburn of the District Court.

A brief notice of these may properly precede a notice of the bar, and the judges taken from it. After judges became elective, *of course* all were taken from the bar, although that was not a requirement of the law. There were always aspirants for the position, and too often politicians working for it, and seeking reelection—one of the evils of an elective judiciary.

J. H. Walker was appointed judge of the United States District Court by President Monroe, in 1818. He was from Cumberland County, born in 1756. His father, Wm. Walker, was a captain under Marlborough in Queen Anne's wars. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1787. In 1806 was appointed president judge of the judicial district composed of the counties of Center, Huntingdon, Mifflin and Bedford, and presided twelve years. In 1819 moved to Pittsburg. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and in several expedi-



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tions against the Indians in Western Pennsylvania and west of the Ohio. He died in 1826, while on a visit to his son in Natchez. His son, Robert J. Walker, later a senator from Mississippi, read law with him, and was admitted to the bar in 1821. After his father's death, Robert J., in 1826, moved to Natchez.

Thomas Irwin was appointed by President Jackson in 1831, and held the office until 1859, when he resigned. He was born in Philadelphia in 1784. In 1808 he moved to Louisiana and commenced the practice of law. Returned to Pennsylvania in 1815, and located at Uniontown, where he was practicing law when commissioned judge. He was elected to the Legislature from Fayette County in 1824 and 1826, and was elected to Congress in 1828. He was the Jackson candidate for Congress in 1830, but defeated, when Jackson rewarded him with the judgeship.

Winthrop W. Ketcham was from Wilkesbarre, born in 1820. Was a teacher for a while in the Wyoming Seminary; in 1848-9 a teacher in Girard College, Philadelphia; admitted to the bar at Wilkesbarre, 1850; 1855 elected Prothonotary of Luzerne County; 1858 to the Legislature, and 1859 to the State Senate; 1864 appointed by President Lincoln solicitor of the United States Court of Claims; elected to Congress 1874, and appointed judge 1876. On December 6, 1879, he held court as usual, returned to his room at the St. Charles Hotel, at 5 p. m. was stricken with apoplexy, and died at 11:50 p. m.

Samuel Roberts was the second president judge of the Common Pleas, succeeding Judge Addison. Was born in Philadelphia, 1763, admitted to the bar 1793; moved to Lancaster and commenced practice there; moved to Sunbury, where he was practicing when appointed judge, in 1803. He held the office till his death in 1820. While on the bench he published a digest of the British Statutes in force in this State, which has been a standard on the subject ever since.

Benjamin Patton, Jr., was born in Bellefonte in 1810; admitted to the bar in 1831; went to Nashville and opened an office there, but in less than a year returned to Pennsylvania, and opened an office in Mifflin County; was appointed by President Jackson United States District Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania, and in 1839 appointed judge of the Common Pleas, held that position until 1850, when he resigned. He was an ardent admirer of President Jackson and Judge Grier, and prided himself on his intimacy with them. During his judgeship he tried, in the Quarter Sessions, several cases of considerable importance, and felicitated himself upon the great ability he displayed. After his retirement from the bench he moved to Northumberland County. In 1858 he was appointed by Judge Grier clerk of the United States Circuit Court at Philadelphia, which office he retained until 1870, when he resigned and moved to Ohio. He was noted for his social qualities and hospitality. He delighted to detail incidents of his numerous hunting trips with Judge Grier.

J. W. Maynard was the first associate law judge appointed in the Common Pleas; appointed in 1859; was born in Vermont in 1806; admitted to the bar in Tioga County in 1831; 1840 moved to Williamsport. He held his office in this county only nine months, when he was succeeded by Judge Mellon, who was elected under the new law. He returned to Williamsport, and in 1862 was elected president judge of the Third Judicial District, composed of Northampton and Lehigh counties. He resigned in 1867, and died recently.

Robert C. Grier was the first judge of the District Court, appointed in 1833; held the office till 1846, when he was appointed by President Polk a justice of the United States Supreme Court. The act of 1833 creating the court, limited it to a period of seven years, but in 1839 it was continued indefinitely, and an associate added. He was born in Cumberland County in 1794; graduated

at Dickinson in 1812, taught a year in the college, for three years principal of an academy; admitted to the bar in 1817, practiced a while in Bloomsburg, then at Danville, where he was living when appointed judge. He lived in Allegheny City from 1833 to 1848, when he moved to Philadelphia. He resigned his position on the Supreme Bench of the United States 1870, and died the same year. He was a fine classical scholar and able jurist. He hated hypocrisy and cant, and loved justice and the right. So intolerant of anything wrong, so decided, positive and emphatic in his opinions, he seemed at times arbitrary and dictatorial. But he was seldom wrong. Men of great intellectual abilities are generally headstrong and determined; weak men are the trimmers and polite palterers.

Hopewell Hepburn was associate judge of the District Court from 1844 to 1846, and then became president judge, when Judge Grier was promoted to the United States Supreme bench. He was born in Northumberland County in 1799; attended the academy where R. C. Grier then taught; graduated at Princeton College; admitted to the bar at Easton in 1823, and practiced there until appointed judge. He had been on the bench seven years when the election of judges took place in 1851. He was acknowledged by all to be an able and upright judge. But party lines were drawn. He was the Democratic candidate, but beaten by W. Forward, the Whig candidate. After the election he resigned. He then practiced at the bar for a few years; was president of the Allegheny Bank three years; died in 1863.

The county of Allegheny was organized in 1788, cutting off portions of Westmoreland and Washington counties, and embracing the wilderness from the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to Lake Erie. The first court—Quarter Sessions—was held in Pittsburg, December 16, 1788, at which time ten persons were sworn in as members of the bar. Since that time perhaps three thousand more have been sworn in. Of these not more than two or three hundred have risen to high eminence in the profession, although many have attained a respectable standing at the bar. In this brief account of the bench and bar it is impossible to name all who have made their mark in the profession, or give anything like a biography of the more prominent ones. We can only name a few with brief notices, accompanied by some remarks not inappropriate to the subject. The ten first admissions were the following: Robert Galbraith, H. H. Brackenridge, John Woods, James Ross, George Thompson, Alexander Addison, David Bradford, James Carson, David St. Clair and Michael Huffnagle. Not more than three or four of these lived in Pittsburg at the time. The others were attorneys from Westmoreland and Washington counties. Of Galbraith, Thompson, Carson, St. Clair and Huffnagle we know but little. Woods was chiefly a surveyor and conveyancer. David Bradford lived in Washington. He became very prominent during the whisky insurrection, from 1791 to 1794, being the leader and demagogue of the movement, and when the United States soldiers were called out he fled the country to Louisiana, then French territory.

Alexander Addison was a Christian gentleman, a fine scholar and able lawyer. He was the first judge of the Court of Common Pleas under the constitution of 1790, and was on the bench from 1790 to 1803. He was a true patriot and brave in the discharge of his judicial duties during the perilous times of the whisky insurrection. This caused him many bitter enemies among the party and sympathizers in that movement, who, with reckless audacity and untiring malignity, sought for his destruction. A Frenchman by the name of Lucas was appointed associate judge in 1800. He was a layman with no knowledge of the law, and a bitter enemy of Addison, and with the impudence of a demagogue, as he was, he would charge petit juries and the grand jury, directly contrary to the charge of Judge Addison. Addison rebuked him for his conduct,

but very mildly, considering his presumption and impudence. This led to the impeachment of Addison and his removal. There never was a more unjust and oppressive proceeding. The rancour of party spirit removed one of the purest and ablest judges that ever sat on a bench in the county, and made a record that will ever be a disgrace to the State. He died in 1807. He published a Volume of Reports, mainly his own decisions, which shows his ability.

H. H. Brackenridge came from the eastern part of the State and located at Pittsburg a few years before the county was organized. He was a self-made man. He was a good linguist, a great reader, and had a remarkable memory. From the start he was the leader of the Pittsburg bar. In early life he prepared himself for the ministry, was a chaplain in the army, and for some years exercised as a minister. But, not believing in the theological dogmas of the day, he abandoned that calling and took to the legal profession. He was an active Democratic politician, and, when that party got the ascendancy in the State, he was appointed by the Governor an associate justice of the Supreme Court, which position he held from 1800 to the time of his death, 1816. He was a prolific writer; wrote many articles about the early days and scenery around Pittsburg, which were published in the *Pittsburg Gazette*; numerous pamphlets, and a most amusing novel, "Modern Chivalry." This was after the style of Don Quixote. It was as full of adventure, wit and humor as its great prototype. No American book is equal to it in this respect.

James Ross was one of the intellectual giants of the early days. He was admitted to the bar in York County in 1784; moved to Washington, Pennsylvania, and in 1795 moved from there to Pittsburg. He was in the Constitutional Convention of 1790, was elected to the United States Senate in 1794, to fill the unexpired term of Albert Gallatin, who had been declared ineligible, and three years later reelected for the full term of six years. He was a firm Federalist, and three times the candidate of that party for Governor, in 1799, 1802 and 1808, but defeated each time. In 1808 the Federal party lost its power and Mr. Ross retired from politics. He devoted himself to his profession and making money, in which he was very successful, acquiring a large amount of real estate. He owned the land on which the courthouse now stands. He was an able lawyer, an honest man, a conscientious and brave citizen. He took a bold stand against the popular current in the whisky insurrection, and by his powerful speeches at their gatherings stemmed the torrent, prevented much lawlessness, reclaimed many, and prepared the way for a peaceful settlement of the troubles. He was the trusted friend and adviser of General Washington in the settlement. He died in 1847.

The lawyers that have been admitted to the bar since 1788 may be divided into three divisions or generations; the first from 1790 to 1830, the second from 1830 to 1860, and the third from 1860 to the present. We can only glance at a few of the leading ones in each generation.

In the first generation we have Henry Baldwin, Walter Forward, Thomas Collins, John Kennedy, Steel Semple, Sidney Mountain, William Wilkins, H. M. Brackenridge, Charles Shaler, Richard Biddle.

Henry Baldwin was born in New Haven, Connecticut, graduated at Yale College in 1797, studied law, and moved to Pittsburg about 1799 or 1800. He was ranked as one of the great lawyers of the country. In 1817 he was elected to Congress as a Federalist, and twice reelected. He resigned in 1822. In 1830 he was appointed justice of the United States Supreme Court, and continued on the bench until his death in 1844. He was the author of a work, published in 1837, entitled, "A General View of the Origin and Nature of the Constitution and Government of the United States."

Richard Biddle was a brother of Nicholas Biddle, the famous president of the



United States Bank of Philadelphia, which was ruined by the veto of President Jackson. Richard was born in Philadelphia in 1796, received a classical education, was admitted to the bar, and came to Pittsburg, where he soon attained a high position at the bar. In 1827 he went to Europe and remained abroad three years. While there he published a critical "Review of Captain Basil Hall's Travels in North America." He also published "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, with a Review of the History of Maritime Discovery." He was elected to Congress as a Whig in 1837, reelected in 1839, and resigned in 1840. He died in 1847. He was a strong man and most forcible and eloquent speaker.

H. M. Brackenridge was a son of H. H. Brackenridge, and admitted to the bar in 1806, but never practiced to much extent in Allegheny County. He practiced a while in Baltimore, in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, and in St. Louis, Mo. He devoted more time to literature, and was the author of numerous pamphlets and several substantial volumes. He was judge of the District Court in Louisiana in 1812, when only twenty-three years of age. In 1821 was appointed United States Judge of the Western District of Florida, and held the office till 1832, when he moved to Pittsburg. In 1840 he was elected to Congress from Allegheny County. In 1841 he was a commissioner under the treaty with Mexico. The latter part of his life, until his death in 1871, he remained in private life, devoting himself to literature. He was an accomplished scholar, of extensive reading, and prolific author, in this respect even excelling his father. John Kennedy was from Fayette County, but also practiced in Pittsburg. He was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the State in 1830, and continued on the bench until his death in 1846. Of Thomas Collins, Steel Semple and Sidney Mountain we know but little except by tradition, which gives them an honorable position at the bar. Thomas Collins is better known, and lingered longer on the stage. He is remembered by some now living as an upright man and a worthy citizen.

Walter Forward was a great man in every sense, morally, socially and intellectually. He was born in Connecticut, 1786. When fourteen years of age his father moved to Ohio and began to clear his farm and establish a home. Young Walter worked on the farm three years, spending his evenings and leisure hours reading. When seventeen years old he started on foot, with a small bundle of wearing apparel in his hand, for Pittsburg, to read law, knowing no lawyer in the city, and a total stranger to all. He had heard of Henry Baldwin, and sought his office on Market Street. He had not a dime in his pocket when he came to the city. By great economy, writing articles for the newspapers, and editing the "Tree of Liberty," which brought him some funds, he struggled through and was admitted to the bar in 1808. He rapidly advanced to the front rank of the profession. He was employed in nearly every important case. His arguments to court and jury were always brief, logical and to the point. He spent no time in ornament or display, and did not weary court or jury with a loud, boisterous, rambling speech. In 1822 he was elected to Congress, as a Democrat, and served till 1825. He supported John Quincy Adams for President in 1824 and 1828, and thereafter was known as a Whig. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1837; in 1841 was appointed by President Harrison Controller of the Treasury; in September of that year, appointed by President Tyler Secretary of the Treasury. Retiring from office in 1843, he resumed the practice of law in Pittsburg. In 1849 he was appointed by President Taylor Charge d'Affaires in Denmark. While there he was nominated, and in 1851 elected, president judge of the District Court of Allegheny County—the first election of judges in this State under the amended constitution. On Monday, November 24, 1852, he charged the jury in an important case, and before the verdict was rendered he was dead. He walked from his home in the

country on that cold, damp morning, took a chill in the courthouse, and died at his lodging that night. No purer man ever wore the judicial ermine, and Allegheny County never had a more worthy citizen or better representative. Like all truly great and pure men, he amassed no fortune and died poor.

William Wilkins was born at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1779; read law in Carlisle, came to Pittsburg and was admitted to the bar here in 1801. For half a century, interrupted only by public duties, he practiced law in this county. In 1820 he was elected to the Legislature, the same year appointed president judge of the Common Pleas; resigned in May, 1824, when appointed judge of the United States District Court of Western Pennsylvania. In 1828 was elected to Congress, but resigned, alleging that his pecuniary circumstances would not justify him in accepting a seat in Congress. In 1831 was elected for a term of six years to the United States Senate. In 1834 he was appointed by President Jackson Minister to Russia. In 1842 was elected to the House of Representatives of Congress, and in 1844 appointed by President Tyler Secretary of War, retiring in 1845. In 1855 was elected to the State Senate. When the War of the Rebellion broke out, although eighty years of age and a staunch Democrat, he took an active part in support of the Government and rousing the patriotic spirit of the county. He was one of the most enterprising citizens of the county, assisting and encouraging in the establishing of manufactories and all public improvements. When he was appointed Minister to Russia, although owning considerable real estate, he was deeply in debt and virtually insolvent. But when he returned, in consequence of the sudden and great boom in real estate, he was a rich man. He had fine natural abilities and popular ways, which made him a favorite with the people. But his quick, impulsive nature, and a disinclination to close study and the mastery of details, unfitted him for a high degree of eminence as a judge. Died in 1865.

Charles Shaler was born in Connecticut in 1788 and educated at Yale College. His father was one of the commissioners to lay off the Western Reserve in Ohio, and young Charles went to Ravenna in 1809 to attend to the land his father had purchased. He was admitted to the bar there, and moved to Pittsburg in 1813. In 1824 he was appointed judge of the Common Pleas, and held that position eleven years, when he resigned. In 1841 he was appointed associate judge of the District Court of the county, and held that position till 1844, when he resigned. In 1853 he was appointed by President Pierce United States District Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania. In early life he was a Federalist; afterward an ardent admirer of Henry Clay; then a Polk and Dallas Democrat. He had a quick, impulsive, fiery temper, but a kind heart and a high sense of honor. He despised everything little or mean, and regarded his word to a fellow-attorney as binding as any signed and sealed obligation. He was of a most liberal and generous disposition, so much so that, although he had a most lucrative practice, he died comparatively poor. He died in 1869.

In the second generation we may call the names of Harmar Denny, Trevanion B. Dallas, James Dunlap, Cornelius Darragh, John D. Mahon, O. Metcalf, A. W. Loomis, Moses Hampton, David Ritchie, Wilson McCandless, William B. McClure, Andrew Burke, W. W. Fetterman, N. P. Fetterman and others that will be mentioned.

Harmar Denny was born in Cumberland County in 1794; was admitted to the Pittsburg bar 1816; in Congress from 1829 to 1837; died 1852. In early life he was an active member of the bar, but after entering politics virtually gave up the practice of law. He was well known as one of our most worthy citizens.

John Henry Hopkins was admitted to the bar in 1818. He was born in Ireland in 1792, and came to America with his parents in 1800. After practicing at the bar five years he entered the ministry and became rector of Trinity

Protestant Episcopal Church in Pittsburg in 1823. He resigned in 1831 and became rector of Trinity Church in Boston; 1832, elected Bishop of Vermont, and died in 1868. He was the author of numerous works. When at the bar he and Harmar Denny, both young men of high mettle, had a scene in court, when each was fined two hundred dollars, and had to pay it.

Trevanion B. Dallas was born in Philadelphia in 1801, and educated at Princeton. He commenced reading law with his brother, George M. Dallas, but came to Pittsburg in 1820 and finished with his brother-in-law, William Wilkins; admitted to the bar in 1822; appointed judge of the Common Pleas 1835; resigned in 1839 to accept the position of associate with Judge Grier in the District Court, which he held till his death in 1841. Previous to his appointment to the bench he was Deputy District Attorney for the county. He was highly esteemed, and the members of the bar erected a monument to his memory in Trinity Churchyard, still standing.

James Dunlap was born in Chambersburg 1785; admitted to the bar at Pittsburg in 1838, and died in 1857. He was a great student and good lawyer. He compiled and published a Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania, arranged in chronological order, with copious notes. It was a valuable work, but did not supersede the old style of Purdon's Digest. Cornelius Darragh, born in 1809; admitted to the bar in 1829; in Congress 1839 and 1844; Attorney-General of the State, 1849 to 1851; died 1854. He was a small man, but one of the most brilliant members of the bar and an able lawyer. John D. Mahon, born at Carlisle 1798; admitted at Pittsburg bar 1832; died 1861. He was an active, earnest, energetic man, and in his day had quite a reputation as an orator. Educated at Dickinson College. Orlando Metcalf, born 1797 in Orange County, New York; studied law with Henry Clay in Lexington, Kentucky; came to Pittsburg 1830; died 1850. He was regarded as one of the ablest lawyers at the bar, especially in land cases. A. W. Loomis was a cousin of O. Metcalf, and for many years in partnership with him. Born in Connecticut 1797; emigrated to New Lisbon, Ohio, where he practiced law for several years; came to Pittsburg 1839 and formed partnership with O. Metcalf; retired from the practice 1866; died 1873. While in New Lisbon was elected to Congress in 1836 and resigned in 1837. He was a large man of commanding presence. In his palmy days he was a popular orator and called the "Demosthenes of the West." He was an able lawyer and a man of noted integrity. He would never sue a party without giving him notice and reasonable time to adjust the claim. A client left with him a claim for collection. He wrote to the party, who in a short time paid the claim without suit. When the client called for his money, Mr. Loomis deducted five per cent. collecting fee—that was the customary collecting fee at that time, even where the money was made on execution. The client rather remonstrated that the fee was too much when he had so little trouble, and that there were plenty of attorneys who would collect for two per cent. "Oh, yes," said Mr. Loomis, "and so would I collect for two per cent.; but when I collect and *pay over the money* I charge five per cent.!"

Moses Hampton was born 1803 in Beaver County, Pennsylvania; 1812 his father moved to Trumbull County, Ohio, on a farm, and young Moses helped on the farm and in the backsmith shop of his father; he spent a year at an academy, then traveled on foot to Washington, Pennsylvania, to enter college; graduated 1826; was principal of an academy in Uniontown two years; admitted to the bar in Fayette County 1829; removed to Somerset County; was appointed Prothonotary by Governor Ritner; resigned in 1838 and moved to Pittsburg, and soon got into a lucrative practice. Was elected to Congress in 1846 and again in 1848. Elected president judge of the District Court in 1853 and reelected 1863. Died 1878. He was an ardent Whig and a most popular cam-

paign speaker. During the presidential elections of 1840, 1844 and 1848 he was everywhere in demand, and had no superior as a stump orator. On the bench he was distinguished for his dignity and urbanity, his attention to business and the faithful discharge of his official duties. He was an exemplary member of the Presbyterian Church for sixty years.

David Ritchie. By the act of 11th of April, 1862, a second associate law judge was added to the Common Pleas, and Governor Curtin, in May, appointed Mr. Ritchie until the succeeding election, or rather until the first Monday of December. He was not elected at the election in October, so that he was only seven months on the bench. He was born in Washington County, 1812; graduated at Jefferson College 1829; came to Pittsburgh 1833; admitted to the bar 1835; went to Europe, entered the University at Heidelberg, remained two years and graduated with the degree of LL. D.; returned to Pittsburgh 1837, and commenced the practice of law; was elected to Congress in 1852, and reelected 1854 and 1856; died, unmarried, 1867. He was thoroughly read in his profession, an accomplished scholar, a brilliant conversationalist, a pure, honest, upright, courageous man.

Wilson McCandless, born at Noblestown 1810; educated at Western University; admitted to the bar 1831; in partnership a short time with W. W. Fetterman, then for several years with his brother-in-law, William B. McClure; appointed by President Buchanan to the bench of the United States District Court 1859; resigned 1876, and died 1882. He was a natural orator, had a musical voice and fine flow of language, was brilliant and witty. He was a great jury lawyer. As a political campaign speaker he had few equals. Although never a candidate for political office, he was the popular leader and champion of the Democratic party, leading them to victory occasionally, but more frequently rallying them to another struggle after defeat.

William B. McClure, born near Carlisle, 1807; graduated at Dickinson College 1827; read law in Pittsburgh and admitted to the bar 1829; appointed president judge of Common Pleas in January, 1850; elected in October, 1851, for a term of ten years; reelected in October, 1861, for another term, but died in December of that year. He was a most conscientious, laborious, untiring worker as a judge. From 1850 to 1859 he was the only law judge in the Common Pleas, and had to try all cases in that court as well as the criminal court, and transact the other businesses of those courts and the Orphans' Court. As the cases in the Common Pleas were generally appeal cases, involving controversies not exceeding one hundred dollars, and no equity cases, he had little experience in civil causes, and was not a great judge in such cases. The criminal business was great and required nearly all his time. He had a great reputation, especially in adjoining counties, as a criminal judge, for whenever he believed a party guilty he seldom failed to convict him. At that time there was no appeal to the Supreme Court in criminal cases, even in homicide cases. The judge's charge, or his rulings on questions of evidence, could not be reviewed in the Supreme Court. Some of the best lawyers complained bitterly of his rulings and charge in the gravest cases. But there was no remedy, except by a new trial, and when he believed the prisoner guilty it was very difficult to convince him he had made a mistake as to the law.

W. W. Fetterman, born in Scott Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania; admitted to the bar 1822; died 1838. His brother, N. P. Fetterman, born in Scott Township, 1804; admitted to the bar 1825; removed to Bedford; elected to the Legislature; removed to Beaver County, 1831; came to Pittsburgh 1849; died 1874. William W. Irwin, admitted 1828; Mayor of Pittsburgh 1840; elected to Congress 1841; Charge d' Affaires to Denmark from 1843 to 1847; died 1856.

Thomas Williams, born at Greensburg 1806; graduated at Dickinson Col-

lege 1825; admitted to the Pittsburg bar 1828; moved to Allegheny City 1832; State Senator in the Legislature 1839, 1840 and 1841; in the House, 1860, 1861, 1862; elected to Congress 1862, 1864, 1866; was a member of the committee of the House on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson; died 1872. He was a most eloquent speaker when he thoroughly prepared himself, but rather indolent and not inclined to make an effort. He had unbounded confidence in his own judgment and little respect for the court or jury that differed with him. Daniel Agnew, born at Trenton, New Jersey, 1809; graduated at the Western University of Pittsburg 1825; admitted to the bar 1829; moved to Beaver County; afterward chief justice of the State:

Waiter H. Lowrie, born 1807; graduated at the Western University 1826; admitted to the bar 1829; appointed associate judge of the District Court 1846; elected to the Supreme Court 1851; chief justice from 1857 to 1863; in 1870 elected president judge of the Common Pleas of Crawford County, and moved to Meadville; died 1876. He was an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and nearly all his life a teacher of a Bible class in the Sabbath-school. Samuel Frew, born at New Castle 1806; admitted to the bar in Pittsburg 1833; was in the State Legislature from this county from 1834 to 1837; afterward Prothonotary of the Supreme Court; died 1861.

James Veech, born in Fayette County 1808; graduated at Jefferson College 1828; admitted to the bar at Uniontown 1832; removed to Pittsburg and practiced here until 1838, when he returned to Uniontown; was deputy district attorney under Attorney-General Todd while he was in Pittsburg; paymaster in United States Army in 1861 and 1862; resigned and moved to Allegheny County, where he practiced law until 1872; died 1879.

Robert Woods, born in Washington County, 1814; graduated at Washington College 1834; admitted at Pittsburg bar 1837; died 1879. He was a plain, unassuming man and one of the best land lawyers. His air of candor and sincerity before the jury had great effect. "Now, gentlemen," he would say, "consider this case as to what is right and just *between man and man*." Robert Robb, born in Lycoming County 1813; came to Pittsburg 1835; admitted to the bar 1837; died 1884. T. J. Bigham, born in Westmoreland County 1810; graduated at Jefferson College 1835; admitted to Pittsburg bar in 1837; was a member of the State Legislature 1851 to 1854 and 1862 to '64; of the State Senate 1865-67; died 1884. Samuel W. Black, born in Pittsburg 1816; graduated at the Western University 1834; admitted to the bar 1838; associate judge in Territory of Nebraska 1857 to 1859, and was Governor of the territory 1859 to 1861; served in the Mexican War and War of the Rebellion; killed at the battle of Gaines Mills, 1862. Andrew Burke, born in Ireland 1812; admitted to the Pittsburg bar 1833; presidential elector for Polk in 1844, and for Pierce in 1852; in Cincinnati convention that nominated James Buchanan 1856; died 1875. Thomas MacConnell, born in Allegheny County 1805; admitted to the bar 1838; was a member of Constitutional Convention of 1873; died 1874. Thomas Mellon, born 1813 in Ireland; family emigrated to Westmoreland County 1818; admitted to the Pittsburg bar 1838; was elected associate judge of the Common Pleas 1859, and at the close of his term retired from practice to attend to his property which he had accumulated and was very considerable.

A. H. Miller, born in Uniontown 1815; graduated at Madison College; admitted to the bar in Somerset County and was district attorney; moved to Pittsburg and admitted to the bar here 1839; died 1887. George P. Hamilton, born 1818; admitted to the bar 1839; died 1882. A leading attorney in his day. Like many old attorneys he was sometimes too hasty in giving an opinion. A client consulted him about a claim of \$6,000 against the estate of a man that had been dead eight years. He told him he could do nothing; the case was hopeless. A



young attorney took the case and won it on a principle of law Mr. Hamilton had overlooked in his haste. W. E. Austin, born at Uniontown 1817; admitted to the bar there in 1838; came to Pittsburg and admitted here 1840; died 1850. Henry W. Williams, born in Connecticut 1816; graduated at Amherst College 1837; moved to Pittsburg 1839; admitted to the bar 1841; elected associate judge of the District Court 1851; appointed to the Supreme Court 1868, and elected for a full term 1869; died 1877. He was one of the most careful, accurate and painstaking judges that ever sat on the bench. Marshall Swartzwelder, born at Carlisle 1819; educated at Princeton; admitted to the bar at Hagerstown, Maryland; moved to Pittsburg 1840, and admitted here 1841; in the State Legislature 1848-49; died 1884. One of the leading criminal lawyers of his day. C. B. M. Smith, born in Connecticut 1813; graduate of Amherst College 1837; came to Pittsburg and was professor in Western University; admitted to the bar 1842; died 1877. William M. Shinn, born in Baltimore 1809; admitted to the Pittsburg bar 1842; died 1865. Robert McKnight, born 1820; graduated at Princeton 1839; admitted to the bar 1842; member of Congress two terms, 1858 and 1860; died 1885. Francis C. Flanagan, born in Washington County 1799; never attended school or college, self-educated; admitted to the bar in Washington County and also in Allegheny County 1842; was elected district attorney for Allegheny County 1850, being the first elected to that office, and served three years; died 1866. James I. Kuhn, born in Allegheny County 1810; graduated at Jefferson College 1832; professor in Lafayette College 1832 to 1837; tutor in Georgia 1837 to 1840; professor in Ohio University, Cadiz, 1840 to 1844; admitted to Pittsburg bar 1844; died 1885. John S. Hamilton, born 1822; graduated at the Western University 1840; admitted to the bar 1844; was member of the Legislature 1854; moved to Fort Madison, Iowa, 1855; died there in 1856 from injuries received by the bursting of a cannon which he fired in honor of the election of James Buchanan to the Presidency. He served in the war with Mexico. John Barton, born 1822; admitted to the bar 1845; died 1888. He was not much of a scholar and not a profound lawyer, but very shrewd and adroit in the trial of causes. His testimony was always put in briefly and to the point; his cross-examinations were even more brief. He never strengthened his adversary's cause or brought out omitted facts by a long cross-examination. He got out a few facts, apparently unimportant, and made much of them before the jury. Long cross-examinations are always dangerous. David Reed, born in Washington 1821; graduated at Washington College 1843; admitted to the bar at Washington 1846; moved to Pittsburg the same year and admitted here; was United States District Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania from 1874 to 1876; died 1877. J. B. Sweitzer, born at Brownsville 1821; graduated at Jefferson College 1843; admitted to the Washington County bar 1845; located in Pittsburg and admitted here in 1846; was appointed United States District Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania by President Taylor 1849, and continued till 1853; served in the War of the Rebellion in Sixty-second Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and promoted to the command of a brigade; was in several battles; after the war appointed Prothonotary of State Supreme Court in 1873, and served till his death in 1888. John Mellon, born in Ireland; admitted to the bar in Pittsburg 1846; was deputy district attorney for the county under Attorney-General Darragh; died 1872.

P. C. Shannon, born in Westmoreland County 1824; admitted to the bar in Westmoreland County 1845; moved to Pittsburg and admitted here 1846; on the death of Walter Forward was appointed by the Governor presiding judge of the District Court, and served until December 1853; took an active part in sustaining the Government during the rebellion; was lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, but, being elected to the Legislature, resigned his commission, and

was in the House 1861, 1862 and 1863; was appointed in 1873 chief justice of Dakota Territory, and served till 1882, when he resigned; was appointed commissioner to negotiate with the Sioux Indians for their lands, and served from 1882 to 1885; while chief justice of Dakota prepared a code for the Territory, which was adopted by the Legislature.

Edwin M. Stanton, born at Steubenville, O., 1815; educated at the common schools; admitted to the bar 1836; commenced practice in Cadiz, and was district attorney for the county one term; then moved to Steubenville; in 1839 elected reporter of the Supreme Court by the Legislature, and served three years; admitted to the Pittsburg bar 1847; moved here in 1848 and formed a partnership with Judge Shaler; was Attorney-General of the United States 1860, 1861; was Secretary of War 1862 to 1868; was commissioned a justice of the United States Supreme Court December 20, 1869, but died four days later, before taking his seat. The law firm of Shaler, Stanton and Umstaetter had a large practice and of wide celebrity. Mr. Stanton's sterling patriotism and his heroic conduct will long live in the memory of his countrymen.

R. B. Carnahan, born in Allegheny County, 1826; graduated at the Western University 1845; admitted to the bar 1848; United States District Attorney from 1861 to 1870; died 1890. John P. Penny, born in McKeesport 1817; graduated at Jefferson College 1843; admitted to the bar 1849; was in the State Senate from 1859 to 1864, and speaker of the Senate in 1864; died in 1873. Alexander M. Watson, born in Allegheny County 1823; educated at University of Western Pennsylvania; studied for the ministry and preached one year; admitted to the bar 1850; died 1891. Mr. Watson was a prominent member of the bar; peculiar in some respects, very earnest and excitable, but a good lawyer. William B. Negley, born 1828; graduated at Jefferson College and from the law department of Princeton 1849; admitted to the bar 1849; served as chief aid to General J. S. Negley in the War of the Rebellion, with the rank of major; was a staunch and consistent member of the Presbyterian Church; died 1894.

Joseph S. Morrison, born 1824; graduated at Washington College 1844; admitted to the Allegheny County bar 1849; died 1886. A perfect gentleman, very tall, slender and graceful in person, with the kindest heart, but too modest and diffident for success at the bar. In important causes he would have the assistance of an older lawyer, who, of course, got all the credit. Self-confidence is necessary to success; not self-esteem, conceit or impudence. A young lawyer should feel that he is capable of managing any cause when he has sufficient time for examination and study. R. Biddle Roberts, born 1825; admitted to the bar 1850; was district attorney of the county and also United States District Attorney for Western District of Pennsylvania; served in the army during the rebellion; moved to Chicago 1869; died 1886. O. H. Rippey, born 1825; educated at the Western University and Allegheny College, Meadville; admitted to the bar 1850; served in the Mexican War and in the War of the Rebellion; was killed in the battle of Fair Oaks, 1862.

J. H. Hampton, born 1828; educated at Western University and West Alexander Academy; graduated at Washington College 1847; admitted to the Allegheny County bar 1850; died 1891. For many years solicitor of the Pennsylvania Railroad. In his prime a great jury lawyer. Shrewd, witty, full of amusing anecdotes and illustrations, he could sometimes convulse court and jury, captivate the box and win a verdict by a happy illustration. Jacob Whitesell, born 1819; educated at the Western University and Athens College, Ohio; admitted to the bar 1851; died 1885. A generous, kind-hearted, unoffending man, that had not an enemy. James A. Lowrie, born 1833; admitted to the bar 1854; served as aid to General Negley during the war; moved to Denver, Colorado, in 1875, and died there 1888. Samuel A. Purviance, born in Butler County 1809;

admitted to the Butler County bar 1828; was a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1838 and 1873; elected to the Legislature in 1838 and 1839, and a member of Congress in 1854 and 1856; moved from Butler to Pittsburg, and admitted to the bar here in 1859; was Attorney-General of the State 1861, and resigned because of dissatisfaction with some of Governor Curtin's actions; died 1882.

The third generation embraces the attorneys admitted since 1860; of these and older ones still living it can be hardly expected there will be any notice in this article. There ought to be, however, one exception. Thomas M. Marshall was admitted in 1846. He has never held, or desired, any public office, though often tendered to him. In his prime he was a mighty power in the profession and in politics. Few men have wielded greater influence over courts and juries. He still lingers on the stage, a living memory of the past and the venerated Nestor of the bar.

In early times the lawyers of Pittsburg were in the habit of attending the courts in adjoining counties. It was always a season of great social enjoyment. Riding on horses on the way, and at the taverns, they were fond of telling anecdotes, rehearsing adventures, cracking jokes and perpetrating tricks upon one another. They were a merry and jovial company, that afforded great amusement to the rustic crowds attending court. On one occasion, as a company of them were riding from Washington to Wellsburg, a country girl, in her bare feet, was driving home the cows. The cows started to go in the wrong direction, when she leaped a pair of high bars, without touching them, to head the cows. H. H. Brackenridge said playfully to his companions: "If she does that again I will marry her." One of them bantered the girl to leap the bars again, which she did. Brackenridge kept his word. Returning from Wellsburg, he stopped at the house, was pleased with the appearance and good sense of the girl, made arrangements for her education and then married her. She made an excellent wife, and her husband was proud of her. Country girls, after all, are the best, and make the best wives and mothers. Many city girls are good for nothing. While their mothers do the work they simper and yawn, and loll and sleep, think of nothing but dress and parties, and read nothing but love-sick novels. They can dance and thump the piano a little, but that is all. They dream of marrying a prince or millionaire. Alas! for the young man that gets such a one for his wife.

The early lawyers, and those of the second generation, were full of fun, wit and humor. That spirit has nearly died out in the present generation. It was that abounding spirit of humor in the early days which gave birth to Brackenridge's Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan in "Modern Chivalry." A good anecdote is told of Colonel Samuel W. Black. A prisoner was brought out from jail for trial, who had no counsel. Judge McClure asked Mr. Black if he would act as counsel for the prisoner. "What does your honor wish me to do?" inquired Black. "Why, clear him if you can," was the reply. "Can I have a few minutes' private talk with him?" "Certainly," said the judge. He took the prisoner out into the rotunda and told him to "skip," which he did. When Black returned to the courtroom the judge asked where was the prisoner. Black answered, "I did as your honor directed me, I *cleared him*."

The early lawyers were, generally, strong, vigorous men, of hardy, robust constitutions. They were early risers and early at their offices. Judge Shaler was always a very early riser, and even in the latter years of his life could be seen taking his long morning walk, summer and winter, hours before the modern lawyers were out of bed. Intellectually, as well as physically, they were strong, vigorous men. Taken as a class, in mental vigor and natural endowments, they were superior to the present generation. They were self-made men. They

had to rely upon their own efforts to make a living and rise in the world. All had to engage in struggles and endure privations and hardships unknown to the present generation. No one thought of becoming a lawyer because it was a kind of respectable, easy life, or because it was the way to make money. It was only the ambitious who entered the profession. They wanted to rise into distinction and make their mark in the world. It is only such that ever rise up to great eminence. When Daniel Webster thought of reading law, some of his friends tried to dissuade him, because the profession was already crowded. "There is room at the top," was his significant answer. Ambition is necessary to success. It is not enough to think of it, to hope for it, and dream of it. A high position is gained only by keeping it constantly in view, struggling for it, and bending every energy to its attainment.

Few sons of wealthy men or those in high position amount to much in the world. They have too easy a time in early life, and do not feel the necessity of making a struggle. They lack ambition. How few sons of the great men of our bar have ever become noted attorneys! How few sons of the wealthy, the leading merchants, manufacturers, ministers, doctors, of our country have equaled their fathers! The great men of the world, in all professions and branches of business, in politics and literature, with few exceptions, have come up from the common walks of life.

The early lawyers had but few books to assist in their practice. They lived before the deluge of reports and textbooks. They had to delve in their own minds to find the law for their difficult cases. They had to think, study, reflect, reason on the subject; to study out the correct principles that should apply to the case, for all law is based on justice and reason. Richard Hooker said of Law: "Her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage." "Reason," says Sir Edward Coke, "is the life of law; nay, the common law itself is nothing else but reason. The law is the perfection of reason."

When Daniel Webster had a difficult case to argue he would think out the principles that should apply to the case, and then tell his assisting counsel to hunt up the authorities on those points. Chief Justice Gibson, who had a greater judicial mind than any man who ever sat on the Supreme Bench of the State, was much like Daniel Webster in this respect. He knew very little law when elevated to the Supreme Court. His great intellect intuitively grasped the principles that were applicable to the case. He reveled in the reason of the law and did not trouble himself much to hunt up cases. The same principle is implied in the advice that Lord Mansfield gave to one who had an appointment involving judicial functions and expressed his fears that he was unfit for the position. "Tut, man," said Mansfield, "think what is justice and reason in the case, and decide promptly, but never give any reasons for your decision. Your decision may be right but your reasons are sure to be wrong."

The old lawyers had Blackstone's Commentaries, Coke upon Lyttleton and a few textbooks on the general principles of law. The study of these was the way to lay a good foundation. The greatest lawyer of Philadelphia—Horace Binney—said: "The most effectual way of making a good lawyer is a methodical study of the general system of law, of its grounds and reasons, by which a student acquires a knowledge of the *principles* that rule in all departments of the science."

The tendency of the profession of later years is the very opposite of the method above recommended. It is to hunt up cases and find something to fit the case in hand. The judge or lawyer who does that seldom reasons or reflects on the principles that ought to govern the case. A *case* lawyer will never become a great lawyer. He will often be mistaken in the application of the case

he cites, because of some other principle that applies to the case he is trying. In the endless variety of circumstances attending the acts and transactions in life, it is very seldom that two cases are alike in all respects. The progress of society, the vast change in business, the development of new industries, new inventions and discoveries, are constantly evolving new principles or requiring modifications of old ones. Hence the science of law is progressive. Old cases and old books become obsolete. Again, quoting from Horace Binney: "Old authorities no longer command reverence. Most of the old books that used to be thought almost as good a foundation for their part of the truth as the Prophets and Apostles are for the whole truth, are taken away from the foundation of the building and thrown into the garret."

Many former decisions have been overruled, because they were founded on erroneous principles, or are inapplicable to the changed conditions of society. This only illustrates the importance of seeking for principles apart from reported cases. It is said that in six hundred volumes of English law reports there are 240,000 points. Every year hundreds of new volumes of Reports are issued in England and America. If a lawyer would buy all the old lawbooks and all the new ones, in an ordinary lifetime, he must have the fortune of Vanderbilt and a library equal to the Colosseum.

It is a mistake to suppose that the early lawyers were rough, uncouth, illiterate men. Some of them were classical scholars and of cultivated tastes. They had no daily newspapers filled with scandals, gossips and details of crimes to corrupt their morals and waste time on. They read books, not the flashy literature of modern days, but history and books of substantial information. Nowadays few people read books of any value. At the news-stands, at hotels, on the railroads and steamboats, at places of summer resort, nothing can be got except cheap editions of trashy novels and magazines filled with sensational stories and ephemeral fiction. Business men are satisfied with a hasty glance over the morning paper. Nobody reads history. Very few think of reading a book of science or philosophy. The young people, when they do read anything, read only the latest novel or some serial tale in the magazines. All they think about and all they talk about is of the opera or theater, of the euchre-party or baseball game. Ancient literature and the English classics are unknown.

In the earlier and better days, when society was not demoralized by so many sources of amusement, the social and domestic virtues were more highly cultivated. The early lawyers were fond of music—song and instrumental—and found their sweetest joys in the family circle. Walter Forward would sit in the kitchen and talk with his wife while she was cooking the meal. He was a good performer on the violin. His office, with books and papers, contained his gun and fishing-rods, his violin and other instruments of music. Chief Justice Gibson, when a young lawyer in Beaver, would sit out on the banks of the Ohio River in the evenings, spending hours in playing his violin. He was very fond of it and an excellent player. On one occasion, after he was on the Supreme Bench, he went to Uniontown to hold court, and took his violin with him. Early in the morning he was sitting in front of his hotel, discoursing sweet music on his favorite instrument. Someone passing reminded him it was the Sabbath day. He had forgotten the day of the week. Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court was an expert violinist. He would often play it for the entertainment of the children, and would get down on the floor to romp with them. Some modern lawyers would be ashamed to do that, and think it much more becoming the dignity of the profession to attend a baseball game or ride a bicycle.

In the early days much more depended on the forensic efforts of the lawyers than now. Nearly every case was decided by jury. The judges were not in



straightjackets, as now, hemmed in, tied down, and bound, by numerous bristling points of law by counsel, and the stenographer's report of every word and thing said or done during the trial. The judge's charge was oral, and, if required to be written out, it might not be filed for six months, and only after mature reflection. The great effort of the lawyer was to carry the jury and win the verdict. Eloquence and impassioned oratory were necessary for that. There was also an inspiration in the crowd attending court. In those days it was a great treat to be present during a trial and hear the lawyers. The spectators eagerly caught up every good thing said and manifested their approbation, which had its effect upon the jury. That was true in the trial of civil, as well as criminal, cases. At this day, under our present rules of practice and our affidavit system, many cases are disposed of by the court that were formerly tried by a jury, and in cases that go to the jury the issue is clearly defined, limiting the jury to naked questions of fact and clipping the oratorical wings of the lawyer. Very naturally, therefore, the old lawyers were greater orators and more forcible speakers than those of the present day.

There is a degeneracy at the bar. There are lawyers at the bar now equal in legal lore and ability to any of former generations. But the profession is crowded with hangers-on, who have no fitness, ambition or ability. They will never rise up to mediocrity, and are only a disgrace to the profession. Some have read law to have the name of being a lawyer, with no serious intention of prosecuting the profession, depending on their rich parents for support, and waiting till they die to inherit what they leave. Some, thinking it a kind of easy, respectable life, enter the profession, dreaming of success without study or effort. They starve for a few years, then try something else. Others, with no suitable preparatory education, seek admission to the bar, with no conception of the high and honorable character of the profession, but simply hoping to make enough to live on in an easy way. They look upon the profession as a *trade*, like carpentry or shoemaking, but not so hard work. They loaf on the streets, or sit in their offices smoking tobies, waiting for clients. They never think of a systematic course of reading, or of studying the law as a science. They pick up a little knowledge by attending trials in court, and, if they happen to get a case, hunt for some decision in the Digest to help them, or ask some older attorney what to do. As their only object is to make money, they follow the precept of the unscrupulous father to his son: "Make money, make it honestly if you can, but make money." They will take any case for a fee, however unjust or rascally, and resort to any trick to gain it. If they get a chance they will skin their client, rob the opposite party, and incontinently pocket all moneys collected. It is shysters like these that degrade the profession in public estimation. They have slipped into the profession in the last few years from a neglect of the rules, and the mistaken indulgence of examining committees. The class is not numerous and not likely to increase. The tendency now is to a more strict enforcement of the rules for admission to the bar, requiring fitness, a suitable education and a high moral tone. Following is the list of judges:

#### COMMON PLEAS—I.

1788, George Wallace appointed president judge, and John Metzgar, Michael Hillman and Robert Ritchie, associates. These were all laymen, not lawyers, and were judges of the Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions and Orphans' Court. They held office until the 17th of August, 1791, when the courts were reorganized under the Constitution of 1790. The following were judges during the same time, entitled to sit in the Quarter Sessions only, all laymen, namely: James Brison, Samuel Jones, John Johnson, Abraham Kirkpatrick, Richard Butler, William Tilton and John Wilkins.

**Judges Learned in the Law.**—1791, Alexander Addison, president judge; impeached and removed in 1803. 1803, Samuel Roberts; died December 13, 1820. 1820, William Wilkins; resigned May 25, 1824. 1824, Charles Shaler; resigned May 4, 1835. 1835, Trevanion B. Dallas; resigned June 24, 1839. 1839, Benjamin Patton, Jr.; resigned in 1850. 1850, William B. McClure; appointed on the resignation of Benjamin Patton, elected 1851, and reelected in 1861, but died in December, 1861. 1862, James P. Sterritt, appointed; elected in October and reelected in 1872; resigned in 1877 when appointed to the Supreme Bench. 1877, Edwin H. Stowe became president on the resignation of J. P. Sterritt; 1882, reelected for ten years, and again reelected in 1892.

**Associate Law Judges.**—1859, John W. Maynard, appointed till December, 1859. 1859, Thomas Mellon, elected for ten years. 1862, David Ritchie, appointed till December, 1862. 1862, Edwin H. Stowe, elected for ten years, and reelected in 1872. 1869, Fred H. Collier, elected for ten years; reelected in 1879 and 1889. 1877, Charles S. Fetterman, appointed till December, 1877. 1877, John H. Bailey, elected for ten years. 1887, J. F. Slagle, elected for ten years.

**Lay Associate Judges Since 1790.**—1791, George Wallace; resigned in 1788 and reappointed. 1791, John Wilkins, Jr.; resigned 1796. 1791, John McDowell; died 1812. 1791, John Gibson; died 1800. 1796, George Thompson; in place of J. Wilkins. 1800, J. C. B. Lucas; in place of J. Gibson. 1812, Francis McClure; resigned 1839. 1814, George Robinson; died 1818. 1818, James Riddle; resigned 1838. 1838, William Hays; resigned 1840. 1838, Hugh Davis; resigned 1840. 1840, William Porter; commission annulled; reappointed 1843. 1840, John M. Snowden; recommissioned 1841. 1845, John Anderson; appointed but declined. 1845, William G. Hawkins; appointed but declined. 1845, William Kerr, recommissioned 1846. 1848, Samuel Jones; resigned 1851. 1851, William Boggs; recommissioned November, 1851. 1851, T. L. McMillen; died 1852. 1852, Patrick McKenna; until December, 1852. 1852, Gabriel Adams; commissioned for five years. 1856, John E. Parke; commissioned for five years. 1857, Gabriel Adams; commissioned for five years. 1861, John Brown; commissioned for five years. John Brown was the last lay judge in the county. The law was changed requiring associates to be learned in the law.

## DISTRICT COURT—II.

**President Judges.**—1833, Robert C. Grier; resigned 1846. 1846, Hopewell Hepburn; resigned 1851. 1851, Walter Forward; died 1852. 1852, P. C. Shannon; appointed until December, 1853. 1853, Moses Hampton; and reelected in 1863. 1873, Thomas Ewing; elected for ten years; reelected in 1883 and 1893, of Common Pleas No. 2.

**Associates in District Court.**—1839, Trevanion B. Dallas; died 1841. 1841, Charles Shaler; resigned 1844. 1844, Hopewell Hepburn; appointed president 1846. 1846, Walter H. Lowrie; elected to Supreme Court 1851. 1851, H. W. Williams; reelected 1861; elected to Supreme Court 1868. 1868, John M. Kirkpatrick; appointed till December, 1869. 1869, John M. Kirkpatrick; elected for ten years; reelected 1879 and resigned 1886, of Common Pleas No. 2. 1873, J. W. F. White; elected for ten years, and reelected in 1883 and 1893, of Common Pleas No. 2.

## COMMON PLEAS NO. 2—III.

By the Constitution of 1873 the District Court, on January 1, 1874, was converted into Common Pleas No. 2, with the same judges. 1874, Thomas Ewing, president judge; reelected in 1883 and 1893. 1874, J. M. Kirkpatrick, associate; reelected in 1879, resigned 1886. 1874, J. W. F. White, associate; reelected 1883 and 1893. 1886, Christopher Magee; elected for ten years.

## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

## COMMON PLEAS NO. 3—IV.

By act of Assembly, May 12, 1891, this court was created. The Governor appointed the judges until January 1, 1892, and they were elected in November, 1891, for a term of ten years. 1891, John M. Kennedy, president; S. A. McClung, associate; W. D. Potter, associate.

## ORPHANS' COURT—V.

Until the act of May 19, 1874, the judges of the Common Pleas held the Orphans' Court. That act made it a separate court. 1874, William G. Hawkins; elected for ten years, and was the sole judge; reelected in 1884 and 1894. The act of May 5, 1881, authorized an associate judge. 1881, James W. Over; elected for ten years; reelected 1891.

## UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT—VI.

1818, Jonathan Hoge Walker; died 1824. 1824, William Wilkins; resigned 1831. 1831, Thomas Irwin; resigned 1859. 1859, Wilson McCandless; resigned 1876. 1876, W. W. Ketcham; died 1879. 1879, Marcus W. Atcheson; promoted to the Circuit Court 1891. 1891, James H. Reed; appointed, but resigned within one year. 1891, Joseph Buffington; appointed; present incumbent.



## CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR OF 1812—EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE INDIANS—MONEY EXPENDED IN PITTSBURG—THE SCARE OF 1798—MILITIA CUSTOMS—DECLARATION OF WAR IN 1812—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT PUBLIC MEETINGS—COMMITTEE OF SAFETY—MILITIA FOR THE NIAGARA DEPARTMENT—THEIR DEPARTURE FROM PITTSBURG—THEIR PROCEEDINGS AT BLACK ROCK—STATEMENTS OF THE COMMANDERS—PUNISHMENT UNDER THE ARTICLES OF WAR—THE PITTSBURG BLUES—THEIR SERVICES IN THE NORTHWEST—GALLANTRY AT MISSISSINAWA, SANDUSKY AND FORT MEIGS—THEIR NAMES—INCIDENTS—THE MILITIA UNDER CAPTAIN DOUGLAS—OTHER EVENTS OF INTEREST.

Pittsburg was headquarters and base of supplies, particularly for ordnance, during the Indian wars of the West while the Revolution continued and for some time after its termination. Several expeditions were fitted here before setting out to subdue the Western tribes; and at all times this was a recruiting station of the United States Army. No season elapsed that did not witness the passage through here of soldiers destined for the frontier. In 1791 the expedition of General Arthur St. Clair rendezvoused here before starting on its disastrous mission. Colonel Presley Neville (a), who was the Government agent for supplying these troops with necessaries before their departure, issued bills on the Secretary of War, which were countersigned by the commander-in-chief. It was estimated that the troops of St. Clair spent in Pittsburg and vicinity not less than \$10,000. The expedition of General Josiah Harmar had gone out the year before and had spent here about the same amount. Lieutenant Ebenezer Denny, then in the United States service, father of Harmar Denny and brother-in-law of General Wilkins and Judge Wilkins, accompanied the expedition of General Harmar. He survived the Harmar defeat and the following year went out as aid to General St. Clair. He named his son Harmar in honor of his old commander. On the day of the disastrous defeat of St. Clair's army, Colonel Richard Butler was left on the field of battle, mortally wounded and leaning against some flour sacks, with one of his pistols loaded and cocked in his hand. He was the father of Captain James R. Butler, commander of the Pittsburg Blues in the War of 1812. Richard Butler was the second and rival of General Morgan at Saratoga, the second of General Wayne at Stony Point, and aided in the capture of York. His life was lost, as above stated, November 4, 1791. General Presley Neville was an aid-de-camp to General Lafayette in the Revolution. His father, General John Neville, also served in the Revolution. General Presley Neville married a daughter of General Daniel Morgan; his son was Morgan Neville, from whom was stolen, in 1818, by Pluymart, the gold medal granted to his grandfather by Congress for gallantry at the battle of Cowpens (b). Presley Neville fought at Princeton, Trenton, Germantown, Brandywine, Monmouth and elsewhere, and had a horse shot under him at Monmouth.

The expedition under General Wayne left Pittsburg for the Indian country in 1792. His large army remained here several months, and left with merchants and farmers large sums of money for supplies. In 1794 the whisky insurrection

(a) The Nevilles in America claim a lineal descent from Warwick, the Kingmaker; see *English Genealogy*.

(b) See chapter on Banking and Finance.



caused another great army to be sent out here, and another large sum of money was left in this city and vicinity. In 1792 the expenses of the United States Government were \$1,766,677; in 1793, \$1,707,848; in 1794, \$3,500,348; in 1795, \$4,350,596; in 1796, \$2,531,930, and in 1797, \$2,833,590 (c). The great excess spent in the years 1794 and 1795 was due to the Indian wars and the whisky insurrection, and gave great assistance to all of Western Pennsylvania, particularly Pittsburg.

In the general statement of the annual expenditures of the United States, made by Joseph Nourse, Register of the Treasury, April 28, 1800, it appeared that "for expenses attending military expeditions in Pennsylvania in 1794," there was expended \$669,992.34; in 1795, \$500,000, and in 1798, \$80,007.66 (d). How much of the very large amount, \$1,169,992.34, spent in the years 1794 and 1795 was distributed in and around Pittsburg will probably never be known.

Many of the first settlers of Pittsburg and Allegheny County had served in the Continental Army during the Revolution. In fact, many of the leading citizens of Pittsburg had been not merely soldiers, but officers, in the Revolution, as well as in the coeval and subsequent Indian wars, and it was to be expected, therefore, that some sort of military organization and discipline should be kept up after the Revolution, and such was the case here under the State militia law. The training days after the Revolution and previous to the War of 1812 were famous for their lack of efficiency and discipline, as well as for their transformation into sportful holidays. The officers endeavored to impress upon the rank and file the awful solemnity and patriotism of the occasions; but the necessity of these exactions was not felt by those who carried the guns or cornstalks, and hence hilarity usually ruled the day and far into the night. Orders were disobeyed, and many court-martials and other heroics were instituted to punish offenders. White male inhabitants between eighteen and fifty-three years were required to meet regularly for drill and inspection of arms, and every year new brigade, regimental and company officers were elected. Adamson Tannehill figured prominently in the militia here after 1786. Public arms were distributed and had to be accounted for upon pain of prosecution. General John Gibson, Colonel William Butler, General John Wilkins, Colonel John Irwin, Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, General Presley Neville, Major John Pentland, Colonel James O'Hara, Major James Brison, Captain William Butler, Major George Crogan, Major George Steward, General Thomas Baird, Colonel Ebenezer Denny, Major Isaac Craig, Colonel John Campbell, Captain Adamson Tannehill, Captain Thomas Hutchins, Captain Devereaux Smith, Captain John Neville, Colonel George Morgan, General Richard Butler and others were the leading military men of the early time.

Late in the last century (eighteenth) great fear was felt here that France, or Spain, or both, would subjugate America. War was thought almost inevitable. The American representatives to the court of France to demand a redress of grievances were coldly received by Talleyrand and kept waiting for months without getting any satisfaction. The militia of this county, and, indeed, of the whole State, was put in a better condition of efficiency than perhaps at any other period in time of peace in the history of Pennsylvania. Musters were held weekly in anticipation of a foreign war.

At a public meeting held in Pittsburg on July 14, 1798, in response to a circular letter from the Governor of the State on the importance of better organizing the militia, in view of probable trouble with France and England, General John Gibson was made chairman and Major James Brison secretary, and among other things the following answer was returned:

(c) American State Papers, Vol. I, Finance.

(d) American State Papers, Vol. V, page 661.

"We have received with indignation (the news of) the unprovoked and tyrannical conduct of France toward us. The forbearance of the Government has been great; and no doubt for the best of reasons. War seems now to be inevitable, and we rejoice that the spirit necessary to the protection of our country from insult, outrage and dishonor pervades every class of citizens. As to us, we shall attend particularly to each object of your address, and as speedily as possible make the necessary arrangements in the organization of our militia, and when our country calls on us we pledge our lives for the faithful discharge of our duty as citizens and soldiers" (e).

Upon receipt of the news here that war had been declared June 18, 1812, by the Government against Great Britain, the military spirit was kindled into flame. Patriotic meetings were held in all parts of the county and resolutions passed to sustain the action of Congress. At a large meeting held in Pittsburg, at the tavern of William McCullough (sign of the Cross Keys), on August 12, 1812, Colonel John Neal was called to the chair and Ephraim Pentland made secretary. It was decided by the meeting to appoint a committee on resolutions and adjourn until the next day. This committee consisted of William McCandless, John Cunningham, James Alexander, William Brown and Ephraim Pentland. The resolutions reported by them the following day to a much larger meeting were unanimously adopted.

The resolutions declared that the conduct of the Government toward the powers of Europe was indorsed; that the appeal to arms was consistent with the maintenance of honor and dignity; that the war was one in defense of our most sacred rights; that the conduct of the British Government in letting loose the Indians on the American border "deserved the execration of the civilized world;" that irrespective of party the citizens here would obey the laws and help carry them into effect; that they were ready to submit to any system of taxation to carry on the struggle and gain satisfaction from "the common enemy of mankind;" and that the action of Pennsylvania was approved (f).

In August, 1812, news began to pour in of the success of the British in the Northwest, of the struggle around Michilimacinae, and finally of the surrender of Detroit by General Hull, this last intelligence occasioning great dismay and indignation.

"The Pittsburg Blues, commanded by Captain James R. Butler, have received orders from the Secretary of War to march to Fort Niagara. We understand they will leave this (place) next week. Captain Butler's company has received a very considerable accession of members since the marching orders were received. They are a very handsome body of men—completely uniformed, disciplined and equipped; and, we have no doubt, will acquit themselves honorably in whatever difficulties may await them. The best wishes of their fellow-townsmen and their country will accompany them" (g).

A town meeting was called at the courthouse August 26, 1812, on which occasion William Steele, burgess, was made chairman, and Ephraim Pentland secretary, to take into consideration the surrender of General Hull and the war generally and devise what should be done in the emergency by Pittsburg. A committee was appointed to report the next day, and consisted of General John Wilkins, General Thomas Baird and Henry Baldwin, Esq., They reported that Pittsburg was in no danger from an attack and that no measures were necessary for its defense; but inasmuch as a sister State was in danger from incursions, owing to the capture of the Northwestern Army, and ought to be supplied with "munitions of war," much would be expected from the wealth and patriotism of this place, and therefore the committee recommended that a special Committee

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(e) Gazette, 1798. (f) Mercury, August 20, 1812.

(g) The Mercury, August 27, 1812.

of Safety be appointed, which should see that all arms, ammunition, military stores, etc., should be collected and got ready for service; that the citizens should fully equip all who would enlist "for the protection of the frontier settlements;" that such citizens as could leave their families, and all young men, should enlist and be ready to march in some of the volunteer companies. The resolutions were adopted unanimously. General John Wilkins, General Thomas Baird, Henry Baldwin, Esq., George Robinson, Esq., William McCandless, Esq., and Major Isaac Craig were appointed such Committee of Public Safety, and instructed to correspond with the Governor of Pennsylvania, requesting similar orders from him (h).

All British subjects residing within the State were required to report themselves to agents appointed in the various districts. They were considered alien enemies, and in Pittsburg were required to report to William B. Irish, agent (i).

The Governor of the State called for 2,000 volunteer militia, and ordered them to rendezvous at Meadville. Erie was seriously threatened from the lake, and the State designed to protect that coast. A large force began to collect at Fort Niagara for the protection of Western New York. All the militia companies of the county were called out to drill and otherwise prepare for war, should they be called upon. All the county militia were ordered out to parade early in September on Ayres' Hill, southeast of town (j). In response to the call of the Governor, a large force began to collect here preparatory to organization and march to Meadville.

"Since the publication of the last *Mercury* this borough has, by the daily arrival of volunteer corps, amounting to between 1,000 and 1,200 men, exhibited a spectacle cheering to the heart of every patriotic American."

The paper proceeded to praise their appearance, intrepid look, discipline, equipment, etc. (k).

Allegheny County constituted the First Brigade of the Fifteenth Division of Pennsylvania Militia. This brigade consisted of the Seventy-sixth Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel McEwen, and the Sixteenth, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, the two comprising 1,100 men; the One Hundred and Forty-first Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins, and the Sixty-second (part), under Lieutenant-Colonel Logan, the two comprising 1,200 men; the One Hundred and Forty-sixth Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Courtney; the Sixty-second (part), under Lieutenant-Colonel Logan, and the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, under Lieutenant-Colonel McNulty, the three comprising 1,050 men. Under the call of 1812 for volunteer militia to go to the Niagara department, 331 men were accepted from the above-named battalions. In 1814 General William Marks commanded the First Brigade. It was during this year that the Allegheny Arsenal was established by the Government at Pittsburg.

Four companies were soon here from Washington County, commanded by Captains Sample, Miller, Warner and Buchanan; two from Greene County, under Captains Vance and Patterson; four from Franklin County, under Captains Harper, Oats, McDowell and Snyder; two from Bedford County, under Captains Piper and Gibson, and five from Allegheny County, under Captains Turbit, Altee, Scott, Lithgow and Cooper; in all seventeen companies. One more was expected from Franklin County, to be commanded by Captain Henry Regus, and four were expected from Somerset County, under Captains Keller, Lane, Rhodes and McGuire; in all to rendezvous here twenty-two companies, which were then to elect their officers and move to Meadville, and thence to march to Buffalo for orders (l). These men consisted of drafted militia from the

(h) Gazette, Commonwealth and Mercury, August, 1812.

(i) Mercury, November 5, 1812.

(k) Mercury, September 17, 1812.

(j) Mercury, September, 1812.

(l) Mercury, September 12, 1812.

Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth (Allegheny County) and Sixteenth divisions of the State, and were intended for service, in conjunction with the New York militia, along the Niagara and Lake Erie frontier. The companies did not march in a body from this place to Meadville, but as soon as they had elected their officers and been supplied with equipments they departed. Each man was required to furnish his own blanket and knapsack. Volunteers were accepted in substitution of drafts. At Meadville the troops were united into one brigade, which consisted of two regiments of infantry and two regiments of riflemen. Adamson Tannehill was elected general of the brigade; Jeremiah Snyder and John Purviance were elected colonels of the infantry regiments, and Jared Irwin and William Piper colonels of the rifle regiments. These were the first elections, and no doubt changes were subsequently made. These troops marched to Meadville prior to October 22, 1812 (m).

About 2,000 additional drafted militia were ordered to rendezvous in Pittsburgh on October 2d, organize and equip and prepare to join the army of General Harrison. They organized October 5th by dividing into two regiments, and each of these into two battalions of infantry and one troop of horse. The brigade commander elected was Richard Crooks, and the colonels Joel Ferree and Robert Patterson. No doubt men from Pittsburgh and vicinity joined these troops. In September and October twenty-eight pieces of cannon passed through here, destined for the army of General Harrison. Large quantities of stores, supplies, and several gun carriages were furnished by the merchants here. The battery of Major Amos Stoddard, consisting of 150 men and many guns, moved westward in October. On November 7, 1812, there arrived here, in charge of a lieutenant's guard, on their way to the army of General Harrison, eight wagons loaded with specie. On November 22, 1812, there left Pittsburgh for the Northwestern Army twenty-eight gun carriages for eighteen-pounders, including several brass twelves, sixes and howitzers; a large quantity of fixed ammunition for cannon, and a very extensive supply of muskets, cartridges, several traveling forges and a large quantity of necessaries for a winter's campaign. All made a train of nearly one hundred wagons, and all were under the command of Captain Joseph Wheaton, of the quartermaster's department, an old Revolutionary officer (n).

No inconsiderable part of these supplies was furnished by local merchants. As a characteristic circumstance of that day it may be noted that James Graham, stationer here, was called upon by the army contractors for a goodly number of quill pens (o). The Pittsburgh business men were not slow to take advantage of the demands of army contractors. It is claimed that the anchors and rope rigging of the fleet of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie could not have been obtained from any other place in time for his great naval battle, and not even from here had not the Allegheny River been at a high boating stage (p).

"Since the first of September last the following reinforcements from Pennsylvania have marched through this place on their way to join the Northwestern and Niagara armies: Seven companies of infantry and riflemen and two troops of cavalry, furnished and directed by Captain Joseph Wheaton, in the quartermaster-general's department; two thousand drafted militia and volunteers, destined for Niagara, under the command of General Tannehill; two thousand drafted militia and volunteers, under the command of General Crooks, directed to join the Northwestern Army, under the command of General Harrison; twenty-eight pieces of cannon for the same destination. A number of carriages, guns, howitzers, etc., the number not exactly known, will also leave this [place] in a few days. They will be under the direction and care of that able and experienced

(m) Mercury, sundry issues, autumn of 1812.

(n) Mercury, various issues, November, 1812.

(o) Mercury, 1812.

(p) Annals of the West.

soldier of the Revolution, Major Amos Stoddard, and will no doubt be amply sufficient to answer the desired end. It is a pleasing task to notice these occurrences. They show that the Government and its agents are fully determined and are exerting every nerve to prosecute the present honorable contest with vigor and effect" (q).

In November, 1812, the battle of Queenstown was fought without the aid of the Pennsylvania militia, as they were still at Meadville, destitute of proper arms and equipments. On November 18, 1812, this brigade, under General Tannehill, reached Black Rock, and five days later, about 1,650 strong, reached the Buffalo encampments. "They made a fine martial appearance, and are generally composed of healthy young men, about one-fourth of whom are riflemen" (r).

"By the account of the commencement of the enterprise all were filled with the liveliest anticipations of success. The anxious hopes of the citizens were all directed toward this expected theater of American glory. But, alas! We fear the enterprise has issued in dishonor! We have now, with mingled feelings of disappointment, mortification and disgust, to record the sequel of the story, and to lament over the fate of our country. The loss of a fair-fought battle, and even the treacherous capitulation of an important post, are incidents which fortitude can bear, and which American courage might retrieve. But the heart sickens and we turn with disgust from a scene in which we see a spirit of insubordination prevailing in the army, their camp broken up, the men, without leave, returning to their homes, and leaving the republic to the scoff and derision of her enemies. It is too painful to dwell on the disgusting picture. . . . The volunteer companies, commanded by Captains Cooper and Lithgow, from Pittsburg, and Captain Turbit of this neighborhood, were all not only willing, but desirous to cross. It is said this was also the case generally, with a few exceptions. General Tannehill is sick. The troops at Black Rock were ordered to build huts, and take up their winter quarters; but the report is that the army, so far at least as relates to the militia and volunteers, is completely broken up, the greater part of them, without waiting for a discharge, having left their arms and started for their respective homes. From the number of them which are daily arriving here, we fear there is but too much ground to believe the truth of this report" (s).

So much dispute was occasioned by the affair at Black Rock, and so much confusion has existed since regarding the facts in the case, that the details will be dwelt upon with some particularity. Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth, in his report to Major-General Henry Dearborn, said that General Tannehill's brigade numbered 1,650 men, of whom 413 volunteered to cross into Canada; that he (Smyth) was ready with 3,000 men on November 26th to cross; that the preliminary effort to silence the guns and destroy a bridge of the enemy on the night of the 27th was only partly successful; that such serious reports were brought back that a force of 250 men under Colonel Winder was sent across to develop the enemy, and was defeated with considerable loss and forced to return; that about 1,200 men moved up to Black Rock and disembarked; that the enemy, 500 or 600 strong, was drawn up in line of battle on the opposite shore; that General Tannehill's troops were left behind; that upon consultation of the officers a division occurred as to the advisability of crossing; that it was finally determined to wait until the whole force could cross at once; that the 29th was spent in preparation; that 3 o'clock a. m. of December 1st was fixed as the hour for crossing; that the troops were poorly supplied with rations; that the departure was delayed until after daylight; that much confusion and insubordination were manifested; that about 1,512 men entered the boats, while some

(q) *Mercury* (about), October 3, 1812.

(r) *Cor. Mercury*, December 10, 1812.

(s) *Mercury*, December 17, 1812.



refused to go; that upon a consultation of the regular army officers upon the expediency of crossing in daylight under all circumstances, all advised against the invasion; that previously, on the 28th, many of the volunteers had broken their muskets because they had not seen a battle; that the regular troops were the only ones to be certainly relied upon, owing to insubordination of the Pennsylvania and New York militia; whereupon, from all this condition of affairs, General Smyth determined not to invade Canada without reinforcements, and gave orders to that effect (t).

Brigadier-General Peter B. Porter, commander of the New York volunteers, reported that on November 27th there were about 4,500 men at Black Rock; that on the 28th, though all were to embark at daylight, it was 2 o'clock p. m. before from 2,000 to 2,600 men were ready in the boats, owing doubtless to the failure of the preliminary attack; that at that time of day all were in fine spirits and ready to cross; that General Tannehill's troops and others were on shore, but ready to cross; that other boats sufficient to carry 1,000 more were lying there unoccupied; that the enemy of about 500 was drawn up across the river ready for battle; that the troops were kept in the boats until late in the afternoon and then ordered to disembark; that there were many murmurings and much discontent, though submission to orders; that the next day, Sunday, General Smyth ordered all to be ready to cross at 9 o'clock a. m. of Monday; that the volunteers objected to the time and place, whereupon 3 o'clock on Tuesday morning, December 1st, was set; that the embarkation was so slow that daylight came and passed, whereupon the troops began to disembark; that there was great excitement and discontent over the failure to cross; and that when it became known that the invasion would not take place, about 4,000 men, without order or restraint, discharged their guns in every direction (u).

Immediately succeeding these events the Pennsylvania militia, under General Tannehill, deserted almost in a body and came home in squads. Supplies for all were furnished by Major Herriott, who procured them on his individual credit. He was publicly thanked by Captains Lithgow, Cooper, Herron, Withrow, Alexander, and Lieutenants Irwin, Jenkins, Graham, Hobbs and others, members of the Pennsylvania militia (v). Recriminations between the two generals, Smyth and Porter, led to a duel between them on Grand Island, the former sending and the latter accepting the challenge. They fired once without effect, whereupon General Porter withdrew his charge of cowardice and General Smyth apologized for his language. They then shook hands and the affair of honor terminated. It was said of the Pennsylvania militia that they were "so exceedingly anxious to do something they ran away." Fault existed on both sides. General Smyth justified his course to General Dearborn on the ground that it was unwise and unmilitary to invade the enemy's country, with a wide river in his rear, with only 1,500 reliable men, with winter fast approaching, and with a large body of insubordinate militia to hamper and distress him. On the other hand, no one disputed the anxiety of the militia to cross and fight at least one battle with the enemy drawn up in tantalizing line on the other shore. It was probably a case of patriotic, though insubordinate, enthusiasm, pitted against the discipline, stubbornness and prudence of the regular army. But the offense was nothing less than desertion in the end, nevertheless.

In February and March, 1814, a court-martial was called and they were tried for insubordination and disobedience of orders and desertion. They were convicted on one or the other of the charges, and many of them were sentenced to pay fines of from \$40 to \$60 each; a few much lower. Many of the best citizens of this portion of the State afterward were thus punished under the articles of

(t) Official Report of General Smyth.

(u) Official Report of General Porter.

(v) Mercury, December, 1812.

war. The very men who had repeatedly insisted on being led against the British across the Niagara were the first, when refused, to fire their rifles in the air in disapprobation and the first to start for home without orders. Their guilt was so clear that the court-martial was abundantly justified, under the articles of war, in inflicting severe punishment, but a much milder course was pursued, an act of undoubted wisdom, all things considered.

At first it was intended to send the Pittsburg Blues, under Captain Butler, and the Greensburg Rifle Company, under Captain Alexander, to the Niagara department; but the perilous situation of the Northwestern frontier caused the authorities to change their plan, whereupon the two companies were ordered to take boats on September 23d, and move down the Ohio nearly to Cincinnati, and there join General W. H. Harrison, who had been placed in command of the Army of the Northwest and was preparing to march northward. In fact, General Harrison was then well advanced across Ohio with about 5,000 men to the relief of Fort Wayne. The Westmoreland Troop of Cavalry, under Captain Markle, left here for Urbana, September 22d. The officers of the Pittsburg Blues were: James R. Butler, captain; James Irwin, son of Colonel Irwin of Brush Creek, first lieutenant; Mathew Magee, brother of Christopher Magee, second lieutenant; Elijah Trovillo, first sergeant, and part of the privates were as follows: Patterson, Pratt, Pollard, Park, Parker, Pentland, J. Davis, J. D. Davis, Elliott, English, McMasters, Robinson, Wilkins, Haven, Allison, Graham, Chess, McFall, Maxwell, Mathews, McClany, McGiffin, Deal, Ross, Francis, Wahrendorff, Newman, Richardson, Harris, Dodd, McKee, Watt, Deemer, Dobbins, Thompson, Read, Neville, Vernon, Whiedner, Swift, Hull, McNeal, Fairfield, Jones, Williams, Willock, Barney, Morse, Marcy, Clark and Elliott.

Upon their arrival with the army of General Harrison all the Pennsylvania troops, including the Pittsburg Blues, were assigned to the right wing under the command of Brigadier-General Crooks. The whole army of 7,000 to 8,000 men were hardy and experienced backwoodsmen. With the exception of the Pittsburg Blues no other men from this immediate vicinity, save a few scattering cases, were with Harrison's army.

On August 15, 1812, occurred the Fort Dearborn massacre at Chicago. With the garrison there was Walter Jordan, of this county, who, four days later, escaped from the Indians, seized a horse, and, after great hardships, reached Fort Wayne on August 26th, and there remained until the siege of that place was raised by General Harrison on September 16.

The army moved from Franklinton to Fort Greenville November 25, 1812. On the 17th of December occurred the preliminary skirmish of Mississinewa, and on the 18th the battle of that name. The movement consisted of an expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Campbell against the Mississinewa villages. Early on the morning of the 18th the troops were furiously attacked by the Indians, and the Pittsburg Blues were employed to reinforce the angle of the camp against which the enemy was thrown, and fought "gallantly" for about an hour. Two corporals of the company, Elliott and Read, were wounded; one private, Francis, was killed, and two privates, Chess and Dodd, were wounded. The company was specially noticed for its gallant conduct in the official report.

On May 5, 1813, occurred the sally at Fort Meigs, in which the Blues participated. General Clay, with a force of about 800 men, sallied out under orders to silence and, if possible, capture the enemy's batteries. They took four batteries with such ease that, flushed with success, they still further advanced, though ordered back. Their return was finally cut off by a large force of the enemy, and out of the 800 to sally forth only about 150 succeeded in cutting their way back to the boats. On this occasion Captain Butler was sick and unable to be present, and the Blues were commanded by Lieutenant Magee. The com-

pany lost in killed, Newman and Richardson; and in wounded, Williams, Dobbins, Willock, Wahrendorff and Ross.

"The Pittsburg Blues, led by Lieutenant Magee, in the illness of their gallant captain, sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Mississinewa" (w).

"That American regulars (although they were raw recruits) and such men as compose the Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and Petersburg, Virginia, volunteers, should behave well is not to be wondered at; but that a company of militia should maintain its ground against four times its numbers, as did Captain Sebres, of Kentucky, is truly astonishing" (x).

The Pennsylvania militia (about 2,000 strong) with General Harrison, having been mustered in for six months, were many of them discharged in April, 1813, their time having expired, though they served fifteen days longer rather than leave the army weak before a strong and vigilant enemy, previous to the arrival of expected and overdue reinforcements from this State. These returned soldiers were warmly welcomed at Pittsburg on their arrival in May. About 200 of them had reenlisted in the Northwest and there continued to serve. The Blues, having enlisted for one year, remained with Harrison. They were destined still further to distinguish themselves.

On August 2, 1813, the British and Indians, under Proctor and Elliott, stormed Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, then commanded by Major George Crogan, twenty-one years of age, a nephew of General George Rogers Clarke. The results were thus summed up by General Harrison in speaking of the advance of the British:

"Their troops [the British] were formed in two columns, Lieutenant-Colonel Short heading the principal one, composed of the light and battalion companies of the Forty-first Regiment. This gallant officer conducted his men to the brink of the ditch under the most galling and destructive fire from the garrison, and, leaping into it, was followed by a considerable part of his own and the light company. At this moment a masked porthole was suddenly opened and a six-pounder with an half load of powder and a double charge of leaden slugs, at the distance of thirty feet, poured destruction upon them and killed or wounded nearly every man who had entered the ditch. In vain did the British officers exert themselves to lead on the balance of the column; it retired in disorder under a shower of shot from the fort, and sought safety in the adjoining woods" (y).

"A young gentleman, a private in the Petersburg volunteers, of the name of Brown, assisted by five or six of that company and of the Pittsburg Blues, who were accidentally in the fort, managed the six-pounder which produced such destruction in the ranks of the enemy" (y).

In the ditch where the cannon played were found dead one lieutenant-colonel, one major, one lieutenant and about fifty privates. The total British loss in this engagement was about one hundred killed and wounded, and the American loss one killed and seven wounded.

"The first day they made their appearance the Indians killed five of the picquet guard and took four prisoners. The night before they left us they had a war-dance and burned some of the prisoners; we do not know how many, as the bones were nearly burnt up. We are all well" (z).

"On Friday last Captain Butler's company of Pittsburg Blues returned home

(w) General orders of Harrison, May 9, 1813.

(x) Official report of General W. H. Harrison.

(y) Report of General W. H. Harrison, August 4, 1813.

(z) Extract from a letter dated August 9, 1813, addressed to a gentleman of Pittsburg, from a soldier at Ft. Meigs.

after having received an honorable discharge from their twelve months' service in the Northwestern Army. Their return was hailed by their fellow-citizens with the usual demonstrations of respect. On the day preceding Lieutenant' Drum's Greensburg Rifle Company passed through this place on their way home" (a).

On August 2, 1813, the two hundred Pennsylvania militia who had reenlisted volunteered to go on board the brigs on Lake Erie under Commodore Perry and participate in the naval battle which was expected to occur in a short time. Many of them were accepted. On August 6th the fleet sailed toward Long Point. On September 10, 1813, the British fleet of two ships, one brig, two schooners and one sloop was captured after a sharp fight. Great rejoicing occurred here on receipt of the news. The citizens took special pride in this famous victory, because of the fact that much of the supplies for the American fleet was procured here.

"Illumination.—On Friday last Lieutenant Forrest of the Navy passed through this place on his way to Washington with the flags of the British squadron captured by the gallant Commodore Perry. This memorable event was commemorated here the same evening by a splendid and general illumination of the town and surrounding country, a grateful tribute of a patriotic people to the brave defenders of their country's flag" (b).

The Pennsylvania militia who were under Colonel Hill were honorably discharged from the Northwestern Army in November, 1813. During the war recruiting continued at Fort Fayette, near Pittsburg. In December, 1813, several British prisoners of war, captured by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie and confined in the county jail here, effected their escape. During the war the ordnance department of the Government located here furnished large quantities of supplies to the army. In March, 1814, several more British prisoners confined here succeeded in escaping. Harrison's great victory over Proctor on the River Thames in Canada, in October, 1813, occasioned public rejoicing here. An express post, which traversed the Western country at the highest speed of a horse, carried back and forth the news of the day and the dispatches of the military authorities. Many horses were bought here for the army. In April, 1813, experienced boat-builders were employed here by the Government and taken to Lake Erie, there to build Schenectady boats for the Government service. These boats were narrow and sharp at the bow and flat bottomed. In 1813-14 so much gunpowder was stored here in various houses that dangerous explosions were feared (c).

On January 5, 1814, the alarming news was received here that Erie was in danger of capture by the British, and the *Mercury* said of the action taken in this emergency: "A number of patriotic young men of Pittsburg, having volunteered their services, and the troops at Fort Fayette, will march this day for Erie" (d).

In the summer of 1814 large quotas of troops were called for by the Government. It was well understood that, inasmuch as the war in Europe was about to end, England would be free to send a large additional army to engage in the war with this country.

"Pittsburg, January 19, 1814.—A letter has been received from Samuel Douglas, Esq., commanding the Pittsburg Volunteers, by the editor of the *Commonwealth*, dated at Meadville, January 10th, which states that from the enemy's taking so many sleds from the neighborhood of Buffalo, the American troops all felt confident of his determination to cross to Erie as soon as the ice can bear him. If he does not come to Erie, says Mr. Douglas, my company will unanimously volunteer to assist in dislodging him from Fort Niagara" (e).

"Pittsburg, March 25, 1814.—About 200 drafted militia and upward of 500

(a) *Mercury*, Thursday, September 10, 1813.

(b) *Mercury*, October 7, 1813.

(c) *Mercury*, January, 1814.

(c) *Mercury*, several issues, 1813.

(e) *Niles Register*, February 5, 1814.

volunteers from the counties of Cumberland, Adams and Franklin arrived here on Friday and Saturday last, and on Monday proceeded on their march for Erie, where they are to be stationed for six months" (f).

"Among the prisoners who have recently arrived at this place from Quebec are James Van Horn, Joseph Knowles, Paul Grummow, Elias Mills, Joseph Bowen, Nathaniel Edson, Dyson Dyer, James Corbin and Phelim Corbin of the First Regiment United States Infantry, who survived the massacre at Fort Dearborn, or Chicago, on the 15th of August, 1812" (g).

"A detachment of upward of 200 men of the First Regiment of Infantry passed through Pittsburg from St. Louis on their way to the Northern frontier on the 28th ult." (h).

In July, 1814, the citizens were called together to raise means to procure a sword, to be presented to Commodore David Porter, who, after fighting gallantly, had lost the "Essex," near Valparaiso, to the English war vessels Phebe and Cherub (i).

"Pittsburg, August 31.—On Sunday Captain Reed's company of artillery, 80 strong, took up their line of march from this place for Buffalo" (j).

The capture of the national capital in August, 1814, roused the flagging energies of patriotism and prompted new calls for troops from all the States. Governor Snyder of Pennsylvania called out a large force to assist in repelling the invaders. Few, if any, went from Pittsburg or Allegheny County.

Little was done after this by this vicinity except to keep in readiness in case troops were called for. On Wednesday, September 10, 1817, a public dinner was given to General Jacob Brown, the hero of Niagara, who had remained here a few days after the departure of President Monroe. The feast was celebrated at Kerr's Hotel and many toasts were drunk. James Ross officiated as president of the occasion and Dr. George Stevenson as vice-president. In response to the toast, "Our distinguished guest, Major-General Jacob Brown, the hero of Niagara," that justly famed officer delivered a suitable response (k).

As the years passed and the members of the old Pittsburg Blues, one after another, dropped off, the survivors, who maintained their old organization, gave a military burial to their deceased comrades. On nearly all public occasions, such as musters of the militia, Fourth of July, political assemblages, etc., they were always given the posts of honor and were the heroes of the hour.

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(f) Niles Register, April 9, 1814.

(g) Mercury, May 21, 1814.

(h) Niles Register, July 16, 1814.

(i) Mercury, 1814.

(j) Niles Register, September 10, 1814.

(k) Mercury, September 12, 1817.



## CHAPTER XVII.

THE WAR WITH MEXICO—THE CALL TO ARMS—THE MARTIAL SPIRIT—TEN COMPANIES QUICKLY FORMED HERE—RESOLUTIONS FAVORING THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR—PAROLE OF THE COMPANIES—TWO COMMANDS ACCEPTED—FUNDS RAISED FOR THE FAMILIES OF VOLUNTEERS—FIRST REGIMENT RENDEZVOUSED IN PITTSBURG—DEPARTURE OF THE BLUES AND GRAYS—ILLUMINATION IN HONOR OF VICTORIES—COMPANIES OF GUTHRIE AND ROWLEY—CASUALTIES—MRS. SWISSHELM'S VIEWS—NEWS OF THE BATTLES—FUNERAL HONORS TO THE DEAD—GRAND RECEPTION HOME OF THE GALLANT MEN—MUSTER ROLLS—SUPPLIES FURNISHED BY THE ALLEGHENY ARSENAL.

For several months previous to the commencement of hostilities between Mexico and the United States, the citizens of this vicinity were not blind to the drift of public events, but took a deep interest in all war measures as they developed. Of course, the great body of citizens was arrayed in various attitudes on the question of war—dependent upon their party affiliations and upon their own training, environs and make-up. Some favored the war; others opposed it. But after hostilities had been commenced no person here, except extremists, favored a retreat from the grounds that had been taken by the Government in the Mexican controversy. In anticipation of war the formation of companies here was begun before news was received of the first outbreak; and when such news did finally arrive a wonderful stimulus was given to the military spirit and companies sprang into formidable existence in all directions as if by magic. The old soldiers of the War of 1812, the militia officers and the prominent politicians who claimed to love the sight and smell of gore were swept to the front by popular clamor and placed in command of the organizations.

"Volunteers for Mexico.—We are informed that the German battalion volunteered to a man on Saturday night in the proffer of their services to the Government in case of a rupture with Mexico. We saw several of their companies on parade yesterday. They are fine, stout looking fellows, well uniformed, armed and disciplined" (a). . . . . "Military.—We desired to see if our soldiers would be ready at a moment's notice to take the field, and so we inserted that paragraph in the *Journal* of Monday morning. The result was most flattering. Every man was ready to obey the call of his country. We did not expect to be censured by the colonel for our distinguished zeal in the service" (b). . . . . "The *Viola* starts to-morrow for New Orleans with the remainder of the heavy cannon manufactured by Knapp & Totten of this city" (c). . . . . "Judging from the activity in the quartermaster's department at the arsenal and among our Government officers generally, operations here have been stimulated by orders from Washington. The *Viola* left here last week loaded with cannon and munitions. The *Hatchie Eagle* leaves to-day for New Orleans with another load. We notice that shipments are making of carriages, which we suppose are for Paixham guns intended for coast fortifications. Our friends, Messrs. Knapp & Totten, are turning out heavy guns, balls and bombs as fast as the large force of hands in their employ and their large amount of machinery can do it" (d).

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(a) Commercial Journal May 12, 1846. (b) Commercial Journal, May 13, 1846.  
(c) Commercial Journal, May 8, 1846. (d) Gazette, June 1, 1846.

In May, 1846, there were no less than ten companies organized in the two cities and vicinity: The Duquesne Grays under Captain Herron, the Jackson Blues under Captain Hay, the City Blues under Captain Sirwell, the Hibernian Greens under Captain O'Brien, the Dragoons under Captain Sahl, three or four German companies organized into a battalion, the Pittsburg Guards under Captain Reed, and several others in the suburbs. At this time the Sixth Regiment of State militia, located here, was officered as follows: E. Trovillo, colonel; S. W. Black, lieutenant-colonel; William Larimer, Jr., major. In May, 1846, came the news that Sergeant Fuller, of the Fourth United States Infantry, a Pittsburger, had been killed by the Mexicans on the Rio Grande. It was said that he was the first resident of this city to die in the war. All men with large families were told to stay at home; that young men alone should be permitted to go. By June 22, 1846, the Jackson Blues numbered 120 men; and the Duquesne Grays numbered about 70; in fact, all the companies were full to overflowing. "Every night our streets are enlivened by the music of military bands, as one or the other of the companies turns out for drill" (e).

An immense assemblage of the members of all parties met at the old courtroom on June 6, 1846, to express the sentiments of this community on the subject of the war. Thomas Hamilton was chosen chairman and Samuel W. Black, W. M. Edgar, J. G. Reed, Benjamin Patton, Samuel Roseburg, William Aiken and W. B. Mowry were appointed a committee on resolutions. Judge Patton, Colonel Black and R. H. Kerr were the principal speakers, and all three eloquently urged citizens of all parties to support the Government. The committee on resolutions reported a long set which was adopted unanimously, three of them being as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the officers of the meeting appoint a committee of twenty persons, whose duty it shall be to raise by subscription a sufficient sum to uniform in a suitable manner the volunteers of Allegheny County who are willing to engage in the war. . . . . "*Resolved*, That the city and county which furnished the Pittsburg Blues for Mississinewa and Fort Meigs must not and shall not be less ready than others to meet the dangers that visit our country. The dust and ashes of the noble dead would curse the dastard sons who stained their well-earned glory. . . . . "*Resolved*, That Congress be and they are requested to pass a law increasing the pay of soldiers to \$25 per month, and providing a bounty of 160 acres of land for each man who has been engaged in battle, and that the widows of soldiers killed in battle be each allowed a bounty of 320 acres of land" (f).

The committee appointed to raise funds to uniform the volunteers was as follows: Wilson McCandless, William Croghan, George Darsie, Charles Shaler, Alexander Richardson, H. S. McGraw, Rody Paterson, J. K. Moorhead, C. S. Eyster, Jesse Carothers, William Larimer, Jr., Alexander Black, C. H. Paulson, J. B. McFadden, Michael Kane, Jr., S. H. Sarber, P. McCormick, Alexander Hay, W. J. Howard and Robert Porter.

"Instead of six regiments, ninety full companies, a number sufficient to constitute nine regiments, regularly organized in accordance with the regulations adopted by the President, have tendered their services as volunteers for Mexico" (g).

He further saw that "the offers received and filed have all been made in good faith and calm deliberation. The officers and men composing the companies have had full time to reflect and did not act from feverish impulse or under the influence of a fit or fits of patriotic delirium."

(e) Commercial Journal, June 17, 1846.

(f) Commercial Journal, June 7, 1846.

(g) Statement of Adjutant-General Petrikin of Pennsylvania, about July 20, 1846.

"Pittsburg Volunteers.—The following are the names, officers and members of the different volunteer companies whose services have been offered from this quarter: Pittsburg City Blues—First lieutenant, Robert Cornell; 77. Irish Green—Captain, Joseph O'Brien; first lieutenant, James Dignan; second lieutenant, Martin Connelly; 77. Duquesne Grays—Captain, John Herron; first lieutenant, C. H. Paulson; second lieutenant, George Beal; 64. Independent Blues—Captain, Alexander Hay; first lieutenant, G. L. Drane; second lieutenant, James O'H. Denny; 119. Birmingham Guards—Captain, Samuel McKee; first lieutenant, Robert Duncan; second lieutenant, David Cunningham; 77. Pennsylvania Blues—Captain, George S. Hays; first lieutenant, J. S. Bonnet; second lieutenant, W. S. Cuddy; 77. Making in all 491 men, admirably equipped, officered and disciplined, ready to leave in twenty-four hours from this point whenever ordered" (h).

"We have now in Pittsburg 500 men, armed, equipped and eager for war. They are all impatient for a fight and twenty-four hours' notice will suffice to have them ready to proceed to the Rio Grande" (i).

Under the Ten Regiments Bill of Congress, the State authorities on November 19, 1846, ordered the First Pennsylvania Regiment to rendezvous at Pittsburg. At first it was thought that many companies would be accepted from this vicinity. Several tendered their services to the State in July, 1846; but it was soon learned that volunteering was so popular throughout the country, and particularly in this State, that only a small fraction of those who enlisted here was likely to be accepted. In August, 1846, General Sam Houston, who had recently figured so prominently in Texan affairs, passed through Pittsburg on his way to the West, departing on the "Ringgold." He returned through Pittsburg to Washington in December. The time of acceptance of the volunteers from this State was extended, first to July 11th, and then to a still later date. In the meantime the companies here continued to parade nightly, and several of them went to encampments in the country to familiarize themselves with camp life. Early in September a new company was reported organized at Elizabeth under Captain Hamilton, and one at the Forks under Captain Eakin.

"Eighteen dragoons left yesterday on the steamer 'Swatara' for the Rio Grande; the same boat carries out forty horses" (j).

In September, 1846, the German battalion here, consisting of four companies, paraded nightly under the command of Major Tickeisen and made a fine appearance. In this month the Duquesne Grays and perhaps others attended the encampment at Greenburg, where twelve companies assembled under General Montgomery. Several companies also encamped at McKeesport. Captain V. Gutzweiler commanded a company in the German battalion. In September the Jackson Independent Blues elected James O'H. Denny first lieutenant and W. A. Charlton second lieutenant.

"Reports are rife that the Pennsylvania troops have been called for. We have not a doubt that they will be and that very shortly, if, indeed, steps have not already been taken for that purpose. Here in Pittsburg the boys are eager for the order to march, and in forty-eight hours the whole complement could be got under arms. The military spirit in our city is at fever heat and can only be reduced by a dose of glory" (k).

"The call for a regiment of Pennsylvania troops has created quite an excitement among our military friends. While it is quite certain that all of them cannot go, it is equally obvious that each of the companies desires to be selected.

(h) Commercial Journal, July 28, 1846.

(i) Commercial Journal, August 1, 1846.

(j) Commercial Journal, September 4, 1846.

(k) Commercial Journal, October 24, 1846.

We hope that our troops will not be overlooked. They were among the first to offer themselves and from their geographical position they are entitled to the preference. Besides, no troops are better officered and disciplined. On the reception of the intelligence that war was declared, our companies immediately commenced recruiting, and at this moment we have two companies, numbering more than 200 rank and file between them, who could be mustered for marching in forty-eight hours. We allude to the Jackson Blues and Duquesne Grays. We have never seen a finer body of men than these companies parade; and their commanding officers, Captains Hay and Herron, are known to be highly competent, as are their subalterns. Although we could ill brook the idea of hearing of the death or mutilation of any of these men, our friends and fellow citizens, we would still be proud of seeing them in arms under the National standard, for they would gallantly uphold its honor and their own. We hope Governor Shunk will not overlook the claims of his former neighbors when the tickets for glory are being distributed" (l).

"Our soldiers are very much excited. The orders of the Adjutant-General came to hand yesterday. Captain Herron of the Grays forwarded by the return mail information that his company was ready. It looks like a hard case, that the flower of our youth must be marched off to the carnage of a field of battle to win slave fields for the South in an unjust war. However, our troops are all right" (m). . . . "We Knew It.—Our friends, the Jackson Blues, at a meeting last night, volunteered for the war. They marched through the streets last night in full force with a band of music at their head. We knew that Captain Hay and his men would be ready when the time came" (n). . . . "Recruiting.—The Grays and Blues are beating up for recruits. We understand that there will be no difficulty found in obtaining a sufficient number to fill the ranks of both companies. If the call was for a year instead of for the war, there can be no doubt that it would be responded to with much greater alacrity" (o).

On or about December 1, 1846, the Jackson Blues and the Duquesne Grays were notified by the Adjutant-General that their services for the war were accepted. The companies were reduced at once to a fighting basis, many dropped out and recruits were still called for. Calls were made upon the citizens to equip the companies. At a meeting of the Committee on Contributions, appointed by the War Meeting of the 6th of May, 1846, there were present on December 2, 1846, Messrs. McCandless, Megraw, Captain Alexander Hay, Lieutenant Charles H. Paulson, John B. McFadden, Alexander Richardson, Alexander Black, M. D., C. S. Eyster, J. B. Guthrie and S. W. Black. On motion Wilson McCandless took the chair, and H. S. Megraw and C. S. Eyster, Esqs., were appointed secretaries. On motion of Alexander Richardson it was

*"Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed by the chairman, for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of money subscribed and collected for the purpose of equipping the volunteers for the Mexican War, and how the same has been disbursed, to report at the next meeting of the committee."

The chairman appointed Alexander Richardson, J. B. Guthrie and Charles H. Paulson as said committee. On motion of Alexander Richardson, seconded by Dr. Alexander Black, it was

*"Resolved*, That the mayors of the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny be requested to unite in a call for a meeting of the people on Saturday evening next, to take definite action in regard to our volunteers, and to make prepara-

(l) Commercial Journal, November 20, 1846.

(m) Commercial Journal, November 24, 1846.

(n) Commercial Journal, November 24, 1846.

(o) Commercial Journal, November 28, 1846.

tions to receive in a becoming manner the accepted companies from other portions of the State."

William Wilkins, Richard Biddle, Walter Forward, Charles Shaler, Wilson McCandless, Moses Hampton, Samuel W. Black, George Darsie, Thomas Williams, John Mahon, A. W. Loomis, H. S. Megraw, H. Hepburn, Benjamin Patton, W. H. Lowrie, Harnar Denny, A. W. Burke were announced as likely to be present to address the meeting of Saturday, the 5th (p). On that date a large and enthusiastic war meeting was held at the old courthouse to devise means to collect funds for the volunteers. Benjamin Patton presided. Judge Lowrie was the first speaker, advocating the prosecution of the war. S. W. Black spoke wittily and happily to the same effect. Loud and repeated calls brought out Judge Shaler, who delivered a speech of great strength in support of the war. William Eyster, one of the collectors previously appointed, reported that he had called upon an Irishman who, upon learning of his errand, promptly paid five dollars. A moment later his wife came in and desired to know what was wanted. She was told, whereupon she also put down her name and paid five dollars cash. When Mr. Eyster related this circumstance, cries came from all parts of the house for the name of this Irish woman. "Mrs. Martha Patrick," responded Mr. Eyster. Three deafening cheers were given for husband and wife. Captain Hay was called for and delivered a short speech. Wilson McCandless was then called out and delivered an eloquent speech, justifying the war and the claims of the United States. Mr. Magehan also addressed the audience. The Jackson Blues were present, under arms, and the speeches were interspersed with national airs, marches, etc., from their band. A resolution offered by Mr. Eyster, appointing a committee to provide for the care of soldiers' families during their absence, was adopted by acclamation (q).

"The Jackson Blues have now eighty-five men on their roll, the Duquesne Grays have seventy—all good men and true. A detachment of this latter corps leaves for Elizabeth to-day on recruiting service. Captain John Herron yesterday obtained eight volunteers from Westmoreland County. We hear nothing now but drums and fifes, and talk of war, Mexico, etc." (r).

In December, 1846, the troops for the First Regiment began to pour into Pittsburg, the Washington Light Infantry, under Captain Binder, the City Guards, under Captain Hill, the Philadelphia Light Guards, under Captain Bennett, and the Washington Artillery, under Captain Nagle, arriving first about December 12th. It was related that Captain F. M. Wynkoop, of the Schuylkill company, sooner than be rejected from the service, volunteered as a private in the Washington Artillery. He was subsequently elected colonel of the First Regiment. The Monroe Guards, under Captain Small, and the Cadwallader Grays, under Captain Scott, arrived about December 15th. Many candidates for the regimental offices were brought forward by their friends. Lieutenant Rowley was a candidate for adjutant. John B. Guthrie and A. W. Foster were candidates for major. A large sum was realized to equip the volunteers from a military ball given December 21st, the tickets selling for five dollars each. The Pittsburg Theater gave a benefit and raised prices for the same object. Nearly all the officers were publicly presented with swords and the companies with flags by the citizens on various occasions. Pittsburg had never before seen so lively a military time as in this memorable December, 1846. At last, just before the troops departed, the regimental election was held, resulting as follows: Colonel, Francis M. Wynkoop; lieutenant-colonel, Samuel W. Black; major, F. L. Bowman. The

(p) Commercial Journal, December 3, 1846.

(q) Commercial Journal, December 4, 1846. (r) Commercial Journal, December 7, 1846.





Blues and Grays were mustered into the United States service about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of December 16, 1846, with the following officers: Jackson Independent Blues—Alexander Hay, captain; J. O'H. Denny, first lieutenant; T. A. Rowley, second lieutenant. Duquesne Grays—John Herron, captain; W. Trovillo, first lieutenant; W. J. Ankrim, second lieutenant; J. W. Hague, third lieutenant.

On Sunday morning, December 20, 1846, all the companies here attended the various churches. In view of the numerous fistic encounters which had occurred in these commands it was said, "Some of the soldiers need praying for, that's a fact" (s). The Duquesne Grays became Company F and the Independent Blues Company G of the First Regiment. On December 21, 1846, the committee on contributions reported that \$960.95 had been raised to equip the two companies. Among those who were presented with swords were Samuel W. Black, Alexander Hay, Lieutenants Rowley, Denny, Trovillo and Ankrim; Robert Anderson, Sergeant Chalfant and others. William E. Austin made the presentation speech to Lieutenant-Colonel Black, to which the latter eloquently responded. Colonel Wynkoop also delivered a speech on this occasion. Upon the departure of the regimental officers they were addressed by Adjutant-General Bowman and Wilson McCandless. Wynkoop and Black replied.

On December 22, 1846, the Pittsburg companies and several others marched to the wharf to take boats for New Orleans. An immense crowd of citizens gathered to see them off. The departing companies were escorted to the wharf by others of the same regiment left behind, and by some half dozen others which had already arrived here in anticipation of the formation of another regiment. The boys boarded the boats, amid lingering farewells and bitter tears; flags and handkerchiefs waved, the whistles sounded, the bells rang, the planks were withdrawn, and as round after round of hearty cheers rent the air, the boats moved out into the river and turned their bows toward the land of the Montezumas.

"Our gallant volunteers are surely going to Mexico to kill women and children; this is too plain to admit of proof, and that woman they shot at Monterey while she was carrying bread and water to dying men, and binding their wounds with her own clothes, is one witness at the bar of heaven to prove it there. The weakness of the enemy has allowed them to get into their country, desolate their homes and bombard their churches, all for glory, as an Irishman knocks down his friend for love. Well, those who do not die there will doubtless return completely besmeared with glory. Those who leave their families to the charity of the world will know that this winter, or while the war fever lasts, they will be kept from starving; after that their wives can sew for twelve and a half cents a day to support themselves and children. If this country failed to support her old revolutioners and their widows, she will support no others. There is now an old widow in the upper end of Allegheny City, Mrs. Grove, who has had a cancer on her face for years. Her husband was in Washington's army during most of the war. After incredible exertions he secured a pension of *forty-four dollars a year*. It was his only dependence. I knew him for years when he lived here near us in a little house below the mill, and tottered on his staff, back and forth to Pittsburg—eight miles—with his silver hair hanging on his shoulders, to beg his pension pittance of fat, sleek office-holders" (t).

(s) Commercial Journal, December, 1846.

(t) This characteristic article is an extract from a communication written for the Commercial Journal by Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm and published by that paper December 23, 1846. She had bitterly opposed the war, and continued to lash the National administration in her own caustic fashion.

"John D. Miller did a fine thing—like himself—on Tuesday. While the ceremony was going forward of presenting swords, pistols, etc., by the friends of the different members of one of our volunteer companies, a poor fellow said, 'Well, I have no friends, I suppose, and must go without any extras.' 'You shan't say that while I'm here,' said Miller, and he took the man with him to a dealer and equipped him with a revolver and knife of the best" (u).

The First Regiment was no sooner off than the other companies which had been raised here and rejected made strenuous efforts to get into the Second Regiment. It was stated that while Adjutant-General Bowman was in the city on the 18th of December, previous to the departure of the First Regiment, the services of the Hibernian Irish Greens were tendered him by Captain Robert Porter and accepted on the spot, the first company to be received into the Second Regiment (v). On December 21st the Pennsylvania Blues were tendered to the State by Captain G. S. Hays, and about the same time the German Dragoons were tendered by their captain, Leopold Sahl. Several other German companies also offered themselves.

"The Pennsylvania Blues, Captain George S. Hays, now number about eighty men, the pick and choice of our young men. The Hibernian Greens, Captain Robert Porter, are also full, and are as fine a body of men as can anywhere be found. Captain V. Gutzweiler's company, we learn, is now full. They have been accepted and are now ready to march. They will make good soldiers on the field" (w).

Late in December, 1846, the Second Regiment was ordered to rendezvous at Pittsburg. Companies for this regiment began to arrive before the First Regiment had departed. During the last ten days in December the companies of Captains Naylor, Seyburg, Loesser, Geary, Murray, Glime, Wilson and two more from other parts of the State had been accepted and were here ready for discipline. Thus Pittsburg was permitted to furnish one company only for the Second Regiment. Four full companies which had been raised here were sadly disappointed on December 28th, when the news was received from Harrisburg that the Second Regiment was already full. Captain G. S. Hays' company, another raised by Captain Roberts in Fayette County, the German Grays under Captain V. Gutzweiler, and the company of Captain Leopold Sahl were ready. The old Pittsburg Blues, under Captain C. C. Seeley, were reported likewise ready. During the holidays another company was organized here, of which Thomas Wallace was elected captain.

"The following companies are now at this place, viz.: Westmoreland Guards, Greensburg; Cameron Guards, Harrisburg; Rangers, Philadelphia; Highlanders, Cambria County; Columbia Guards, Danville; Mauch Chunk Company. None of the Pittsburg companies have been mustered into service (for officers) yet. The election will probably take place on Tuesday next. The Reading and Uniontown troops are expected here to-night. The Westmoreland Guards and Stockton Artillerists have been mustered into the service. The Harrisburg company will be here this evening and also Captain George's company. At an election of officers for the Second Regiment there were three candidates for colonel. Roberts of Fayette County was elected by a majority of six votes over Captain Hambright. J. W. Geary of Cambria was elected lieutenant-colonel" (x).

The officers elected for the Independent Irish Greens were: Robert Porter, captain; William Rankin, first lieutenant; James Kane, second lieutenant;

(u) Commercial Journal, December 24, 1846.

(v) Commercial Journal, December, 1846.

(w) Commercial Journal, December 28, 1846.

(x) Pittsburg Inquirer, January 3, 1847.

William S. Kelly, junior lieutenant (y). On January 8, 1847, four companies of the Second Regiment left Pittsburg for New Orleans (z). The following day, Saturday, the remaining four companies, together with the regimental officers and staff, also departed, among them being the Pittsburg company, Independent Irish Greens, commanded by Captain Robert Porter (a). Upon their departure Captain Porter and Lieutenant Rankin were publicly presented with swords. The officers elected for the Second Regiment were: W. B. Roberts, colonel; John W. Geary, lieutenant-colonel; William Brindle, major. After the death of Colonel Roberts in the field, Geary became colonel, Brindle lieutenant-colonel, and Lieutenant McMichael major. It was noticed by the newspapers that not so much enthusiasm was shown upon the departure of the Second Regiment as upon the departure of the First. The people were settling down to war as a business.

The first detachment of the First Regiment, consisting of the companies of Captains Nagle and Small, and the second detachment, consisting of the companies of Captains Scott and Bennett, reached New Orleans December 28, 1846 (b). Recruiting continued here in February, 1847, under the Ten Regiments Bill. Captain C. C. Seeley of the old Pittsburg Blues called for a few more volunteers and announced his command almost ready for the service (c). The Montgomery Blues were raised and organized in Birmingham in February, 1847. T. H. O'Connor was chosen captain. This was the second company there, the Guards being the other (d). On March 29, 1847, Lieutenant Field left with sixteen recruits whom he had raised here for the war. In March Captain P. N. Guthrie, having been commissioned for the purpose, called for recruits for a company.

About the 1st of April, 1847, the city was alive with military movements and brilliant with uniforms and the pageantry and pomp of war. The new companies of this State were ordered to rendezvous here and Major Dusenberry was ordered here from Baltimore to superintend operations of equipment and transportation. Vessels were chartered to convey the troops to New Orleans and were not permitted to take on any freight on the way down, but could do so on the return trip. The "Mountaineer" was thus chartered to carry two companies not yet arrived on April 1st.

"The whole number of troops expected to rendezvous here will be from 1,200 to 2,000. The recruiting officers have orders as soon as they get fifty men to send them on. It is worthy of remark that now as formerly Pennsylvania is first in the field. Nine out of the ten companies composing the regiment now arriving are from this State and one other from Maryland. A volunteer company from Virginia has enlisted and been ordered here" (e).

On Saturday night, April 24, 1847, pursuant to proclamation of the mayor, the streets were brilliantly illuminated in honor of the recent victories of Generals Scott and Taylor, in Mexico. All parties and sexes participated and many interesting transparencies were exhibited. The illumination was effected with sperm candles, and one to each pane of window glass was considered a brilliant display. Even the county commissioners descended from their pedestals of dignity and illuminated the new courthouse. The hotels and theaters were made resplendent with light, color and transparencies and bands discoursed national and martial music. The cities poured their enthusiastic populace upon the streets to witness the gorgeous display and inhale the patriotism that burdened the air. Mottos and epigrammatic

(y) Post, January 6, 1847.

(a) Post, January 11, 1847.

(c) Post, February 6, 1847.

(e) Gazette, April 4, 1847.

(z) Post, January 9, 1847.

(b) New Orleans Mercury, December 29, 1846.

(d) Post, February 18, 1847.

sentences from the reports of Generals Scott and Taylor were displayed upon scores of public buildings and private residences (f).

"Captain Guthrie's company marched through our principal streets yesterday. They are fine looking fellows and will soon be on their winding way to the Sunny South. They are eager for the fight" (g).

By the first of April, 1847, Captain Guthrie's company consisted of fifty-nine men. It left early in May and passed Paducah on May 16th. It was assigned to the Eleventh United States Infantry Regiment. Early in June the "Financier," loaded with government freight and dry goods, sank twelve miles below Pittsburg. About the middle of July, 1847, Lieutenant Ankrum returned and opened a recruiting office—particularly for the Duquesne Grays, it was stated (h). Lieutenant Williams of the Second Regiment opened a recruiting office about the first of August, 1847. Large numbers of cannon cast by Knapp & Totten were inspected by an officer of the Government here late in September, 1847, and formally accepted by him. One gun was fired till it burst, to test its strength. Formerly the proving ground was up at Sharpsburg, but now it was at Sawmill Run, Coal Hill serving as the objective point (i).

The Pittsburg Blues, under Captain C. C. Seeley, it was claimed by him, had tried hard for acceptance and admission into each of the regiments which rendezvoused here, and in fact under all the State calls for troops. He failed again in September, 1847, at which time Lieutenant Thomas A. Rowley was commissioned to raise a company. The latter, by October 16th, had secured about thirty men.

"Captain Rowley's company have elected the following officers: Thomas A. Rowley, captain; A. McClory, first lieutenant; James McLean, second lieutenant; Alexander Scott, third lieutenant. The company numbers forty-five men and the *Telegraph* says they will be ready to proceed to Mexico in two weeks.—*Gazette*" (j).

The company took the name of "Rough and Ready Volunteers." By October 29th they numbered more than sixty men, and it was reported they were to join the New York regiment commanded by Colonel Hughes.

October 6, 1847, Captain P. N. Guthrie, then at the City of Mexico, who had himself been wounded, reported the condition of his company as follows: At the City of Mexico—Milo Ames, David Ayers, Alexander Cook, John M. Cranmer, Charles Citzon, W. R. Call (wounded slightly in the foot), John Cease (died of chronic diarrhea), Samuel Coleman, Andrew Davidson, John Duff, William Dorman (wounded severely in the leg), Frederick Eckhart, Robert Given, Samel Guysenger, Nicholas Guental, John C. Hardy, (wounded slightly in the leg), Conrad Hergensoder, Asbury Harvey (wounded slightly in the groin), Joshua Hudson, Phillip Hickman, Thomas Jordan, Jacob Johnson, James M. Kelley, Thomas Kelley, George Heplinger, Isaac Lockhart, Jacob Lyon, John Little (wounded severely in the foot), Thomas Morrison, Michael Meehan, R. R. Madden, William Mitchell, John McAleese, Thomas Neil, Gabriel Neis, James Nesbit (wounded slightly in the leg), John O'Hara (wounded in six places by lancers), Isaac Price (wounded slightly in the leg), Lenox Rea (wounded in the leg by a shell, leg amputated), James G. Riddle, W. M. Smith, George Scip, J. B. Sterritt, Albert Ueltschey (wounded slightly in the shoulder), George Webb, Charles West, Michael White, Peter Breading, Daniel Knox and George H. Shibber. At Pittsburg were Andrew Lyon and Lewis H. Moore. At New Orleans were William McAllister and

(f) Post, April 26, 1847.

(h) Post, July 15, 1847.

(i) Post, October 22, 1847.

(g) Post, April 27, 1847.

(j) Post, September 30, 1847.



Samuel Hise. At Vera Cruz were George Petriken, Charles Frank and Henry Boyle. At Santa Fé were Fiskus Brown and Thomas Layton. At Perote were W. J. Anderson, Samuel McCartney and Samuel Sweet. At Puebla were James Alexander, M. A. Cease, J. J. Carskaddon, Henry Davidson, Patrick Hunter, John Hanna, John Kobler, John Linhardt, J. B. Price, W. H. Bunting, Arthur Reeves, C. J. C. West and James Smith. The dead were Jesse Flowers, James McKee, D. L. Kilburn, A. J. Avery, William Clark, John McSpadden and Daniel Schleppey. In his report Captain Guthrie said:

"My men all behaved in very gallant style through the actions of the 18th and 20th of August and on the 8th of September; also in several skirmishes with the lancers on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th of September. And I am very proud of them. The action on the 8th of September at Molino del Rey was the hardest and most severely contested battle that has been fought in this country. Sergeant Lenox Rea distinguished himself very much by his acts of heroism. He had five as brave spirits as his own with him—Corporals W. M. Smith, John M. Cranmer, Thomas Neil and Privates Asbury Harvey and Alexander Cook. He penetrated the fort and followed the enemy right up to one of their batteries, stationed immediately under the guns of Chapultepec, and in the very midst of the Mexican army took prisoners, three officers and fifty-three men, bringing them along the very front of the Mexican line, deceiving them by his boldness into the belief that the situation of affairs was *vice versa*. He reported himself and prisoners safely to a lieutenant of the Fifth Infantry, and a few minutes afterward had his leg completely torn to atoms by a shell. He is now doing well and will no doubt be sent home by the first train" (k).

On November 4, 1847, a beautiful flag was presented to the company of Captain Rowley by P. C. Shannon, on behalf of a number of ladies. Mr. Cunningham of Beaver replied on behalf of the company (l). On November 9, 1847, the company of Captain Rowley left Pittsburg on the steamer "Diadem" for New Orleans. Several members deserted at the moment of departure (m).

Captain Porter of the Hibernian Greens returned in November, 1847, to recruit for his company. After the month of March, in 1847, scarcely a week elapsed without the report of news that some Pittsburgers in the field had been wounded or had died of disease or wounds, or had been shot dead. Numerous instances of individual heroism were recounted. Colonel Jefferson Davis passed through Pittsburg in November, 1847, on his way to Washington. He still suffered from the wounds received at Buena Vista. The gallant action of Captain Herron at Puebla in vanquishing a band of rancheros after they had speared fifteen of his men, himself included; and the daring of Lieutenant Denny and Private Stubbins in first planting the American flag on the enemy's works at Hunanantla, were specially noticed (n).

"The Jackson Blues.—Our company, whose ranks were filled with as clever fellows and true men as ever wore uniforms, now parade but twenty-seven men out of ninety-seven at their departure from Pittsburg" (o).

At the action of the Castle of Perote the First Pennsylvania Regiment lost twenty-five in killed and wounded and the Second lost fifty-one. In the battle at the gates of the City of Mexico the Hibernian Greens, commanded by Lieutenant Rankin, fought continuously for three days without food and displayed great hardihood and bravery. The Pittsburg volunteers, without exception, bore themselves with great gallantry in the series of battles which preceded the capture of the Mexican capital.

(k) Post, November 17, 1847.

(l) Post, November 6, 1847.

(m) Post, November 10, 1847.

(n) Commercial Journal, November, 1847.

(o) Commercial Journal, November 23, 1847.

On December 18, 1847, the body of Colonel W. B. Roberts arrived in charge of Lieutenant Kane. The remains were received by a large procession in a severe storm of rain and snow and cared for until evening and then dispatched to Brownsville by boat.

"The Second Pennsylvania Regiment.—Lieutenant Rankin of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, in a letter to some friends in Pittsburg, mentions the ravages which war has made in that regiment. Of 900 men who left Pittsburg but one year ago, 300 cannot now be mustered" (p).

On Friday, May 12, 1848, the entire community turned out to pay funeral honors to a number of dead who had been brought from Mexico, and to Commodore Joshua Barney, a Revolutionary soldier, whose body was exhumed from the old cemetery where it had reposed since 1818 (x). The city officials, Masons, Odd Fellows, United Sons of America (a new order here), firemen, militia, a squad of Jackson Blues under Captain Denny, another of the Duquesne Grays under Lieutenant Ankrum, government mounted troops, soldiers of the war of 1812, all under the command of Colonel Trovillo, followed by a large concourse of citizens, formed the funeral cortege and marched to the cemetery. The pallbearers of Commodore Joshua Barney were General William Wilkins, Robert Orr, John Neal, John M. Davis, James Watson and J. Large and Colonels N. B. Craig and William Croghan. The pallbearers of Lieutenant Parker were Captains Birmingham, Wilson McCandless, J. B. Guthrie, G. S. Wilkins, Alexander Hay and Lieutenant J. M. D. Crossan and Messrs. John D. Davis and F. O. Kay; and of S. D. Sewell members of the Old Grays and others. Wilson McCandless delivered the funeral oration at the cemetery (q).

In June, 1848, at a meeting of the citizens, a committee was appointed to raise means to bring back the remains of those of the Hibernian Greens who had died in Mexico. A little later came the news that the Pennsylvania regiments were coming home—the First by the way of Philadelphia and the Second to Pittsburg, to be paid off and discharged. Recruiting was still in active progress here for the Regular Army, owing to the needs of that branch of the service due to the discharge of so many in the volunteer department.

"Major St. Clair Denny commenced paying off the volunteers yesterday in the warehouse of John Little Esq., on Third Street. The brave fellows received their well-earned pay in gold and silver" (r).

Great preparations were made to receive the volunteers on their return home. It was determined to give them such a welcome as would be ever memorable in the annals of the cities. As each detachment was received it was welcomed with intense enthusiasm, but the formal reception was postponed until all or nearly all had returned.

"The Volunteers.—At an early hour yesterday morning the whole Monongahela wharf, from Smithfield Street to the Point, was crowded with masses of men, women and children, all impatient for the arrival of our gallant volunteers. At half past eleven the 'John Hancock' and the 'Taglioni' hove in sight; the former with the Maryland Regiment on board, the latter with seven companies of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. From the time the boats came in sight until 12 o'clock, the time the boats touched the wharf, the air was rent with shouts, the ringing of bells, the roar of artillery and loud strains of martial music; but when the boats neared the landing, at the

(p) Niles National Register, December 18, 1847.

(x) Commodore Barney particularly distinguished himself during the war of 1812 by capturing, after a hot engagement, the English sloop "Gen. Monk," carrying eighteen guns. He commanded the "Hyder Ali" of sixteen guns. Edward Scull, brother of John Scull, editor of the Gazette, fought under Commodore Barney in this engagement.

(q) Post, May, 1848.

(r) Commercial Journal, July 14, 1848.

foot of Market Street, such shouts rent the air as must have made the soldiers feel doubly assured of their warm welcome home. Among the companies was the Irish corps, commanded by Captain Porter, raised in this city. They were commanded yesterday by Lieutenant Rankin, Captain Porter being now at Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania. These brave fellows (the Irish Greens) behaved most gallantly in the war. The Iron City is proud of them, and cordially welcomes them to their homes again. The disembarkation was effected in good order and without accident. The regiments formed by companies, the Pennsylvanians in front, and marched to the corner of Wood and Water, where they were addressed by Judge Wilkins with all the commanding eloquence anticipated from that veteran orator. Colonels Hughes and Geary replied. After the delivery of the oration the procession marched through the city (according to the published order of the procession) and then dispersed. The weather was exceedingly fine and the ceremonies of the day passed off with the utmost *eclat*. The soldiers looked exceedingly well; most of them looked sunburnt and weather-beaten, but as though the fatigues of the campaign had rather improved than undermined their constitutions" (s).

"The Volunteers.—Saturday was a great day in Pittsburg.—From early dawn until late at night our streets were thronged with thousands of men, women and children. During Friday immense numbers arrived from the country and the adjoining counties—all anxious to witness the reception which our brave soldiers would receive from their friends and fellow citizens. The morning broke clear and beautiful. The cannon commenced firing at an early hour and continued through the day. It was expected that the troops would arrive at 10 o'clock a. m., but owing to the detention—as it proved, eventually, in vain—for the last detachment, they did not arrive until a few minutes before 5 p. m. During the entire day the wharf was crowded from the Point to the Monongahela Bridge; while the windows, and the housetops, and the decks of the fleet of steamboats, were thronged with eager thousands, all straining their eyes for the wished-for boats. At last their near approach to the city was announced by the rapid discharge of artillery, and in an instant the air rang with the merry peal of a thousand bells, from steamboats, engine-houses and churches; and when the boats turned the bend and came in plain sight the earth shook with the deep roar of the great guns, and cheer after cheer rose by a common impulse from the numberless spectators. Never had we looked upon a more glorious spectacle than that presented as the vessels passed up along the wharf to the landing assigned them. The firemen, in their brilliant dresses, the hundreds of flags and streamers, the ladies, the thousands of men, the thunder of artillery, and the loud strains of martial music floating over all, combined to make a pageant such as is rarely witnessed. The volunteers answered with hearty cheers the shouts of the multitude, and more than once a loud, joyful cry announced the recognition of a friend among the soldiers by someone on the bank. The disembarkation was effected in good order and without accident, when the troops were formed in line and marched up the wharf to the corner of Market and Water streets, where they were addressed by Judge Wilkins. Lieutenant-Colonel Black responded in his usual graceful and feeling manner. The Colonel looked remarkably well, and his face lighted up with enthusiasm as he spoke, and felt with what cordiality he was welcomed back from the fields where he had earned for himself so glorious a name. After the conclusion of the speeches the procession commenced its march."

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(s) Commercial Journal, July 11, 1848.

## "ORDER OF PROCESSION.

- Chief Marshal—John Birmingham.  
 Aids: Hon. S. Jones, J. Cust Blair, Dr. William Gore, Dr. George S. Hays,  
 Joseph C. McKibbin, C. T. Ihmsen.  
 Assistant Marshals: John Eakin, W. B. Mowry, R. P. Tanner.  
 White's Brass Band.  
 Major-General Robert Patterson, Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Ambercrombie, and  
 Aids to General Patterson.  
 First Pennsylvania Regiment.  
 Second Pennsylvania Regiment.  
 Officers and Soldiers of the Mexican War now residing in this county.  
 Officers and Soldiers of the War of 1812.  
 Sick and Disabled Soldiers (in carriages).  
 Committee of Arrangements.  
 Orator of the Day—Honorable W. Wilkins.  
 Committee of Reception.  
 Colonel Elijah Trovillo—Commandant Military Escort.  
 Colonel Joseph E. McCabe—Regiment of Cavalry and Infantry.  
 Captain Verner's Infantry Corps.  
 Captain Ross' Infantry Corps.  
 Captain McMaster's Infantry Corps.  
 Captain Eakin's Forks Cavalry, to take position with Colonel McCabe's  
 Regiment.  
 Military Companies Unreported.  
 Sligo Brass Band.  
 Marshal—W. M. Edgar.  
 Assistant Marshals: W. D. Graham, M. Knox, J. S. Shee.  
 Firemen of Pittsburg.  
 Firemen of Allegheny.  
 Firemen of Birmingham.  
 Firemen of Lawrenceville.  
 Firemen of South Pittsburg.  
 Judges of the several Courts.  
 Members of the various professions.  
 German Band.  
 Marshals: H. S. Megraw, John Rippey, W. Simms.  
 Masonic Fraternity.  
 Temperance Society. Odd Fellows Association.  
 Trade Association. Sons of Temperance.  
 President Dyer, Faculty and Students of the Western University of Pennsylvania.  
 Marshals: John Morrison, J. B. Mitchell, John Smith.  
 President, Faculty and Students of Duquesne College.  
 President and Members of the Philological Institute.  
 President and Members of the William Wirt Institute.  
 President and Members of the Franklin Institute.  
 President and Members of the Baldwin Institute.  
 Music.  
 Marshals: M. Swartzwelder, Ephraim Jones, Jr., R. B. Butler,  
 Thomas Donnelly.  
 Mayor, Aldermen and Councils of the City of Pittsburg.  
 Mayor, Aldermen and Councils of the City of Allegheny.  
 Civil Authorities: Birmingham, Lawrenceville, Manchester, South Pittsburg,  
 Sharpsburg.  
 Unreported Associations."

"As the column moved along the streets the windows and housetops were crowded, and many a recognition passed between the brave fellows in the ranks and their wives, sweethearts and friends, who eagerly pressed on the line of march. We have never seen a finer looking set of men; and we never felt prouder of our country than in looking upon the bronzed and manly fellows whose daring valor has covered their State and their regiment with glory. In the procession was the glorious ensign of our Commonwealth, torn by numberless shots, and bearing unequivocal testimonials of the conflicts in which it has been borne. A Mexican flag, captured from the enemy, was also carried in the procession. The marshal, his aids and his assistants deserve the highest praise for the patience and care with which they carried out their arrangements. Everything passed off as designed, the only drawback to the universal joy on the occasion being the absence of the three companies, the Duquesne Grays among them, on board the "Jewess," which had not arrived" (t).

Another large procession went to the Allegheny Cemetery on July 21st, on the occasion of the burial of ten young men of the Pittsburg companies, who had died in Mexico. They were given a military escort and burial. It was stated that when Captain John Herron left for the war he was asked by his fellow citizens to accept a sword, but replied, "No, not now; but if I live to come back, and you think I have deserved it, then give me a sword." Late in July, 1848, he was formally presented with a magnificent sword, sash, belt and epaulets at a public meeting held for that purpose. The Duquesne Grays brought home with them a young Mexican girl who had nursed their sick and wounded and who would have fared badly therefor if left behind. She was seventeen years old and very pretty. An association was formed to secure means and erect a suitable monument in honor of the Pittsburg boys who had given their lives to their country. J. R. McClintock was its first president.

The following shows the names of the members of the Grays and the Blues when they left for Mexico: Duquesne Grays.—Captain John Herron, returned in good health; William Trovillo, discharged at Vera Cruz; W. J. Ankrum, ordered on recruiting service from Perote; J. W. Hague, discharged in Mexico; J. D. McIlroy, discharged in Puebla; J. G. Robinson, discharged at Lobos Island and since dead; Robert Anderson, elected lieutenant in Mexico, and returned; C. G. McLelland, joined the Regular Army at Vera Cruz; J. W. Kinkead, discharged at New Orleans; D. S. McClintock, returned in good health; C. W. Hambright, ordered on recruiting service from Perote; J. K. Gardner, returned in good health; R. Cunningham, discharged at Vera Cruz; H. B. Alward, died at Puebla; C. W. Blakeman, discharged at Puebla; J. Baker, discharged at Vera Cruz; W. Burns, returned in good health; H. Bates, died at Perote; H. Bennet, returned in good health; D. Clammer, returned in good health; James Calhoun, returned in good health; J. H. Cummins, transferred to the Second Regiment; R. D. Collins, discharged at Vera Cruz; I. Seymour, left at Vera Cruz, fate unknown; Thomas Davis, discharged; John Dalzell, discharged at Vera Cruz; R. C. Drum, joined the Regular Army at Vera Cruz; Jonathan Downs, died at Puebla; Johnson Elliott, discharged at Puebla; I. S. Ebbert, returned in bad health; Ralph Frost, returned in good health; T. B. Furnan, returned in good health; S. A. Glenn, deserted at New Orleans; G. S. Glenn, returned in good health; Charles Glenn was at Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Jalapa, Perote, Puebla, came home to recruit; J. Gilchrist, killed at Puebla; Charles Hoffman, returned in good health; J. H. Herod, killed at Puebla; J. S. Hamilton, returned in good health; F. H. Jones, killed at Puebla; F. B. Johns, killed at Puebla; F. J. Kerr, returned in good health; Pliny Kelly, returned in good health; T. C. M. Kelly, died

(t) Commercial Journal, July 19, 1848.



at Vera Cruz; H. Krutzelman, killed at Puebla; Joseph Keenan, discharged at Vera Cruz; V. Knapp, discharged at Vera Cruz; John Longstaff, returned in good health; Aaron Lovitt, returned in good health; B. G. Leeper, returned in good health; Seth Loomis, died at New Orleans; J. H. Mundy, discharged at Vera Cruz; A. Musgrave, died at Perote; W. F. Mann, elected lieutenant in Mexico, and returned in good health; D. A. Mitchell, died at Perote; R. F. Miller, discharged at Mexico; A. E. Marshall, returned in good health; Norton McGiffin, returned in good health; James McDowell, died at Puebla; J. McMinn, died at Perote; James Noble, died at Perote; J. S. Negley, returned in good health; James Gray, discharged at New Orleans; T. R. Owens, died at Perote; John Polland, returned in good health; H. C. Patrick, returned in good health; J. W. Parke, discharged at Puebla; W. H. Potter, returned in good health; James Phillips, killed at Puebla; W. Phillips, killed at Puebla; W. Phillips, Jr., discharged at Vera Cruz; O. H. Rippy, returned in good health; George Reams, discharged at Perote; Charles Smith, deserted at New Orleans; Robert Smith, drowned at Natchez, on his return; S. D. Sewell, killed at Puebla; S. C. Smith, deserted at New Orleans; W. Schmetz, killed at Puebla; J. Spencer, died at Jalapa; F. J. Thomas, returned in good health; T. Thornburgh, discharged at Puebla; S. Traver, killed at Puebla; D. S. Vernoy, killed at Puebla; F. Vandyke, Jr., killed at Puebla; J. Wilson, killed at Puebla; B. F. Woods, deserted at Jalapa; W. Winebiddle, returned in good health; S. Sloop, joined at Vera Cruz, and discharged at Puebla.

Jackson Blues.—Captain A. Hay, discharged at Vera Cruz, now in this city; J. O'H. Denny, discharged at the City of Mexico, now in this city; T. A. Rowley, discharged at Vera Cruz; W. A. Charlton, elected captain in City of Mexico, returned in good health; A. Ferguson, elected first lieutenant in Jalapa, returned in good health; J. Chalfant, discharged at Vera Cruz; H. Bateman, died at Perote; R. B. Young, discharged at Vera Cruz; A. P. Stuart, returned in good health; R. McKee, died at Puebla; H. J. Kennedy, died at City of Mexico; C. E. Bruton, died about ten miles above Puebla; William Byerly, returned in good health; George Miller, deserted at New Orleans; J. Armstrong, discharged at Vera Cruz, and died on the way home; James Armstrong, died at Jalapa; Thomas Alexander, returned in good health; E. Barker, died at Puebla; Charles Brison, returned in good health; S. D. Brown, returned in good health; W. S. Barker, discharged at Jalapa; Frederick Bowman, died at Perote Castle; A. G. Beebe, discharged at Puebla; J. Bowden, discharged at Puebla; William Blakely, elected second lieutenant in City of Mexico, and returned in good health; Samuel Black, died at Puebla; Miles Brown, returned not in good health; F. H. Cooley, returned in good health; John Condo, discharged at City of Mexico; J. Dolan, returned in good health; A. McDonald, returned in good health; E. Edwards, returned in good health, but wounded in left hand; Elias Faust, returned in good health; F. Fannemiller, returned in good health; George Fengle, discharged at Puebla, and died since his return; D. Guyer, discharged at Vera Cruz; John Griffith, deserted at City of Mexico on the 2d of March and since joined the Louisiana Dragoons; W. Graham, discharged at Vera Cruz; John Gibner, returned in good health; S. Hamilton, left City of Mexico, but fate unknown—was either killed or taken prisoner; I. C. Hall, returned in good health; D. Hawkins, discharged at Vera Cruz; J. H. Hover, returned in good health; F. Hointen, discharged at Jalapa; D. Hager, discharged at Vera Cruz; John Hines, taken from company at Vera Cruz as a deserter from the Regular Army; William Kennedy, returned in good health; T. Kam, died at Puebla; J. Krine, returned in good health; William Layburn, returned in good health; J. Lynbart, died at Puebla, after being shot in the breast at Puebla; J. Mc-

Cutcheon, discharged at Puebla; C. Mowry, discharged at Puebla; D. McMurtree, discharged at Perote; M. Mason, returned, body wounded and burned with powder very badly; T. McIntyre, returned in good health; B. McNoley, returned in good health; J. McCaffrey, died at Puebla; William McDermott, returned in good health; John M. Needs, deserted before embarking; T. B. Ogden, discharged at Vera Cruz; J. Parker, returned in good health; J. Regan, returned in good health; C. Ribald, died at Vera Cruz; G. Richeberger, discharged at Puebla; James T. Shannon, returned in good health; H. M. Shaw, died at Jalapa; H. Skiles, discharged at Vera Cruz; J. Sproat, discharged at Vera Cruz; J. Spitzley, died at Jalapa; John Shaffer, transferred to Second Dragoons; J. Savage, returned in good health; James B. Wright, died at Puebla; William Sullivan, died at Puebla; G. Wilhelm, died at Perote; R. Wilson, returned in good health; J. Walker, returned in good health; Robert Woods, elected second lieutenant in Perote; Otis Young, discharged at Vera Cruz; Eli Young, discharged at Vera Cruz; S. B. Young, discharged at Vera Cruz; C. F. Yohst, returned in good health; James Harmon, joined at New Orleans, a native of Steubenville, returned in good health; Charles McDermott, joined at New Orleans—is a Pittsburger—returned in good health; James F. Morton, returned in good health; J. Barton, died at Puebla; W. H. Worthington, returned in good health; Bernard Hose, died at Perote; Isaac Wright, discharged at Vera Cruz (u).

The war with Mexico demonstrated the immense importance of Pittsburg as a depot for military stores and munitions of war. General Scott threw Pittsburg-made shells into San Juan, and Duncan's batteries played with Pittsburg grape on Mexican columns. Huger fired Pittsburg battering cannon, and its floating fortresses, with the same equipment, made havoc in the cities and towns on the coast of the gulf. Muskets for the line, rifles for the light infantry, pistols and sabers for the dragoons, with cartridges for all, were supplied from Pittsburg throughout the entire period of that bloody and obstinately contested struggle. The following is an abstract of ordnance stores fabricated at Allegheny Arsenal from the 1st of May, 1846, to June 30, 1848, or during the Mexican War:

- 5 twenty-four pound stock-trial size carriages complete.
- 2 eighteen-pound stock-trial size carriages complete.
- 7 twelve-pound stock-trial field carriages complete.
- 16 caissons.
- 73 traveling forges, with tools, etc., complete.
- 12 battery wagons, with tools, etc., complete.
- 49 thirty two-pound barbette carriages complete.
- 54 twenty-four-pound barbette carriages complete.
- 17 twelve-pound blockhouse carriages complete.
- 44,811 sets of infantry accouterments complete.
- 2,138 sets of rifle accouterments complete.
- 14,218 sets of cavalry accouterments complete.
- 4,152,210 musket ball cartridges.
- 797,280 rifle ball cartridges.
- 549,760 carbine ball cartridges.
- 546,280 pistol ball cartridges.
- 3,000 ten-inch cartridge bags.
- 27,750 ten-inch fuses, fitted.
- 17,893 eight-inch fuses, fitted.
- 11,000 priming tubes, fitted.

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(u) Collected from various issues of the newspapers published in November, 1848.

21,242 pounds twenty-four-pound canister shot.

24,280 pounds twelve-pound canister shot.

7,406 pounds six-pound canister shot.

5,662 rounds of fixed ammunition, various calibers.

2,000 canister bottoms, iron.

508 sets of artillery harness for two lead horses.

264 sets of artillery harness for two wheel horses.

10 sets of mule harness, four-mule sets.

There were employed by the day at the arsenal during a portion of the period above given, 373 persons; disbursed at the arsenal during the same period, \$364,653.42 (v).

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(v) Post and Gazette, 1848.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

BANKING CONTINUED—GREAT INCREASE IN ISSUES—PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS—MUNICIPAL BILLS—CIRCULATION AND DEPOSITS—VALUE OF STOCK—DEMANDS FOR GREATER BANKING CAPITAL—GREAT INCONVENIENCE OF THE OLD SYSTEM—PAR FUNDS—THE PANIC OF 1854-5—NEW BANKS ORGANIZED—GREAT INCREASE IN BANKING STRENGTH—RUSH FOR THE STOCK OF CERTAIN INSTITUTIONS—DOLLAR SAVINGS BANK—STOCK VALUATIONS—LEGAL RESTRICTIONS—THE PANIC OF 1857—SUSPENSION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—COMPULSORY RESUMPTION—QUESTIONABLE BANKING METHODS—PRIVATE AND SAVING BANKS—TAXATION UNSUCCESSFULLY OPPOSED—THE SUSPENSION OF 1860—LAW FORFEITING CHARTERS AMENDED—MEETINGS TO SECURE CURRENCY REFORM—CHAOS AFTER THE FALL OF FORT SUMTER—RESUMPTION OF 1861—SUSPENSION OF 1861—WILD FLUCTUATIONS OF GOLD—RELIEF LAWS—LOYALTY OF THE BANKS—SALES OF GOVERNMENT BONDS—THE ISSUES OF THE ASSOCIATION OF BUTCHERS—GOVERNMENT FRACTIONAL CURRENCY RECEIVED—OLD BANKERS ALARMED—CONFLICT OF STATE AND NATIONAL BANKS—GOOD TIMES—WONDERFUL SUCCESS OF THE NATIONAL ISSUES—POLICIES OF THE STATE INSTITUTIONS—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS—SUBSCRIPTIONS TO SANITARY FAIR—CONVERSION OF STATE INTO NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—RETIREMENT OF STATE ISSUES.

The period from 1842 to 1854 was as propitious and bright for banking enterprises as the period from 1831 to 1842 had been dismal and forbidding. The "monster" was at last dead, and the anti-bank coterie were disposed to be open-hearted. Private bankers, associations, companies, individuals, cities, boroughs and brokers, with almost reckless prodigality, made haste to issue innumerable sorts of "promises to pay," which for years, if the local authorities of that day may be believed, served a purpose of great usefulness in all the avenues of commerce. It was said of local banks: "Their statements are the evidence of the solidity with which business is conducted in this city. . . . It is evident from the state of our banks that they have not been able to fill their lines of discount so as to make their available capitals fully profitable. At no time, probably, since they were chartered, has it been easier to get accommodations than at the present; but they are managed with a caution which, at times, appears to border on timidity" (a).

At this time the Exchange Bank was the Government depository. It had the largest circulation compared with its capital of any bank here; but the Bank of Pittsburg, during part of 1844, had a larger sum of deposits than the other three combined—Exchange, Merchants' and Manufacturers' and Farmers' Deposit. The great fire of April 10, 1845, burned the building occupied by the Bank of Pittsburg, and burned out Sibbett & Jones, Allen Kramer and William A. Hill, exchange brokers. The bank moved into the building formerly occupied by the Branch. The news that the bank had burned spread over the country and caused its notes, in some timid quarters, to sell at a discount of twenty-five per cent.

"It is a singular fact, and one which is demonstrative in the highest degree

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(a) Gazette, March, 1845.

of the resources of the city, that the deposits in the banks are larger now than previous to the great fire. In the Bank of Pittsburg there were, before that catastrophe, rising \$500,000, and now there are rising \$700,000 on deposit. Subsequent to the fire the stock of our banks declined in the East, affected, no doubt by that occurrence; but, whether well or ill founded, this has but little effect *at home*. The stock of the Bank of Pittsburg, for example, is at par, and over 100 shares have been sold lately at \$50, and more wanted. Our banks have acted very liberally and discounted a great deal of new paper since the fire. The relief fund is deposited among them and drawn upon as needed. The claimants whose losses did not exceed \$2,000 were paid off this day" (b).

"We desire to call attention to the fact that a corporation has been recently created by our Legislature called the Pittsburg Trust and Savings Company. The plan of the institution is a novel, but we think an excellent one, and presents great advantages to stockholders. The gentleman who originated the plan and procured the passage of the bill is confident that the stock to the amount of half a million dollars will be promptly taken in the Eastern cities" (c). On the 17th of June, 1845, the following was the quotation in Philadelphia of Pittsburg bank stocks, though they passed at par here:

	Par.	Bid.	Asked.
Bank of Pittsburg.....	\$50	\$47	\$50
Merchants' and Manufacturers'.....	50	42	45
Exchange Bank.....	50	42	45

"There is a new movement going on among our banks. The Farmers' Deposit Bank has given the notice required by law of the intention of the directors to apply to the next Legislature for such an amendment of their charter as will permit the issue of notes payable on demand. The Allegheny Saving Fund Company, an institution recently organized in Allegheny City, has also given notice of an intention to apply for a charter with a capital of \$100,000" (d). . . . "The city of Allegheny is about to issue a batch of \$5,000 of corporation notes to pay the expenses of certain improvements. These 'promises to pay' are extremely useful as a medium of local circulation" (d). . . . "The city has authorized an issue of \$40,000 (in notes) and we understand the county will also issue \$20,000. . . . The want now experienced will speedily absorb it. Some of the new issue of \$5,000 by the city of Allegheny are in circulation. . . . Our city banks have declared their semi-annual dividends—the Exchange Bank, three per cent. on \$1,000,000, \$30,000; Merchants' and Manufacturers', three and a half per cent. on \$600,000, \$21,000; Bank of Pittsburg, four per cent. on \$1,200,000, \$48,000" (d). The *Post* of April, 1846, reported quite a corner in the money market, owing to "the comparatively small banking capital of this city." "The issues of our own banks do not float upon the surface of the market as currency. They are driven out of circulation by the host of foreign uncurrent notes and by scrip made by the city and county" (e). "Our market (money) is unusually tight. The banks have not been doing anything of moment and furnish no relief. The county commissioners are doing some business in the way of issuing illegal scrip; but its circulation only tends to render bankable funds scarcer. We regard this money manufacturing business as injurious in the extreme. It furnishes a depreciated currency and operates upon the market in other respects badly. An injunction would put a stop to it. If the county and city will make money, it should at least be at par at home" (f). Among the leading private

(b) Gazette, 1845.

(c) Gazette, April 15, 1845.

(d) Gazette and Advertiser, various issues, 1845.

(e) Gazette and Advertiser, May 20, 1846.

(f) Gazette and Advertiser, June 3, 1846.



bankers in October, 1847, were Hussey, Hanna & Co., N. Holmes & Son, Hill (Joseph) & Curry (William C.), William A. Hill & Co., Kramer & Rahm, and others. All banks, savings institutions, loan companies and insurance companies were required by act of March 6, 1847, to publish in local newspapers, in December of each year, dividends or profits declared on their capital stock which had remained unclaimed for the period of three years; and three years after such publication it was declared that such dividends and profits should escheat to the Commonwealth. In 1848 counterfeit bills of the denomination of two dollars, on the city's scrip, were in circulation here. Cornelius Darragh and other distinguished lawyers, upon request, expressed the opinion that the alteration of notes under five dollars was not an infringement of the statute, because the city issues under that denomination were themselves illegal. The Allegheny Savings Fund Company began business several years before it succeeded in getting a charter, by the association of several individuals who, from time to time, advanced installments on their stock. They were incorporated in 1849, the corporators named being Henry Irwin, Jacob Geyer, John Morrison, William Miller, Henry Harman, David Dehaven and John Fleming, "together with the other persons who do now constitute the stockholders of the Allegheny Savings Fund Company, or such persons as shall hereafter become stockholders of the same."

The decade of the '40s closed without noteworthy events to the bankers of Pittsburg and Allegheny. Doing business here had been or were the following financial institutions and brokers: Bank of Pittsburg; Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank; Exchange Bank; Farmers' Deposit Bank; Allegheny Savings Fund Company; Pittsburg Trust and Savings Company; Fifth Ward Savings Bank; Commercial Bank; N. Holmes & Son; William H. Williams & Co. (I. B. McVay and later J. G. Coffin); Palmer (Waterman), Hanna (Joshua) & Co. (William K. Hart), successors to Hussey, Hanna & Co.; George E. Arnold & Co.; Kramer (Allen) & Rahm (Edward); Baird (S.) & Irvin (William A.); A. Wilkins & Co.; G. W. Taylor; H. D. King; William Larimer, Jr.; Warwick, Martin & Co.; Cook (Jacob W.) & Harris (Isaac); Hoon & Sargent, and no doubt others. All told, the capital actually employed in 1849 did not exceed \$3,000,000, a sum much too small for the immense business of that day.

By act of April 16, 1850, a general banking law was passed by the Legislature, which granted the right to associations, under elaborate restrictions and requirements, to organize and become incorporated for the purpose of doing solely a legitimate banking business. An important amendment was passed in 1854, correcting some omissions and deficiencies in the former bill. In 1853 a special law, which had been applied to certain counties in Eastern Pennsylvania, concerning the formation and management of saving fund companies, was extended so as to embrace Allegheny County in its operations, and became the basis of associations of that character established thereafter in this portion of the State. The law was specially designed for the benefit of orphans' estates, and has since had a development not dreamed of by its projectors. In June, 1851, stock and notes were quoted as follows:

	Stock.	Notes.
Bank of Pittsburg.....	\$ 53.50	Par.
Merchants' and Manufacturers'.....	53.50	Par.
Exchange Bank.....	50.75	Par.
Allegheny Savings Bank.....	155.00	No issues.

The following is a statement of the issue and redemption of county scrip made by William Flinn, John Emerick and F. I. Gardner, auditors of Alle-

gheny County, in 1853. This showed that \$22,242 had been redeemed more than had been issued (g):

Year.	Issued.	Redeemed.	Outstanding. Old Issues.
1842 .....	\$28,000	\$ 820	\$27,180
1843 .....	22,500	1,569	48,111
1844 .....	14,500	3,993	59,518
1845 .....	51,643	5,965	105,196
1846 .....	32,021	6,009	182,108
1847 .....	41,559	6,793	166,874
1848 .....	.....	67,654	99,220
1849 .....	.....	90,012	9,208
1850 .....	.....	29,650	.....
	<hr/> \$190,223	<hr/> \$212,465	<hr/> \$697,410

At the close of 1851 the Auditor-General's report exhibited the following facts concerning the banks here: Bank of Pittsburg, capital \$1,142,700, individual deposits \$590,257.87, coin on hand \$157,182.22, notes in circulation \$276,167; Exchange Bank, capital \$813,345, due depositors \$268,984.49, coin on hand \$119,570.75, notes in circulation \$503,290; Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank, capital \$600,000, due depositors \$156,935.26, coin on hand \$107,682.30, notes in circulation \$523,947.50; Farmers' Deposit Bank, capital \$62,500, deposits at interest \$151,251.49, transient deposits \$34,070.84, cash on hand \$21,582.06. The Bank of Pittsburg held discounted paper to the amount of \$1,701,973.36. This was more than was held by the other three banks combined. Two petitions of the merchants and manufacturers of Pittsburg were laid before the Legislature late in February, 1852, for the chartering of the Commercial Bank of Pittsburg. In the Senate, April 23, 1852, the bill to incorporate the Commercial Bank of Pittsburg passed by fifteen yeas to thirteen nays; in the House it had passed nine days before by fifty yeas to forty-one nays. Governor Bigler vetoed this bill (which embraced other banks), and the General Assembly failed to pass the same over his veto—failing by about two to one, a partisan vote. In April, 1852, John Stewart, secretary, called a meeting of the shareholders of the Fifth Ward Savings Bank, to be held at the office of the institution, 424 Liberty Street, on June 29th, to consider the question of having the stock consolidated into an incorporated company. This institution had been established by James Laughlin and others a short time before. Subscriptions for the shares of the Pittsburg Trust and Savings Fund Company were received at the office of Hays & Painter, on Liberty Street. On June 28, 1852, it was said: "The stock of this popular institution went off swimmingly yesterday. Nearly or quite 2,000 shares are already subscribed, being double the amount required for the issuing of the letters patent" (h). On July 12, 1852, this company elected its first trustees, as follows: James Laughlin, B. F. Jones, I. M. Pennock, William Bingham, Thomas Hays, John Lindsay, Samuel Rea, William K. Nimick and James A. Hutchison. On September 3, 1852, John D. Scully, actuary of the company, called for the second installment of four dollars on the stock of the institution, the same to be paid on the 15th of each month thereafter until all installments should be paid.

Thompson, Bell & Co., exchange brokers, offered stock of the Citizens' Deposit Bank for sale in August, 1852; A. Wilkins & Co. did the same. The former company succeeded the latter in July, 1852. What are called sight drafts now were often called "time bills" then. Late in July money became abundant,

(g) Post, May, 1853.

(h) Gazette, June 30, 1852.



causing bank and all other kinds of stock to advance sharply. Strong demands were made for this stock by the brokers.

"The recent pressure of the money market, which commenced in New York, extended to all the cities of the West. In Pittsburg . . . the cause arose from no lack of money, but in an unfounded disturbance of confidence. What there was to lead to a loss of confidence, other than what results from a morbid distrust of commercial men, we have not been able to learn and cannot conceive" (i). . . . "The improvement in money matters in Pittsburg does not keep pace with the improvement in the eastern cities. . . . When a tightening in money affairs takes place in the East, our market follows very promptly; but is very slack in following when easier times commence. This is because our money market is controlled by outsiders instead of by the banks, as it ought to be. . . . We have here but three banks, of not very extended capital. The youngest of these banks was chartered about twenty years ago; and, although within that time our population and commerce and manufactures have doubled, our banking capital remains the same. Twenty years ago these three banks were competent to meet the business wants of the community; but now they are not. Their joint capital and joint means of doing business are not equal to the demands of a commerce which has doubled within a short period of time and is constantly expanding; and to this is to be added the fact that the largest of these banks pursues a policy cautious in the extreme, holding the others measurably in check. As long as this state of things continues the control of monetary affairs will be in the hands of outsiders, and our merchants will remain, in some degree, at their mercy. Pittsburg needs another bank with capital sufficient to meet her expanded wants" (j).

While the statement that there were but three banks here was not literally true, the meaning of the editor was correct, that banking capital, aside from the three old banks (Bank of Pittsburg, Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank and Exchange Bank), was so small as to afford very little assistance to the immense industries of this vicinity. By act of March 30, 1853, the name of the "Pittsburg Trust and Savings Company" was changed to the "Pittsburg Trust Company;" and by act of April 18, 1854, the charter of the latter was extended fifteen years from the expiration of its (then) present charter. In 1853 bills were introduced in the House to incorporate the Citizens' Deposit Bank and the Commercial Bank of Pittsburg. The latter failed, but the former became a law. The Legislature, in 1853, incorporated William Dawson, James D. Kelly, Andrew McMasters, Samuel Morrow, Jacob Hays, Robert Bruce, Jr., and Francis Sellers, "together with the other persons who do now constitute the stockholders of the Citizens' Deposit Bank of Pittsburg, or such persons as shall hereafter become stockholders of the same." In a supplementary act in May, 1857, the name of the Citizens' Deposit Bank of Pittsburg was changed to the Citizens' Bank of Pittsburg, which was authorized to increase its capital stock to \$500,000, and was required within one year from the passage of the act to pay into the State Treasury two per cent. of such increase of \$300,000. It was authorized to issue banknotes, payable on demand at its counter in specie; but such issue was prohibited until \$300,000 had been actually paid in on stock. On May 19, 1853, P. M. Davis, auctioneer, sold twenty-eight shares of stock of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank at from \$56.25 to \$56.50 per share; eight shares of Bank of Pittsburg stock at from \$55 to \$55.125 per share, and eighty-six shares of Exchange Bank stock at from \$55.375 to \$56 per share. A short time before this was the first date when stock of the other two banks rated higher and sold for more than that of the Bank of Pittsburg.

"Cannot the brokers of the city do something to relieve the community of

(i) Gazette, April 15, 1853.

(j) Gazette, May 2, 1853.

the ragged small notes that infest the avenues of trade? At no period in our history have we noticed so much rotten trash about as that which disgusts us at the present time. It seems as if the Ohio and Indiana banks have selected Pittsburg as the receptacle for their defaced currency. . . . It is too bad. These banks are growing fat on the simplicity of Pennsylvania. We are literally swamped with trash. A clerk must rush to the brokers with every dollar he receives, or the poor fellow is lost in doubt and has no rest. . . . It would require a gigantic intellect to keep posted on all the 'Owl Creek's' and 'Hit him hard' banks that are springing up, like Jonah's gourd, all around" (k). . . . "The one grand, overpowering drawback upon our advancement as a city is the want of adequate banking capital. . . . The deposits in our banking institutions at the date of the last report were only \$1,355,892.60. . . . Our banking capital is no larger now than it was in 1835, although our population has more than doubled since that time" (l).

This was not the cry of the *Gazette* only, but reflected the judgment of Pittsburg and Allegheny business men generally. The banks had discounted as much as it was prudent for them to loan, and there is no doubt that twice as much capital at this date would have been used. Even the stock of the banks depreciated, owing to the demand for money. The speculative spirit was becoming distracted. December 30, 1853, bank stock was quoted as follows:

	Asked.	Offered.
Merchants' and Manufacturers'.....	\$ 57	\$ 56
Exchange Bank.....	56	55.50
Bank of Pittsburg.....	56	55
Pittsburg Trust Company.....	56	55.25
Citizens' Trust Company.....	50	49
Allegheny Savings Bank.....	235	225

During the spring of 1854 business in Pittsburg and Allegheny was unusually active, the banks sharing in the general and enjoyable prosperity. The demand for money was strong at twelve per cent. per annum. April 15, 1854, twenty-four shares of stock of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank brought at auction on 'Change \$60 each, par funds (m). This was the first instance the stock of either of the old banks sold as high as that figure at public auction. Everybody was looking for a place to invest his money, and he was not always particular just where it was placed; hence the rise in bank stock. The mutterings of the coming storm were unheeded. There were introduced into the Legislature, in 1854-5, bills to incorporate the Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg, the Commercial Bank of Pittsburg, the Allegheny Valley Bank of Pittsburg, and to increase the capital of the Citizens' Deposit Bank. Previous to March 30, 1855, the committee of the House had reported favorably on every bank bill that had come before it. At this time there were pending in the Legislature about eighty applications concerning banks—new banks, increase of capital, etc. Even the press of Pittsburg was considerably staggered by this fact. The clamors here and elsewhere in the State for greater banking capital were bearing fruit. The following statement of the conditions of the local banks is taken from the report of the Auditor-General of November, 1854:

Institution.	Circulation.		Deposits.	
	1853.	1854.	1853.	1854.
Bank of Pittsburg.....	248,567	203,097	675,758	1,642,657
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.....	600,922	451,145	298,225	260,020
Exchange Bank.....	903,350	632,925	227,867	171,732

(k) "Merchant" in *Gazette*, May 25, 1853.

(l) *Gazette*, July 2, 1853.

(m) *Gazette*, April 17, 1854.



Institution.	Circulation.		Deposits.	
	1853.	1854.	1853.	1854.
Farmers' Deposit Bank.....	.....	.....	240,300	263,589
Citizens' Deposit Bank.....	.....	.....	30,672	63,671
Pittsburg Trust Company.....	.....	.....	320,408	437,718
Allegheny Savings Fund Company.....	.....	.....	85,298	124,400

Institution.	Discounts.		Specie.	
	1853.	1854.	1853.	1854.
Bank of Pittsburg.....	1,629,164	1,642,637	249,219	114,454
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank	1,312,956	1,152,545	94,983	93,064
Exchange Bank.....	1,440,980	1,330,062	215,227	164,976
Farmers' Deposit Bank.....	314,152	337,712	64,114	26,080
Citizens' Deposit Bank.....	81,361	203,167	4,050	25,254
Pittsburg Trust Company.....	453,433	533,936	43,562	106,761
Allegheny Savings Fund Company..	117,037	147,089	15,105	26,171

The summer of 1854 was dull in money matters and gave no intimation of what the following winter was to bring forth. It was said that, "Money continues in active demand at rates ranging from twelve to twenty-four per cent., according to the reputation of the paper offered, and this although business is dull. . . . Money is said to be abundant, but holders are extremely cautious and scrutinize paper very closely" (n).

One reason for the strong demand for money was that large quantities of it were required to carry on the numerous railways and turnpike roads then in process of construction. During the summer the Allegheny Savings Bank and the Farmers' Deposit Bank gave notice that they would apply for an increase of capital at the next sitting of the Legislature. It was still the opinion of business men here that the banking capital of Pittsburg should be greatly increased. The newspapers urgently expressed this belief in issue after issue. The *Gazette* said: "Our business is crippled for want of means and must remain so until our banking capital is doubled, or the present system is abandoned" (o). The times were panicky. Business men overtraded and overborrowed and never once seemed to think of pay-day. Even bankers went beyond the limits of safety and took all first-class paper offered. It needed but a breath of suspicion to sweep away the gossamer of confidence and precipitate local financial affairs into a state of ruin and dismay. The demand for greater banking capital became unintermittent. Business ventures of all sorts were undertaken even by bankers themselves. It was the opinion that Western Pennsylvania, particularly in this vicinity, had been unjustly treated by the last and previous Legislatures in not having been granted an increase of banking capital. Desperate investments were undertaken with a surprising disregard for the outcome. Monetary values were unsettled and the times were ripe for ruin.

There was an inconvenient difference between currency and par funds. Issues of all the poorer banks formed the circulating medium of common transactions, and this currency was at a discount with par paper and coin. Notwithstanding this fact the latter two were in constant circulation, the premium being always taken into account in each business operation. Of course, all the notes of the local banks were at par with coin here. Nearly all Western notes of solvent banks were from one to two per cent. discount; while those of Eastern banks were at par or a slight premium. Late in August a general feeling of distrust toward Western banknotes caused them to decline from two to five per cent. Indiana, Michigan and Tennessee notes were regarded with

(n) Daily Union, June, 1854.

(o) Issue of July 8, 1854.

suspicion and shaved even more than five per cent. This threw them out of circulation and into the hands of the brokers. In September eight or ten weak banks in different parts of the country failed. The banks here became very cautious. About the middle of October even the local brokers refused to buy notes of the State stock banks of Indiana and Illinois, which were thus almost wholly thrown out of circulation. Business failures became of frequent occurrence in different parts of the country. Much embarrassment was experienced here. Early in the year 1854 everything had looked promising, but drouth, cholera and the monetary stringency rendered the summer and fall unprofitable and disastrous.

On November 8th the banking house of A. Wilkins & Co. closed its doors; a severe panic resulted and runs were made upon the other brokers, but all demands were at first promptly met. The next day a heavy run on Hugh D. King compelled him to close his doors. On the 10th a severe drain was made upon General William Larimer, Jr., but he bravely met all demands. The suspension of Mr. King, who was related to General Larimer, caused the run on the latter. A great quantity of money was withdrawn from the brokers and private bankers and deposited in the old banks or hoarded. The rate of discount on currency advanced to two per cent., and on relief notes to one per cent. On January 2, 1855, General Larimer suspended as a result of the terrible run upon him on the 10th of December. On January 3, 1855, W. A. Hill & Co., brokers and agents and treasurers of the Pittsburg and Steubenville Railroad, and Hoon & Sargent, brokers, succumbed to the persistent drain upon them and closed their doors. Financial affairs in Pittsburg and Allegheny at this time were dark in the extreme. Many small depositors suffered severely. It was hoped that General Larimer would recover himself and resume; but he was unable to do so, and soon made an assignment, the assignees being Thomas Mellon and Thomas Davidson. The final appraisement fixed the assets at \$409,869 and the liabilities at about the same amount. At the time of his failure he was president of the Connellsville Railroad, treasurer of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad, and owned a large interest in the Youghioghenny Slackwater Navigation Company, the last having cost him \$63,000. In the appraisement this interest was estimated at \$40,000. In December, 1855, it was sold at auction for \$9,300. The remainder of the estate proved almost as valueless. On January 22, 1855, Kramer & Rahm were forced to suspend operations. They had been sorely pressed during the previous runs, but had managed to meet all demands, though they were so crippled that eventual suspension was necessary. No immediate run caused this action; the constant drain and poor collections rendered the closing of their doors imperative. It was said of them: "This house, like most of the others which preceded it, had outside risks—large sums invested in a rolling-mill and other ventures of a similar nature, from which it is next to impossible to realize at such a time as this. . . . These are not the investments for those to whom are intrusted the temporary use of other people's money. . . . We have no doubt that the motive prompting them is a good and honest one, and we cast no personal censures on any. But the whole thing is wrong at the root" (p).

The result of this monetary panic here was thus the failure of six brokerage and banking houses and an incalculable amount of suffering among small depositors. Out of the ruin of the old house of A. Wilkins & Co. arose the new one of Wilkins & Co., with the solemn promise to the public, through the newspapers, to stick closely to their legitimate business thereafter and not deal in any more outside ventures. Kramer & Rahm also managed to resume business again in April, 1855. Thus the Larimer collapse was the most disastrous. These failures and suspensions seemed, like a storm, to clear the financial atmos-

(p) Gazette, January 24, 1855.

phere; because, late in February, 1855, confidence was almost wholly restored and monetary operations had resumed their customary health and volume. During the panic the old banks suffered no inconvenience and were in no danger. In fact, they seemed to thrive on other people's misfortunes.

In 1855 an institution, to be called the "Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg," with a capital of \$500,000, divided into 10,000 shares of \$50 each, and to be organized, managed and governed as provided in the act of April 16, 1850, was established. On April 26, 1855, books for subscription to the stock of the Mechanics' Bank were opened at the Merchants' Exchange, and by May 2d, according to the *Dispatch*, 8,217 shares had been subscribed for. "The stock has fallen into the hands of a very substantial, as well as of a very numerous, class of people. Only two individuals took as high as 200 shares. . . . From the character of the stockholders we infer that the bank will be organized on a substantial basis and in a manner to command the public confidence in a high degree." On Wednesday, June 27th, the bank elected its first directors from eight tickets placed in the field, comprising thirty-five candidates. The following gentlemen were elected: Reuben Miller, Jr., John Herron, James A. Hutchison, Robert Dalzell, George W. Cass, William H. Smith, Alexander Speer, William B. Holmes, Isaac Jones, John W. Butler, James P. Hanna, William J. Morrison and Alexander Gordon. Reuben Miller, Jr., was chosen president and G. R. McGrew cashier. On July 18th there were sold at auction at the Exchange, 1,597 shares of this bank at from \$50.50 to \$50.75 per share. The institution formally opened for business July 9th, and commanded the confidence of the community from the start.

In 1855 the "Pittsburg Dollar Savings Institution" was incorporated. It was enacted that the bank's business should be managed by a board of trustees; that the business should generally consist in receiving on deposit money in sums of not less than one dollar from mariners, tradesmen, clerks, mechanics, laborers, minors, servants and others, and investing the same in certain stocks and bonds, mortgages on real estate, etc.; that deposits should be paid for as agreed upon, interest thereon being estimated by months, etc. (q). In 1858 the name was changed to the "Dollar Savings Bank;" and in 1862 it was authorized to loan money at such rates of interest, not exceeding ten per cent. per annum, as would enable it, after paying the expenses of the institution and a dividend on its deposits of six per cent. per annum, to accumulate a contingent fund of ten per cent. on the deposits on hand. On June 7, 1855, the institution was organized as a mutual banking company, with thirty-nine trustees. John H. Shoenberger was elected president, but declined, whereupon George Albree was chosen for that office, and Charles A. Colton was elected treasurer. Under the charter no capital was required, as the design of the institution was the investment and management of deposits. On July 19th the business was formally begun. The success of this institution has been wonderful. From an insignificant start and a slow beginning, the institution steadily advanced until on December 1, 1897, its total assets amounted to \$17,817,673.97, and its total number of depositors to 44,709.

During the Legislative session of 1856-7 twenty-six applications for banks were filed, of which thirteen were granted. Thirty-nine applications were filed at the next session. The Farmers' Deposit Company, Pittsburg Trust Company and Citizens' Deposit Bank were not banks of issue, but depended upon their capital and the notes of other banks with which to discount local paper, buy stocks, etc. The newspapers of Pittsburg were outspoken in their denunciation of such a course, should the privilege of receiving the notes of other banks

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(q) Act of April 27, 1855.

be denied them by law and they not be made banks of issue. Accordingly, the Citizens' Deposit Bank, anticipating hostile action, appeared before the Legislature with an application to be constituted a bank of issue and for an increase of capital. The charter of the Farmers' Deposit Bank was surrendered Saturday, June 13th, to take effect July 1st, and trustees were appointed under the act of 1822. The Pittsburg Trust Company, in June, 1857, by John D. Scully, cashier, called a meeting of its stockholders to consider the restrictions imposed upon them by the act of November 6, 1856, and the expediency of dissolving their corporation and of electing trustees, as provided in the act of April 1, 1822. On July 22, 1857, this company was organized under the new law, and James Laughlin, W. K. Nimick, Isaac M. Pennock, Samuel Rea, Francis G. Bailey, Thomas Bell, Alexander Bradley, Thomas Wrightman and James Anderson were elected directors under the new management. The act of the Assembly prohibited this and similar institutions from loaning the notes of other banks which might be in their possession (r).

The old Allegheny Savings Fund Company, having been incorporated, was reorganized in June, 1857, under the name Allegheny Bank. The new association took out a license and proceeded to do a general banking and brokerage business. "Three bills for new banks here have passed the Legislature this winter, and it is certain that the Governor will sign two of them, if not all. This will increase our banking capital considerably, but will still be much less than we need" (s). Books for the subscription of stock were opened for the Allegheny bank in Pittsburg on the 11th, 12th and 13th of June, and in Allegheny on the 8th, 9th and 10th of June. William Bagaley was president of the commissioners appointed by the Legislature, and R. T. Leech, Jr., secretary. The commissioners were authorized to establish the Allegheny Bank, with a capital of \$500,000, in shares of \$50 each, the same to be governed by the provisions of the act of April 16, 1850, and its subsequent amendments. It was provided that within one year from the passage of this act the bank should pay into the State Treasury a bonus of one per cent. on its capital stock. By special act of April 2, 1858, the Allegheny Bank was authorized to remove its office and place of business to Pittsburg. "Allegheny Bank.—The commissioners of this bank opened books at the Merchants' Exchange yesterday, and something over 1,600 shares were subscribed. This makes about 2,500 shares already taken" (t). . . . "Allegheny Bank.—Nearly the whole of the stock of this bank was taken yesterday, subscribers being allowed to take within the range of 200 shares each. . . . The promptness with which the entire stock of two new banks, amounting to \$600,000, has been taken in one week, indicates the general soundness of our community and the large amount of floating capital ready for such investment" (u). . . . "Allegheny and Iron City Banks.—The books were open again on Saturday (13th), and the few shares which remained from the day before were snatched up eagerly within less than two hours. Thus these two banks—the Iron City and the Allegheny Bank stock, in a community where there is so much talk just now about poverty and the decline in property and the scarcity in money—have withdrawn from its place of deposit or from other and temporary investments \$600,000, and in the course of five days absorbed that amount into themselves." The incorporators of this bank were authorized to establish a bank of issue, to be called the Iron City Bank, with a capital of \$400,000, divided into 8,000 shares of \$50 each, and to be subject to the act of April 16, 1850. On June 8, 1857, books for subscription to the stock of the Iron City Bank were opened at the Merchants' Exchange in Pittsburg. James S. Craft

(r) Post, June, 1857.

(s) Gazette, May 4, 1857.

(t) Gazette, June 12, 1857.

(u) Gazette, June 13, 1857.

was president and L. S. Johns secretary of the commissioners. Speaking of the Iron City Bank, the *Gazette* a little later said: "The bank has issued, as yet, but \$4,875, in fives and tens. We deem it unnecessary to state that we *take* Iron City Bank paper at par."

"About 1,800 shares (Iron City Bank) were subscribed yesterday (9th) in lots of four shares each, and about 600 the day before. To-day subscriptions of six shares will be received. There is no doubt now that the entire stock will be taken during the week" (v). . . . "The Iron City Bank.—The number of shares subscribed yesterday (10th) in lots of six and under amounted to 3,840. This makes 6,218 shares subscribed, and as there are but 8,000 shares in all there will be but 1,782 shares left for subscribers to-day. . . . The rush yesterday was greater than any day before" (v). . . . "The Iron City Bank.—The remaining stock of this bank was taken yesterday morning in a few minutes after the books were opened. The rush for stock was tremendous, large numbers being unable to make the subscriptions they desired. This is the first instance in Pittsburg, and we presume it is the first in the State, in which the entire stock of a bank has been taken within the fourth day after the opening of the books" (v). . . . "During last week the books of the Iron City and Allegheny banks were opened. The stock of the first, amounting to \$400,000, was greedily taken before the fourth day was out. The stock of the other, amounting to \$500,000, was all taken by Saturday. In addition, the new stock of the Citizens' Bank, amounting to \$300,000, has nearly all been taken by the old stockholders. Our community has thus subscribed \$1,200,000 of new bank stock within a week and with an alacrity never before witnessed. The fact speaks for itself. The Citizens' Bank will shortly get into full operation under the new charter and issue notes. The other two will probably get into operation about the 1st of August. The two deposit banks—the Farmers' and the Trust Company—will probably appoint trustees and take out broker's licenses and carry on a regular banking and discounting business, as hitherto" (v).

E. D. Jones, cashier, gave notice that books for the subscription of the \$300,000 increased capital stock of the Citizens' Bank would be opened May 25th. Notices were published in June, 1857, that charters for the Commercial Bank of Pittsburg with a capital of \$150,000, the Duquesne Bank of Pittsburg with a capital of \$300,000, and the Diamond Savings Bank of Pittsburg with a capital of \$50,000, would be applied for at the next sitting of the Legislature (w). The Diamond Savings Institution was established in the summer of 1857 with a capital of 300 shares. August 18th the name was changed to Union Banking Company, and the number of shares was increased to 500. "To those who can save even a dollar a week the Dollar Savings Institution, which went into operation in July, 1855, affords an excellent place of deposit; while those who can spare larger amounts from their weekly earnings cannot find a more secure investment, where their money will be paying them a good interest, than in this institution at 65 Fourth Street. We know it is carefully managed and numbers among its trustees some of our best business men" (x). Twelve weeks of almost unbroken winter in 1855-6 totally suspended river operations, and money was temporarily invested in bank stock, which appreciated very much in value. In March, 1856, local bank stock, though variable, was worth about as follows:

Pittsburg Trust Company.....	\$65.50
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.....	64.75

(v) *Gazette*, June, 1857.

(w) Harrisburg paper.

(x) *Post*, 1857.



Bank of Pittsburg.....	\$62.75
Exchange Bank.....	60.25
Mechanics' Bank.....	56.00
Citizens' Deposit Bank.....	55.00
Farmers' Deposit Bank.....	55.00

A bill to incorporate the Allegheny City Bank was introduced in the Legislature in 1855-6, but failed to become a law. Late in the year 1856 rumors of broken banks in different parts of the country were in circulation. Two or three failed at Erie, and others elsewhere in Pennsylvania and in Ohio, New York, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and other States. Money here commanded from ten to twelve per cent. per annum for first-class paper. In January, 1857, many banks in all parts of the country, particularly in Indiana and Illinois, closed their doors. In this month, while the air was rife with rumors of wrecked and ruined institutions, bills were introduced in the Legislature to charter the Bank of Allegheny, the Iron City Bank, the Monongahela Valley Bank of McKeesport, and to increase the capital of the Citizens' Deposit Bank from \$200,000 to \$500,000.

"The call for money for the past few weeks has been intense, and we have never known a more active demand. The pressure upon the banks for discounts has been heavy, and although they have discounted quite liberally, large amounts of good paper have been thrown out" (b). . . . "Money is in pressing demand, as much so as at any period during the year. . . . It is impossible for the banks to meet all the demands upon them for accommodation" (b).

On November 6, 1856, the Legislature restricted the operations of all incorporated banking, saving fund, trust, or insurance companies to the notes of specie-paying banks of this State, or to notes issued under the act of May 4, 1841, or to coin; and on May 21, 1857, the law was extended to embrace brokers and private bankers. The passage of the law of November 6th was a direct blow at institutions like the Citizens' Deposit Bank, which relied wholly upon its own capital and the currency of other banks and States to enable it to do business, as it could issue no notes of its own. The law was announced to take effect July 1, 1857. The *Gazette* said: "As far as this community is concerned, we think we are safe in stating that the banks of deposit are held among the safest in the city. They have inspired confidence by the manner in which they have transacted their business generally, carrying themselves and their depositors safely through a series of financial embarrassments which weighed upon this community in the latter part of the year 1854 and the beginning of 1855, when many who had placed their trust elsewhere were sufferers" (b).

In February, 1857, the newspapers of this vicinity, as a reason for their demand for greater banking capital in Western Pennsylvania, stated that the total banking capital of Pittsburg and Allegheny was \$3,253,200; of Philadelphia, \$11,493,600; and in all of Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia, \$10,864,256.

Late in August, 1857, there was an immense drain of specie from New York to Europe. Monetary affairs wore the most serious aspect. The Ohio Life and Trust Company of Cincinnati "went to the wall," and was immediately followed by many banks and business houses there and in other parts of the country (c). The local newspapers appeared with prominent headlines, "The Monetary Crisis." Intense excitement ensued on Wall Street, New York, which was seriously affected by the Cincinnati failure. As the newspapers here feared, this was but the beginning. The general panic, which had been gathering strength and fury for many years under reckless banking and business methods, was about ready at last to burst upon the bewildered monetary and com-

(b) *Gazette*, spring of 1857.

(c) *Daily Union*, September 4-6, 1857.



mercial world. Nothing yet of a serious nature had occurred here to interrupt the usual business transactions of banks and other financiers. Great conservatism was shown, however. Early in September more than thirty business houses in New York suspended as a consequence of bank failures and overtrading. Still no failures nor suspensions had yet occurred here.

"Failure succeeds failure too rapidly to justify speaking of returning confidence, and the failures are of an important and prominent kind. They demonstrate that it was not a 'panic' confined to the surface and sweeping off those only who had not weight enough to keep them down, but a real deep-seated 'revulsion,' extending in its effects throughout the entire length and breadth of the land. Fortunately for this town of ours, the spirit for speculation and the rage for fortune-hunting had not taken root here, and we escape almost altogether. Our business and our business men never stood on a firmer footing than now" (d).

But the Exchange, as it said of others, was "whistling to keep up its courage;" the real storm had not yet burst. Long lists of weekly failures in the United States were reported in the local newspapers. On September 25th came news of the suspension of the banks in Philadelphia, which occasioned the first serious tremor of excitement in Pittsburg. The *Gazette* said: "Our banks, well known to be among the soundest in the Union, while pursuing a prudent and cautious course, have had the ability to meet the main demands upon them in the way of accommodations and to keep our monetary condition sound and healthy. . . . Our banks are all strong, with but a limited circulation out, and they possess in an extraordinary degree, and deservedly so, the confidence of the community. Whatever may be the result of affairs elsewhere, our financial condition is such that we may safely enjoy an immunity from fear" (e). Suspension of banks continued to occur with startling frequency in all parts of the Union. On September 28, 1857, the following action was taken:

"*Resolved*, By the executive officers of the several banks represented in this convention, in view of the serious financial embarrassments resulting from the suspension of specie payments by the banks of Philadelphia, Baltimore and other cities, and the derangement of the currency and exchanges of the country at large, that we will recommend to the board of directors of our respective banks to suspend the payment of coin for the present. *Resolved*, That the existing state of things presents to the banks of the city of Pittsburg but two lines of conduct—one of which is an almost total cessation in discounts, whether of exchange or local paper, thereby crushing inevitably large numbers of deserving business men, although it would probably enable the banks to pay specie, or the alternative of a temporary suspension of payments in coin, which we embrace as the lesser evil. *Resolved*, That the cashiers of our respective banks be peremptorily instructed by the boards of directors to resume payments as soon as a similar course shall be adopted by the Philadelphia banks." Signed: "Thomas Scott, president Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank; T. M. Howe, president Exchange Bank; R. Miller, Jr., president Mechanics' Bank; O. Blackburn, president Citizens' Bank."

"The Bank of Pittsburg.—September 26, 1857, the cashier stated that he had called the board together to inform them that the banks of the city of Philadelphia, and Eastern Pennsylvania generally, together with some of the banks of this city, have suspended specie payments; and he recommended to the board the continuance of the payment of specie upon all the liabilities of the bank. Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Holmes, it was resolved, *unanimously*, that this bank will continue to meet its liabilities in coin, as heretofore" (f).

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(d) Weekly Review of the Exchange Market. (e) Issue of September 26, 1857.  
(f) Minutes of the Board of Directors, Bank of Pittsburg.

On October 4, 1857, pursuant to call, a large meeting of business men was held at the Merchants' Exchange to take into consideration the crisis in monetary affairs. W. H. Williams was chosen chairman and J. G. Coffin secretary. Mr. Cosgrave offered a set of resolutions, which were adopted unanimously. Five were as follows:

"*Resolved*, That we regard the banks of this county as entirely safe and solvent, and that they have been managed with undoubted prudence, skill and forethought. *Resolved*, That the course pursued by those banks of Pittsburg which have suspended specie payments was dictated by a sense of their duty to the business interests of our city. *Resolved*, That we believe the bank suspensions which have taken place here have been caused solely by the trouble and unexpected financial disasters which have occurred in other parts of the country, and that there is no inherent cause for the suspension in the condition or conduct of the banks themselves. *Resolved*, That, taking this view of the conduct of the suspended banks, we believe they are entitled to the protection of the Legislature and an entire remission of the penalties imposed by the law of 1850. *Resolved*, That the period should be fixed by the Legislature for the resumption of specie payments, and that all the banks of our Commonwealth should be compelled to resume specie payments at the earliest day possible."

By act of October 13, 1857, all previous acts declaring the forfeiture of bank charters in case of a suspension of specie payments, or the infliction of any penalties for the issuance of notes of incorporated non-specie paying banks, after September 1, 1857, were declared suspended until the second Monday in April, 1858. In fact, a general relief law for all incorporated banks was passed; but banks in Pittsburg and Allegheny were required to make weekly statements and returns of their condition. All banks were required to receive the paper of solvent State banks at par. It having been stated in the *National Intelligencer* that the banks of Allegheny County had suspended specie payments, the *Gazette* editorially remarked: "It is not true that all the banks of this county have suspended. The old Bank of Pittsburg goes on as usual, never having refused to pay specie on any of its obligations, either during the present unfortunate crisis or at any previous time of financial trouble. The Allegheny Bank is a new bank and has just got under way; it pays specie also" (g).

Governor James Pollock, by proclamation, convened the Legislature, and, in his message of October 6th, recommended the passage of a law temporarily releasing banks from penalties due to their suspension of specie payments. About the middle of October money was very scarce here. To borrow on new paper was out of the question. Currency was also scarce, the most of it having gone home for redemption. Ten banks only in Pennsylvania had continued paying specie (h). So far no serious business failures had resulted in this city, but the large manufacturers began to close down their operations, because they could get no accommodation at the banks. Fearful misgivings were entertained.

At this time it was ascertained that a firm in this city had been permitted to overdraw their account in the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank to the amount of about \$185,000 without the knowledge or consent of the directors, but through the connivance of a bookkeeper. At this time Thomas Scott, president of the bank, resigned and Henry L. Bollman succeeded him. The bank announced that it would redeem its circulation and pay its depositors in checks upon Western banks, and began suit against J. and H. O'Connor and C. Ihmsen. Its notes and stock depreciated considerably in value. The defendants, under pressure, transferred to the bank \$120,000 in securities and took the benefit of

(g) Gazette, October 7, 1857.

(h) Philadelphia Inquirer, October 10, 1857.

the insolvent laws. The charge against them was conspiracy to obtain money by fraud. Numerous stories concerning this affair were in circulation. The bookkeeper, Wilson Bleakney, made affidavit that he alone was to blame; that he employed false entries and footings, which were shown to the bank's officers; that he had permitted the Messrs. O'Connor to overdraw, and then had begged them to replace the amount, which they had faithfully promised to do, but had failed to comply with their promises to him; and that the president and directors had been thus deceived. His affidavit was confirmed by Thomas Jackson, teller. The committee appointed to investigate the affair reported the following state of things: The settlement with O'Connor Brothers & Co. was upon the basis of \$185,000 indebtedness, to be secured by paper, etc., amounting on its face to \$210,000. Of this security there had been received by the bank previous to November 10th an amount of over \$210,000. It was believed that the bank would have no serious difficulty in paying its billholders, depositors and other creditors, and in preserving unimpaired its capital. "We are sorry that our examinations have not enabled us to acquit all those who have had charge of the bank from a want of proper care in its interests" (i).

On November 3, 1857, the banks held their annual meetings. All of the suspended banks accepted the provisions of the relief law. The Bank of Pittsburgh and the Exchange Bank each declared a dividend for the last six months of three per cent. The new law prohibited the latter from declaring more. The stockholders of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank appointed a committee to examine into its condition. It was the general belief, and it was afterward shown, that this bank was sound and in a short time would be as prosperous as ever. It was urged in November, 1857, that Pittsburgh banks should have a clearing-house. Up to this date even Philadelphia had not established one. Money matters had not improved yet. Banks were looking out for themselves, making themselves strong, discounting no new paper and renewing only when obliged to do so. Stagnation had fallen upon all pursuits. On January 5, 1858, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank announced that henceforward it would pay specie for all its liabilities. It was thus the first of the suspended banks to resume. About August, 1859, the notes of the Monongahela Valley Bank, of McKeesport, were discredited by the banks and brokers here and thrown out of circulation. The cashier, J. L. Langley, declared this course unjust, and assured the public that the bank was sound and had not closed its doors. Banks were very critical at this time, lending sparingly and evidently guarding against possible disaster. It was afterward shown that, by means of forgeries, several men had defrauded the bank at McKeesport out of a large sum of money.

"The Exchange Bank resumed specie payments yesterday morning, although no notice had been given of the fact. This makes the resumption general, and we now present an unbroken line of specie-paying banks. There was no run or pressure upon any of the resuming institutions, the resumption having been as quietly affected as if it were a matter of no general concern. This early resumption of our banks, in advance of all the banks of the State, and especially in advance of Philadelphia banks, is a feather in the cap of Pittsburgh. It shows the general soundness of our business community and the thorough solvency of our banking institutions. Their weekly statements indicate a purely healthy condition, and prove them to possess more ready means, proportionately, than the banks of any other place. The Citizens' and Mechanics' banks resumed specie payments yesterday, according to notice, and the Exchange Bank without notice. Money is abundant, but holders of it are extremely careful. The banks

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(i) Investigating committee's report.—John Bissell, Thomas Bakewell, George Darsie, George W. Jackson and Daniel Agnew.



are not discounting up to their means, and their list of losses is steadily decreasing" (l).

The resumption here was followed by resumption in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Wilmington and other cities; the law did not require it in this State until April 12th. The banks were very cautious at this time, increasing their specie, withdrawing their circulation and decreasing the time and magnitude of their loans. It should be noted, therefore, that not a single banking institution here of any kind failed during the panic of 1857-8. Whether the banks which suspended were justified in that course may be considered, even in the light of the present day, an unsolved problem. However, the day will sometime be ushered in when, under wise financial laws, no man, at any time, with first-class security in his hand, will be refused money thereon, and no bank will be obliged to endure the spasms of a run, suspension, or a sacrifice of securities behind closed doors.

"The Union Banking Company are now fitting up an office, corner Fourth and Market streets, for the purpose of doing a general banking business. The board of directors consists of J. R. McCune (president), Joseph Kirkpatrick, John Wilson, John Glass, A. G. Cabbage, John Marshall and Joseph Horne. Robert S. Smith was elected cashier. . . . 'The Union' now has a paid-up capital of \$57,000, which is being constantly increased by weekly installments, and will at once assume a prominent position among the moneyed institutions of the city" (j). . . . "The Union Banking Company opened their office yesterday and start out under very favorable auspices" (k).

Among the private bankers of the decade of the '50s were the old and reliable house of N. Holmes & Sons, Patrick & Friend, O'Connor, Bro. & Co., Arthurs, Rodgers & Co., William A. Herron & Co., Semple & Jones, S. McClean & Co., Ira B. McVay & Co., and others, mentioned elsewhere. The Iron City Trust Company, at 256 Liberty Street, did a general banking business of discount, exchange and deposit late in the '50s, with a capital of \$150,000 and a possible capital strength of \$1,000,000. In November, 1859, the president was G. E. Warner; cashier, R. C. Schmertz; directors, John Moorhead, Alexander Forsyth, John Heath, George S. Head, J. Hill, William Seibert, W. McClintock, Henry McCullough and Robert Anderson. From 1845 to 1858 was a banking period of extraordinary variety, daring and activity. Regardless of the law, more than one citizen was engaged in numerous banking enterprises at the same time. Bank charters were bought and sold, and men loaned their names and influence to secure new or extended banking privileges. The names of these institutions were often changed, and one bank was merged into another and that product into a third, or perhaps was subdivided, with bewildering frequency. In fact, it is difficult, if not impossible, to follow their swift movements upon the chessboard of that restless financial period. Local bank stocks during the winter of 1859-60 approximated the following value:

	Par.	Sold for.
Bank of Pittsburg.....	\$50	\$63.50
Exchange Bank.....	50	62.00
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.....	50	56.25
Citizens' Bank.....	50	55.25
Mechanics' Bank.....	50	57.00
Iron City Bank.....	50	57.00
Allegheny Bank.....	50	57.00

During the summer and early fall of 1860 nothing eventful happened to

(l) Daily Journal, January 10, 1858.

(j) Gazette, August 9, 1859. (k) Post, September 2, 1859.

the banks of this vicinity. They were cautious, though they continued to lend quite freely on first-class paper. The banking law of 1850 provided that the capital stock of any bank organized thereunder should not be subject to taxation for other than State purposes; but the city of Pittsburg, in 1859, by authority of an act of the Legislature passed January 5, 1859, was authorized to levy and collect an annual business tax not exceeding one-third of a mill per dollar on the average quarterly business of banks, banking institutions, brokers, etc. The Iron City Bank resisted the collection of the latter tax, but was defeated in the lower court; and in the Supreme Court, in January, 1861, the court, Judge Woodward delivering the opinion, declared that the law was constitutional. It was a test case on the ground of constitutionality. The city tax on the seven banks was as follows, that for 1859 having a penalty of ten per cent. added, and that of 1860 five per cent.:

Institutions.	1859.	1860.
Bank of Pittsburg.....	\$635.80	\$615.16
Exchange Bank.....	559.52	501.90
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.....	350.03	321.48
Citizens' Bank.....	223.69	243.27
Iron City Bank.....	243.72	239.30
Mechanics' Bank.....	264.04	282.58
Allegheny Bank.....	253.08	275.07
Totals.....	\$2,529.88	\$2,478.76

A general law for the establishment and maintenance of a free banking system in the State was passed by the Legislature March 31, 1860. The friends of the measure who had so long fought for its success were at last triumphant. The law provided, among other things, that any partnership or association of persons, not less than five, might establish banks of discount, deposit and circulation; that the capital of any bank should not be less than \$50,000 nor more than \$1,000,000; that the chartered life of each institution should be twenty years, and that each might issue its own notes in denominations not exceeding five dollars. On May 29, 1860, there were offered at public auction, by Austin Loomis & Co., 1,200 renewed shares of stock of the Citizens' Bank, in lots not exceeding forty shares each, pursuant to the law of May 14, 1857. This stock sold for from \$55 to \$55.50 per share.

The German Trust and Savings Bank opened for business November 12, 1860, with Augustus Hoeveler president, John Stewart cashier, Springer Harbaugh, Adam Reineman, A. Frowenfeld, Christian Seibert, J. F. Havekotte, Anthony Meyer, E. H. Meyers, Joseph Lang and Augustus Hoeveler, directors, and announced a capital of \$100,000.

Late in November, 1860, the banks of the country, from a state of lethargy, began to manifest strong panicky tendencies, owing mainly to the rumors of secession. On November 21st a meeting of the bank presidents of Baltimore resolved to suspend specie payments the next day—the 22d. Banks at Richmond also suspended. On November 21st the currency panic in New York was said to have equaled that of 1857. All banknotes of institutions south of Washington were discounted there at from twenty to twenty-five per cent., and those of Illinois and Wisconsin at fifteen per cent. The Philadelphia banks suspended on the 22d of November at 1 o'clock p. m. The New York banks, at a public meeting held to determine what should be done, resolved not to suspend. Banks at Trenton, New Jersey, suspended on the 23d.

"Suspension.—Our banks, excepting the Bank of Pittsburg, following the

example of Philadelphia, have suspended. We think this course ill-advised" (n). . . . "Whereas, We have heard that the other banks of Pittsburg have suspended specie payments; be it *Resolved*, That this bank will pay specie on all its liabilities as heretofore" (o). . . . "The banks have suspended full of coin without a run on them from any quarter and at a time when the country was entering upon one of the most prosperous years it has ever seen. Our banks in Pittsburg had no alternative but to suspend when the Philadelphia banks suspended" (p).

The newspapers here, of one accord, declared that the banks, as well as business men, were in a sound and prosperous condition, and, that so far as Pittsburg was concerned, the suspension was wholly unnecessary. But deeper forces were at work, and the far-sighted financiers of the Atlantic cities had snuffed the coming distress. Banks in New England and in the West continued to fail. Still, financiers here and business men generally could see no cause for it, and, aside from uneasiness and caution, paid little attention to the prevailing agitation. In reality it was not a business panic, nor a bank panic, but a political manifestation of distrust in the stability of the Government, which affected all industries alike, and soon restricted operations over the country generally, as well as in this vicinity. On January 10, 1861, exchange on New York sold here at two and a half to three per cent. premium.

"The money market presents a more encouraging aspect, both here and elsewhere, and the prevailing opinion now is that the effects of the panic, although bad enough, will not prove so disastrous as was generally expected, and that confidence will be entirely restored" (q). . . . "Currency remains as before, with an unprecedented demand for an extraordinary scarcity of small notes" (r). . . . "The money market presents no new feature, but the indications now are that our banks will resume specie payments at an early day. The banks' statements for the past week show a slight decrease in loans and an increase in specie, circulation and deposits" (s).

By act of April 17, 1861, the law requiring banks to pay specie or forfeit their charters was suspended until the second Tuesday in October, 1861. Notes of solvent banks were to be received at par upon certain conditions; and all incorporated banks of issue were authorized to put in circulation notes of the denomination of one, two and three dollars, to an amount not exceeding twenty per cent. of their capital stock paid in. The life of this law was continued from time to time during the war and after its termination. By act of May, 1861, every stock broker, exchange broker, real estate broker and private banker was required, on or before the first Monday of December, 1861, to make a written return under oath to the Auditor-General, setting forth the full amount of his receipts from commissions, discounts, abatements, allowances and all other profits arising from his business, and to pay into the State Treasury three per cent. of the aggregate amount contained in such return for the use of the Commonwealth.

"The present suspension differs from all other previous ones in this, that it occasions much less difficulty to the public than was ever before experienced. The trouble and expense of procuring exchange is gradually fading away, and the banks dispense coin enough to remove all difficulty in the way of making small change. If the Legislature would but pass a law authorizing the banks to receive currency in payment of debts at a limited rate of discount, but

(n) Gazette, November 24, 1860.

(o) Minutes Bank of Pittsburg.

(p) Gazette, November 28, 1860.

(q) Market Review, December 7, 1860.

(r) Market Review, December 28, 1860. The writer meant that there was an unprecedented demand for notes and not for scarcity.

(s) Market Review, January 4, 1861.

not to pay it out, all remaining difficulty would be obviated. The rate of discount should be just enough to pay the expense of sending the currency home for redemption in coin or exchange, and the community would be thus relieved in the means of payment and obtain in the end an improved currency" (t).

But the editor confessed that he was not on the popular side of the question. He had opposed the suspension from the start as unnecessary. As a matter of fact, the suspension saved business men from a severe panic and from immense losses and many failures.

"Our banks have not as yet resumed specie payments, nor are we able to state when they will. The late movement of some of our business men in endeavoring to drive out Western currency by refusing to take it without being allowed the usual discount, four per cent., has not as yet had the desired effect. A large portion of the mercantile community still receive and pay it out as currency" (u).

On April 8, 1861, a meeting of merchants and business men was held at Concert Hall to consider informally the subject of currency reform. Captain David Campbell presided. Several speeches were delivered on that subject, succeeding which a motion was introduced that all Missouri and Virginia notes should be refused after May 1st. Objections were presented and further action was deferred until the following Monday, on which occasion it was resolved that some concerted action should be taken to rid the community of the depreciated bills, which then constituted the great bulk of the local currency (v).

"The money market remains without any essential change, except that it is a little more buoyant. One of our suspended banks—the Mechanics'—has resumed specie payments, and it is confidently expected that the others will soon follow" (w).

"Pittsburg, April 16, 1861.

"Hon. J. P. Denny, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania:

"Sir:—Please inform the Governor at once that the banks of Pittsburg will cheerfully respond to the call for money to meet the late appropriation, to be used in enabling the Government to sustain the constitution and the laws. By order of the board of bank presidents. J. B. Murray, president" (x).

Immediately after the firing on Fort Sumter the notes of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Missouri could not at first be sold here at any price, though bankers continued to receive them on special deposit. Exchange on New York and Philadelphia rose to two and one-half per cent. premium over bankable funds, with coin at one and one-half per cent. premium over the same. "The confusion in money matters continues. The secession news from Virginia is likely to damage her credit. Her paper, which a few days since passed here as currency, was almost entirely refused to-day. Missouri, too, was looked at with great suspicion, and is not likely to fare much better than Virginia" (y).

Late in April the banks were very critical, scrutinizing all paper for discount and notes for deposit with extreme care. Business men were equally suspicious of the notes of all banks. By April 24th exchange on New York and Philadelphia had risen to five per cent. premium over bankable funds, and coin to the same figure. There never had been a period in the history of this vicinity when money values fluctuated so violently or were in a deeper state of chaos. Southern currency was almost wholly refused. Baltimore notes were quoted at five per cent. discount. The unsettled value of currency almost totally suspended business operations until the drift of financial events could be forecast

(t) Gazette, January 16, 1861.

(v) Post, April 9, 1861.

(x) Telegram to Mr. Denny, Harrisburg.

(u) Market Review, March, 1861.

(w) Market Review, April 11, 1861.

(y) Gazette, April 16, 1861.

with some degree of certainty. Early in May there was a noticeable recovery. Exchange on New York and Philadelphia stood at four per cent. premium, on Baltimore one per cent. premium, with coin at four per cent. premium over bankable funds. "Small Bills.—The ones, twos and threes, authorized to be issued by the banks of Pittsburg, are now nearly ready for paying out in several of the banks. The Mechanics' Bank has already issued some of these bills, which are exceedingly well executed. They will be a great relief to the community, as it is now very difficult to obtain enough small change to transact business" (z).

During the summer months of 1861 the local banks mentioned remained in a state of suspension. On August 7th exchange on New York and Philadelphia stood at two per cent. premium; September 12th at one and three-fourths per cent. premium; October 3d at one per cent. premium, and October 10th at one-fourth of one per cent. premium. This reduction was due to the resumption of specie payments by all the other banks of Pittsburg and Allegheny early in October, and to their steady action in that direction for one or two months previous to such resumption. "The banks of Pittsburg having resumed specie payments, their bills are bought in this city at one-half per cent. discount" (a).

On the morning of December 31, 1861, came over the wire the news that the banks of New York, Boston, Albany, Cleveland, Philadelphia and other cities had again suspended specie payments. This intelligence was sudden and almost wholly unexpected. It had been hoped here with much confidence that the resumption in October would settle the money market for the winter. As it was, bankers and business men again saw that they must loyally and grimly face the dismal and doubtful situation. Accordingly, a meeting was called by the banks, and all resolved to suspend, except the Bank of Pittsburg, the Mechanics' Bank and the Iron City Bank, which three determined not to suspend but to continue paying specie as before.

"December 30, 1861, the cashier stated that the banks in the East, and a number of banks in this city, had suspended specie payments, and recommended that a resolution be entered on the minutes to mark the policy of this bank; whereupon, on motion of Mr. Bakewell, it was *Resolved*, That an entry be made that this bank, as heretofore, will meet all its liabilities in specie, regardless of the action of other institutions" (b). . . . "The suspension of some of the banks in this city caused scarcely a ripple on the surface of affairs" (c). The latter was a remarkable statement to make, and yet it was literally true. No monetary excitement nor alarm was caused by the suspension. Business men as well as banks bravely accepted the situation without flinching, and as if its coming was a familiar circumstance. Coin immediately rose to one and one-half per cent. premium over bankable funds, and exchange on New York and Philadelphia to one-half of one per cent. premium. The only par paper here on January 1, 1862, was that of the banks of New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburg. A noticeable fact in connection with the old banks of this city is that at no time did the people for a moment lose confidence in their entire solvency. They could suspend at will, but their paper passed readily as the choicest of par funds. In fact, some of it, as will be learned hereafter, rose to a premium over par funds, and promised to keep pace with gold, and did so, in its flight upward. Of course the suspension alone was sufficient to cause coin to rise to a premium. Before January 15, 1862, coin had risen to three per cent. premium over bankable funds, and by January 30th to three and one-half per cent. The paper issues of the soundest banks were quoted at par, paper of the poorer banks at varying rates

(z) Gazette, May 14, 1861.

(b) Minutes of the Bank of Pittsburg.

(a) Philadelphia Ledger, October 12, 1861.

(c) Gazette, January 1, 1862.





of discount, while gold and silver were at three and one-half per cent. premium compared with the best bank issues, except of specie paying banks. The dollar of 25.8 grains of alloyed gold was the true par, while the paper upon which nearly all financial estimates had been made for many years was false, "and like a false balance is an abomination to the Lord" (d).

Previous to December, 1861, the banks of the North had loyally sustained the financial measures of the Government. They had taken the bonds in large quantities, but the \$250,000,000 loan had proved too much for them. "Before the banks had paid much of the last loan they broke down under it and suspended specie payments" (e). Thus there was nothing in their own conduct to compel their suspension; they had been forced to that expedient in their efforts to assist the Government. The passage of the Treasury Note Bill by Congress early in 1862 was such a new departure, was so unprecedented—paper money not redeemable on demand, but made a legal tender—that local bankers regarded it with surprise, doubt, and, in some instances, consternation.

It became necessary for the Legislature, early in 1862, owing to the penalties placed upon all banks which should suspend specie payments, to continue the act for their relief, passed in April, 1861. Accordingly, a law placing notes of all solvent banks, even though suspended, the notes of free banks, the demand legal tender notes of the Government, on the same footing as the notes of specie-paying banks, and exempting banks from any penalties for having suspended, was passed by the Legislature in that month. Much surprise was manifested here at the latitude of the law, and not a few deprecated its enactment. They could not so soon forget the settled policy of the State, but accepted this procedure as a "war measure." In 1863 the suspension of specie payments by legislative sanction was extended to all banks of the State organized under the free banking laws.

During the latter part of October, all of November and nearly all of December, 1861, financial affairs were easy and strong. The value of coin varied from one-fourth of one per cent. to one per cent. premium, while exchange on New York and Philadelphia presented about the same showing. Bankable funds were used as the par or standard of valuation, and consisted of first-class bank issues. The notes of all the local banks stood at par—stood at the head of all bankable funds, owing to the confidence of the citizens in the unquestioned solvency of the city banks. In September, 1861, Joshua Hanna, of the banking house of Hanna, Hart & Co., was appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury agent for the national loan of \$250,000,000; these were the famous 7-30 bonds. In two days, September 16th and 17th, he received an aggregate subscription to this loan of \$260,000, of which the Exchange Bank took \$100,000, the Citizens' Bank \$60,000 and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank \$50,000. At the end of the first week the subscription amounted to \$290,000. Up to October 5th the amount subscribed had reached \$392,350. The loan was taken slowly after the first few days, and strong appeals were made by the newspapers that more wealthy people, instead of people in moderate circumstances, should thus "sustain the Government." The *Gazette* said: "It is with regret we record the fact that, so far, the Bank of Pittsburg, one of the strongest institutions west of the mountains, has contributed nothing. . . . We believe the banks are now paying coin, which will enable many to take stock, who, but for the difficulty of procuring coin, would have done so before now. No fear need be entertained of leaving the bonds destitute of a specie basis, for the coin will only flow out to do its good work, and then flow back again" (f).

(d) John Harper in *Gazette*, February 3, 1862.

(e) Mr. Stevens in Congress, February, 1862.

(f) *Gazette*, October 7, 1861.

On February 20, 1862, coin was quoted here at four per cent. premium over bankable funds; March 6th, at three per cent.; April 10th, at two and one-half per cent.; April 16th, at two per cent.; May 15th, at three and one-half per cent.; June 18th, at six to six and one-half per cent.; July 9th, at nine to ten per cent. No doubt the reverses to the Army of the Potomac caused the rise in gold, or rather the depreciation in paper, in June and July. In July small change was very scarce, and could only be obtained at eight per cent. premium. The rise in gold was a source of wonderment to many thinking men, and was regarded with dismal forebodings. In 1861 and 1862 there was a considerable following here which contended that all banks should be compelled to resume and maintain specie payments—should be forced to sustain their paper issues at par in Philadelphia, and should be rigidly prohibited from issuing small notes. The leading organ of these people was the *Evening Chronicle*. As a matter of fact, the Treasury notes and Government bonds had been taken up, money was abundant, and, under the masterly guidance of Secretary Chase, finances were easy and business enterprises prosperous.

"It is strange that any complaint should be made here about our currency. It has never been so uniform or so good, and exchanges have never been so favorable. The brokers are suffering for want of business. Not long ago our local currency included a large amount of Western depreciated banknotes, and many manufacturers paid their hands in notes depreciated five and six per cent. At present our circulating medium is almost entirely composed of city banknotes, or others equivalent. The depreciation on the notes of the country banks is very trifling and of no consequence. An actual resumption of specie payments is impracticable, while the United States notes are a legal tender and not redeemed in coin" (g).

In 1862 the Legislature incorporated the "Dime Savings Institution of Pittsburg." The act provided that the business of the institution should be to receive deposits of any amount not less than ten cents, and to invest the same in certain stocks and bonds, in mortgages, in promissory notes, etc. (h). This institution opened for business May 21, 1862, at 110 Smithfield Street, with James Park, Jr., president, and D. E. McKinley secretary and treasurer.

On July 13, 1862, a movement was started among the butchers of Pittsburg and Allegheny to relieve the pressing need of small change by an issue of \$1,000 in twenty-five cent notes. It was proposed that this issue should be redeemed by the "Association of Butchers," which was abundantly responsible for that amount. The action was deprecated by the newspapers. However, a general meeting of the citizens was called, to be held Monday July 14, at 10 o'clock, at the Merchants' Exchange, to consider the matter. James Robb called the assemblage to order and Isaac Jones was chosen chairman. D. O'Neill, H. H. Smith and William Anderson were appointed secretaries. George H. Thurston read the call for the meeting that had appeared in the morning newspapers, in which it was stated that the citizens were called together "for the purpose of taking into consideration the threatened inundation of shimplasters upon this community by unlawful associations of men." Dr. E. D. Gazzam offered the following: "*Resolved*, That the true policy of the people is, that specie should be received at its market value and paper money at its market value in all business transactions, and, as silver money is now worth ten per cent. more than paper money, five-cent pieces should pass for six cents, dimes for eleven cents, quarters for thirty cents and half-dollars for fifty-five cents" (i). The motion to adopt this resolution at once stirred up a tempest. Various views were expressed

(g) Cor. Gazette, March 27, 1862.

(h) Act of April 11, 1862.

(i) City papers, July, 1862.

in emphatic language. Some favored the resolution; some opposed it. Others advocated the issuance of local shinplasters, and still others denounced such a course as contrary to the law of 1817 and of 1849. It appeared in the discussion that, while butchers and others were accustomed to shave paper from ten to fifteen per cent., they would not reverse the rule and permit others to shave them to that extent. Finally, John S. Cosgrave moved to strike out of the above resolution all after the word "resolved," and insert a declaration offered by himself. Through a misunderstanding great confusion resulted. At last, order having been restored, the following resolution was adopted: "*Resolved*, That this meeting, representing the wishes of the mercantile and manufacturing interests of Pittsburg, declare it impolitic and inexpedient to countenance the issue or circulation of any description of paper in the semblance of money in any amounts less than one dollar, or by any other than legally constituted corporations." Regardless of the proceedings of this meeting, the butchers of Allegheny immediately thereafter issued a considerable quantity of "shinplasters," which began to circulate freely. The form was as follows:

"The Butchers of Allegheny City, July 14, 1862, pay to the bearer twenty-five cents in merchandise and change.

"No. 560.

R. DANVER."

The newspapers generally denounced this act and insisted that the law against such issues should be enforced. Many of the business men refused to receive them. But it was urged that, though such issues were unlawful, the act was no worse than the suspension of specie payments by the banks, which was likewise unlawful; and that the cities could issue them and then throw themselves upon the mercy of the Legislature, just as the banks had done in suspending. All agreed that fractional currency of some sort was an absolute necessity. Suit was instituted against R. Danver, having in view the prevention of these issues, but, on July 23d, before the case could be heard, it was announced that, inasmuch as Congress was on the point of issuing a national fractional currency, the Butchers' Association would recall their issues of "shinplasters," providing the suit against Mr. Danvers was dismissed, which was accordingly done (j).

Late in July, 1862, the notes of the banks in Pittsburg which had suspended specie payments were quoted at par, while those of the three banks which had not suspended—Bank of Pittsburg, Iron City Bank and Mechanics' Bank—were quoted at ten per cent. premium. Par was still estimated from the market value of the notes of solvent banks which had suspended. The notes of banks in New York City, Philadelphia, the suspended banks of Pittsburg, Delaware, Baltimore and the Ohio and Indiana State banks were at par; Canadian paper stood at five per cent. premium; the notes of several banks in this State which had not suspended were at five per cent. premium; New England and New York State, one-half of one per cent. premium; Iowa and Michigan, one per cent. premium; Illinois and Wisconsin, from three to sixty per cent. discount; nearly all the Southern States, fifty per cent. discount; gold, fifteen to sixteen per cent. premium; silver, ten to twelve per cent. premium (k).

The first "Government stamps" (as the fractional currency was at first called), which had been made a legal tender, were eagerly received and circulated about the middle of August, 1862, so great was the demand for small change. Early in October, 1862, gold was quoted here at from 120 to 122 per cent. premium, silver at about 115, notes of the Bank of Pittsburg about 116 (they were thus at a premium with silver), while notes of the other local banks were classed with par funds, and were thus at a premium with currency. Late in October,

(j) Post, July, 1862.

(k) Dispatch, July, 1862.

when gold stood at 128 and silver at 120, notes of the Bank of Pittsburg were quoted at 122 to 124. December 10th gold stood at 129, Bank of Pittsburg notes 129, silver 122. This bank from this time onward maintained its notes at par with gold.

During the autumn of 1862 great inconvenience was occasioned here by the dearth of small change. On November 7, 1862, Captain C. W. Batchelor, who had been appointed Government depository or fiscal agent for its distribution, received \$50,000 in "postage currency," and in a few hours, so great was the demand for it from tradesmen and merchants, circulated the whole amount without half satisfying the demand. On December 15th Mr. Batchelor announced that \$30,000 more would be distributed in sums of \$15 to each individual. Hours before his doors were to be opened the Custom-house was besieged by an immense crowd, which jostled and fought one another for places near the door. So large was the crowd and so great the struggle for place, it became necessary to suspend operations and clear the yard with soldiers and bayonets. Citizens were required to stand in line and take their turn. Several secured double or triple supplies by placing two or more representatives in the line. At this time fractional currency evidently was at a premium in this vicinity.

State banks were required by law to exchange with the State Treasurer coin for currency to a sufficient amount to pay the interest on the State debt, and were given specie certificates of exchange, not transferable, pledging the faith of the State to reexchange the coin for current notes on or before the first Monday in March, 1864. It was also enacted that the Attorney-General should proceed to wind up the affairs of any bank which refused or neglected to comply with these provisions; that no bank should sell gold or silver from its vaults while in a state of suspension; that all banks should reduce their circulation to an amount not exceeding twice their capital stock or three times the amount of coin on hand, and that these provisions should not apply to banks which had not suspended, nor did not suspend prior to the first Monday in March, 1864, nor to any bank incorporated under the free banking laws (l). The following amounts were required from local banks to pay interest on the State debt: Exchange Bank, \$36,300; Iron City, \$16,000; Merchants' and Manufacturers', \$48,000; Allegheny, \$40,000; Citizens' \$20,000; Mechanics' \$20,000. The Bank of Pittsburg, not having suspended, was exempt under the law from this loan (m). It was declared unlawful for any saving fund society, or company, or officer or agent thereof, to receive on deposit any sum of money when such society, or company, had not assets sufficient, at their cash value, to pay all its debts and liabilities (n).

During January, 1863, gold continued to rise. By the middle of February it had risen to about 153; silver stood at 140, and United States demand notes at 140. "The market is very excited and unsettled and rates are expected to decline soon (o). But the newspaper was a false prophet, because a week later gold reached about 172 in New York and was quoted here at 165. "The market is very excited and prices are advancing" (p). The National bank bill was pending in Congress and seemed likely to pass. The prospect of large issues of paper by the Government, and their predicted conflict with State bank issues, caused old financiers here to shake their heads ominously. The proposed plan of taxing State bank issues out of existence and of circulating and maintaining a uniform national currency was discussed with much feeling and gravity. The great military loan of the State in June and July, 1863, amounting to \$675,195.33.

(l) Act of January 30, 1863.

(m) Chronicle, March 10, 1863.

(n) Act of April 22, 1863.

(o) Chronicle, February 18, 1863.

(p) Chronicle, February 26, 1863.



was advanced by the banks and was ordered repaid in 1864 (q). The bankers and brokers of Pittsburg and Allegheny were not backward in taking every advantage to make money out of the rise in gold and silver. All talked of the fluctuations of coin and not of those of paper money. They did not seem to realize that the value of coin compared with commodities had undergone very little change, and that paper was the article which fluctuated and thus unsettled estimates of worth. Paper was yet considered the basis, just as par funds had been from time immemorial. During the entire war the selling price of coin here varied from two to ten per cent. less than in New York. The eyes of Pittsburg were fastened upon the stupendous operations of the gold gamblers of the metropolis, and all operations here were governed by Eastern quotations. Here, as elsewhere, some were fortunate in guessing the changes of the gold market; others lost heavily. Many speculated, but usually with prudence and caution.

"Gold is tumbling down even faster than it went up. Yesterday it sold at 145.5 in New York and 140 in Cincinnati. Our brokers here were afraid almost to touch it at any price, but we heard of a few sales at 139 and 140. There was quite a panic among those who had been holding back for a rise, and a large amount was sent to New York for delivery to-day at Eastern rates. Exchange, notwithstanding the fall in gold, continues inordinately high; the pound sterling selling here at \$8 yesterday" (r). . . . "Postal currency of the smaller denominations can now be had in any amount at the Custom-house by applying to Captain Batchelor" (s). . . . "The advance of the rebels had developed one fact which has been a mystery to the people for some time, viz.: What has become of the gold coin? Fearing an attack, the bankers and others of Pittsburg and elsewhere thought it prudent to remove their coin, and the American Express Company delivered in Cleveland, on the 15th inst., \$15,000,000 in gold, and on the succeeding day \$7,000,000 more, of which \$650,000 was also in gold" (t).

In the autumn of 1863 "money was very plenty and easy to get." Stock of the old banks rose higher than ever before, Exchange Bank shares reaching \$71.50 and Bank of Pittsburg \$68.50. Fractional currency was abundant and of the greatest convenience. The Exchange and Iron City banks declared a five per cent. dividend; the most of the others four per cent. All the banks discounted heavily. Later a stringency was felt, owing to the deep investments in Government bonds and bank stocks. Joshua Hanna was appointed Government agent to receive subscriptions to the 5-20 loan. In October, 1863, when gold was worth 147, notes of the Bank of Pittsburg were quoted at the same rate. At this time silver was worth 137 in this city. The Bank of Beaver was the only other institution in the State whose notes were quoted at par with gold (u).

"The fact is, money has become so plenty that every class of investment is stimulated in price. Local stocks, under this plethora of money, are much inquired for, and, with some exceptions, are firm at advanced rates" (v). . . . "Under this abundance of money every description of securities is looking up, and, in the absence of first-class investments, may find willing purchasers. We are therefore not surprised at some of our local stocks so long dormant being put into the market" (w).

The Real Estate Savings Institution, with office at 63 Fourth Street, received deposits daily and Saturday evenings, paying therefor six per cent. interest. The German Trust and Savings Bank, at Sixth and Wood streets, did a general

(q) Act of August 24, 1864.

(s) Evening Chronicle, April 22, 1863.

(u) Dispatch, October 22, 1863.

(w) Commercial, February 19, 1864.

(r) Evening Chronicle, March 25, 1863.

(t) New York Tribune, June 20, 1863.

(v) Commercial, February 15, 1864.

banking business and paid interest also on deposits. The old, tried and reliable house of N. Holmes & Sons likewise conducted a flourishing business at 57 Market Street. The supply of money continued on the increase. It poured into the city from the country districts for investment, and, not finding employment at active business, sought all varieties of stocks. Banks, brokers and capitalists of all sorts diligently hunted profitable fields for investment. In consequence, stocks shot upward and business of all kinds received a wonderful stimulus. The genius of Chase had revolutionized financial affairs throughout the country and placed the credit of the nation on a foundation the strength and solidity of which astonished the financiers of Europe and encouraged the friends of the Union as nothing else could, except great victories on the field of battle. Dormant stock of old and, no doubt, questionable character and value, was brought out and heralded with all the power and virtue of printers' ink. Money was actually largely seeking investment at from four and one-half to five per cent interest. A slight check was given to confidence by the report that the Secretary of the Treasury intended to unload a large quantity of gold on the market, and as a consequence that article declined considerably here. Interest-bearing stocks were examined and criticised by investors. Fancy stocks, with large and certain dividends, were pursued with intense persistence by money-holders. It became apparent in Pittsburg, and was seriously discussed in the newspapers, that the old State banks could not live in company with their popular and wonderfully successful rivals, the National banks. But what was to become of the State banks and their issues? was the absorbing question. "Although there is no combination of individuals in this community that could be called 'stock jobbers'—no 'bulls' nor 'bears'—to raise prices or depress them, still we have a goodly number of wide-awake capitalists ready for fat operations. But there is no bold dash about them; they are severely cautious, and low rates for money afflict them" (x).

It was at first thought with pain that the law of "survival of the fittest" would determine the fate of the two systems of banking—the old State and the new National. Later, divers views were entertained amid the inevitable confusion. Overy all this financial doubt hung the dark cloud of war, with its unrest, its rupture of old traditions and customs, the uncertainty of the outcome and the fictitious valuations caused by the depreciation of paper. "Were it not for the Government securities, money would be a drug, and there would be an unprecedented inflation in all values far beyond their intrinsic worth" (y). . . . "At no time within the history of our country has there ever been an approximation to the present condition of its monetary affairs. Every appliance that art and mechanical skill can devise is tasked to its utmost capacity in the manufacture of paper money" (z).

In March, 1864, the price of commodities and stocks advanced to a surprising and unexpected height. "With the example of so sudden a rise, no wonder that the holders of many of our weak and broken railroad shares are bringing them out and dusting them off, and giving them some value to start them up which may 'lead on to fortune' their unlucky owners" (a). The old idea of the masses that gold fluctuated began now to be replaced with the knowledge that paper issues, which constituted the circulating medium, governed the rise and fall in the price of all commodities, including gold. The newspapers began to estimate gold as the standard or par valuation instead of par paper. Strong successes to the Federal arms were sooner or later followed by a fall in the price of gold, or, strictly speaking, in the rise in price of the paper issues of the Government. And the reverse was true. Old financiers here looked with fearful mis-

(x) Commercial, February 27, 1864.

(z) Commercial, March 2, 1864.

(y) Commercial, February 29, 1864.

(a) Commercial, March 16, 1864.

givings upon the vast issues of paper money, the rapid rise of gold toward the 200 figure, and thought of the crash that would ensue when the rebellion had been subdued and the return to specie basis had been declared. Brokers were in ecstasies and flooded the market with their temptations.

"The difference between currency and what used to be called par funds is nominally three-eighths of one per cent. discount, and this fraction will decrease as currency itself (which is not now so plentiful) becomes scarcer. Gold-buying rates yesterday at the counters of our banks was 165.5, and silver 160" (b). . . . "Of one thing at least we are certain: we are going up. The process is so easy and so joyous we have little time to contemplate the time or the process of the coming down, or why we have gone up so rapidly" (c).

The financial policies of the seven old banks differed materially. The Bank of Pittsburg steadily retired its circulation from \$194,966 in April, 1861, to \$28,596 in May, 1864. The Exchange Bank increased its circulation during the same time from \$1,032,850 to \$1,930,000; the Merchants' and Manufacturers' increased from \$550,805 to \$1,160,565; Citizens', from \$410,500 to \$928,879; Mechanics', from \$249,380 to \$965,683; Iron City, from \$256,325 to \$770,835; Allegheny, from \$425,430 to \$947,144. Thus all increased their circulation except the Bank of Pittsburg. The amount of coin in all the banks had decreased except in the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank. The decrease of coin in the Bank of Pittsburg, owing to the continued redemption of its notes, was greatest—over one hundred per cent. The Exchange, Citizens' and Allegheny Banks had increased their loans; all the others had decreased them. The Bank of Pittsburg showed an immense increase in deposits—from \$651,203 in 1861 to \$1,606,422 in 1864, holding at the latter date nearly twice the deposits of any other bank. In May, 1864, the Bank of Pittsburg held almost as large an amount of Treasury and bank notes as the other six banks combined; but it had purchased less bonds of the State and Government than either of the others, except the Allegheny Bank. The Exchange Bank headed the list with \$1,367,000 in Government bonds, though the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank stood a close second with \$1,342,970.

In April, 1864, a fearful panic in stocks occurred in New York, and, of course, extended to Pittsburg. Values went down from ten to thirty per cent. Greenbacks were regarded so highly that they were worth during the panic more than certified checks. Lumber dealers and oil producers here suffered greatly, but desired an abundance of paper. Brokers' rates of interest and exchange stood from two to three per cent. higher than bankers'. About the first of May the banks were filled with money, for which, at that time, there seemed no demand. This fact occasioned a general alarm, and public meetings were held to discuss the situation, and, if advisable, to concert on some measures to stop further issues of paper by the Government. The situation was regarded as perilous in the extreme. Borrowers ruled the rates of interest and discount. Bank stock on April 28, 1864, was quoted as follows:

	Par.	Sales.
Exchange Bank.....	\$50	\$68.50
Bank of Pittsburg.....	50	68
Mechanics' Bank.....	50	63.50
Iron City Bank.....	50	63.50
Citizens' Bank.....	50	61.25
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.....	50	58.85
Allegheny Bank.....	50	57.25
Manchester Savings Bank.....	50	51

(b) Commercial, March 29, 1864.

(c) Commercial, April 15, 1864.

"We protest against the wholesale epithet of 'wildcat' being applied to hundreds of institutions which have always maintained a clean record, meeting their obligations with fidelity and promptness, and which have rendered the Government most signal aid. . . . They have upheld the national credit and have taken its bonds by millions, thus encouraging the people to invest in these securities" (d). . . . "Our city banks are well fortified with legal tender Treasury notes, and are not at all apprehensive of a precipitate return of their circulation. We heard a bank officer say yesterday that he wished this concerted flurry, gotten up in Chicago and elsewhere to drive out all bills except greenbacks and the notes of some favorite Eastern institution, would bring home the circulation of our city banks" (e).

Late in May the bankers of this vicinity had subscribed as follows to the fund for the projected Sanitary Fair:

Exchange Bank.....	\$2,000
Bank of Pittsburg.....	1,000
Mechanics' Bank.....	250
First National Bank.....	1,000
Iron City Bank.....	750
Second National Bank.....	500
German Trust and Savings Bank.....	250
Farmers' Deposit Banking Company.....	500
Union Banking Company.....	250
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.....	1,000
Third National Bank.....	250
Allegheny Bank.....	1,000
Citizens' Bank.....	1,000
N. Holmes & Sons.....	1,000
Kramer & Rahm.....	500
Hanna, Hart & Co.....	300
Ira B. McVay & Co.....	200
Hill & Co.....	150
Koutz & Mertz.....	150
Robert Patrick & Co.....	150
W. H. Williams & Co.....	100
A. McTighe.....	50
Total.....	\$12,350

It would be difficult to say too much in praise of local banks for the liberality with which they poured out their treasure, the "sinews of war," during the entire period of the rebellion, to facilitate enlistment, equip soldiers for the field, provide hospital supplies and military stores and sustain in every way the credit of the city and their own renown in the line of patriotic duty. Nor did they have to be urged to place their money where it would do the Federal cause the most good. They led in all movements—were expected by the citizens to lead—where cash was required to oil the ponderous machinery of a nation at war.

In 1864 it was enacted by the Legislature that any bank of this State, duly incorporated, which should adopt and carry on the banking business under the laws of the United States, should be deemed to have surrendered its charter, but was given three years in which to wind up its business under State laws. Full provisions were made for these important changes. Banks so changing could either reduce their capital stock to the par value of their shares, or sell

(d) Commercial, April 22, 1864.

(e) Commercial, April 23, 1864.





the same at par without a reduction of capital stock. Reissues of former notes were prohibited, and State bank tax ended with the beginnings of the new National associations (f). The law was limited to such as should adopt its provisions by January 1, 1865. By a supplement the time was extended to January 1, 1866, and eventually extended indefinitely.

Late in the year 1864 it was determined by many of the banks and bankers here to discontinue the practice of receiving and paying out as currency the notes of banks which should not be kept at par in Philadelphia or in this city. "They will continue to pay and sell such money, but no longer give it value as currency; and in their transactions in depreciated money will be governed by the cost, time, trouble and risk of converting it into bankable funds" (g). Free banks were authorized to borrow money to an amount not exceeding their capital stock and surrendered their bonds deposited with the Auditor-General as fast as their notes in circulation were redeemed. This law was passed to enable free banks to become National banks (h). On the 1st of April, 1867, a few of the banks had outstanding a considerable quantity of their old paper issues under State laws, as follows: Exchange, \$78,322; Merchants' and Manufacturers', \$50,012; Mechanics', \$37,646; Citizens', \$35,000; Iron City, \$32,846; Allegheny, \$30,587. In fact, all the old banks of issue, except the Bank of Pittsburg, had notes outstanding. By decision of the United States Supreme Court early in 1870, holders of the notes of old State banks, issued prior to the passage of the Legal-tender Act, could demand their redemption in gold. Such notes were thus worth more than greenbacks or National bank notes, as gold stood at this time at about 120.

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(f) Act of August 22, 1864.

(h) Act of March 24, 1865.

(g) Commercial, December 31, 1864.

## CHAPTER XIX.

THE NATIONAL BANKS—WONDERFUL NEW ISSUES—THEIR MARVELOUS SUCCESS—EFFORTS TO SECURE THE FIRST CHARTER—HISTORICAL LETTER FROM COMPTROLLER ECKELS—OTHER CHARTERS SECURED—START OF THE EARLIEST NATIONAL BANKS—SURPRISING BUSINESS DONE—VALUE OF STOCK—STATE AND NATIONAL BANKS OF 1864 COMPARED—RIVALRY TO OBTAIN PATRONAGE—RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS VIEWED WITH ALARM—STOCK QUOTATIONS IN 1865—EMBARASSMENT OF KRAMER & RAHM—BANKING CAPITAL IN APRIL, 1867—ORGANIZATION, IMPORTANCE AND CAREER OF THE CLEARING-HOUSE—BANKS OF THE EARLY SEVENTIES—THE PANIC OF 1873-4—EXTENT OF THE DISTRESS—SUMMARY OF DISASTERS FROM 1873 TO 1884—ONE HUNDRED BANKING INSTITUTIONS IN 1874—MEMBERS OF THE CLEARING-HOUSE—OTHERS RECEIVING CLEARING PRIVILEGES—PANIC OF 1884—SUBSEQUENT EXTENT OF BANKING OPERATIONS—THE PANIC OF 1893—CLEARING-HOUSE CERTIFICATES ISSUED—THEIR RETIREMENT—COMPARATIVE STANDING OF MEMBERS OF THE CLEARING-HOUSE—TOTAL EXCHANGES FROM 1866 TO 1897 INCLUSIVE.

Pittsburg and Allegheny, in 1863, entered upon the most wonderful financial era in their history. The traditions of a century were brushed aside and a new order of affairs was inaugurated. The new condition had been foreshadowed in 1862, and, to some extent, realized in 1863; but it remained for 1864 almost wholly to discard the State bank system and to extend, with sweeping effect, the power of greenbacks and National bank notes. The tonic of a large and flexible currency injected into the business circulation of the "twin cities" stimulated all enterprises into wonderful activity, and laid the foundation of many of the great establishments and fortunes of to-day. Strong efforts were made here in April and May, 1864, to drive bank issues of all kinds out of circulation and to substitute therefor greenbacks, which all classes had learned to love. This movement may be said to have been the origin of the Greenback party in Allegheny County. Just as strong efforts were made, however, in favor of the retirement of greenbacks and the supremacy of National bank notes. A small following, among which was the Bank of Pittsburg, though withdrawing its circulation in obedience to law, refused to discard wholly the old system of State banking methods. An overwhelming sentiment favored the new money and derided the old. Chicago seemed to lead the movement against State bank paper.

When it was announced that the Finance Committee of Congress, late in February, 1863, had indorsed the financial measures recommended by Secretary Chase, an act tantamount to the passage of the National bank bill, "great excitement" ensued among local bankers and brokers, who viewed with alarm the great power given to the Secretary, and realized that the course of Congress was unprecedented in the annals of the Government (a). Nearly all of the leading bankers of this vicinity were well known to the financiers of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, and to Secretary Chase and Hugh McCulloch, Comptroller of the Currency. Before the passage of the National Bank Act on February 25, 1863, and while it was pending in Congress, more than one

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(a) Chronicle, February, 1863.

attempt was inaugurated here to win local prestige by obtaining the first charter under the new law. All the old financial institutions, except the Bank of Pittsburgh, even before the passage of the National bank bill, seriously considered the act and took steps in the direction of changing from State to National banks. In fact, so general was this movement that many withdrew from the attempt after they had learned that a few had secured the lead and would be given the appointments. It was true, and can readily be accounted for, that the friends of the National Banking Law not only desired to place the new system in the hands of its friends, but also desired to win to its support all the strongest banks of the country. The consequence was that many of the oldest and staunchest banks were solicited to accept charters under the National Banking Act. The Bank of Pittsburgh was tendered this honor, but declined, although it was specified that the old name might be retained (b).

"It is understood that preparations are being actively made by a large number of individuals and associations to establish banks under the provisions of the new bank law" (c). . . . "It is stated that the Citizens' Bank is about going into operation under Secretary Chase's new banking law. While the Citizens' deems this the wisest course to pursue, the Exchange Bank is applying for an extension of its charter, and a bill for this purpose has been reported formally by Mr. Gross, chairman of the bank committee" (d). . . . "We are informed that the necessary steps are being taken for the formation of a new bank, under the provisions of the recent act of Congress, known as the National Banking Law. It is to be located in this city, with a capital of \$500,000, and will probably be the first organization of the kind west of the mountains. It will doubtless, in a short time, rank among the first-class banks of the country" (e). . . . "Notice is hereby given that books to receive subscription to the capital stock of the Duquesne Bank will be open at my office, 110 Fourth Street, on Thursday morning, April 16th, at 10 o'clock. This bank is to be organized and managed under the provisions of the Government banking law; capital \$500,000, shares \$100 each; subscription to be paid—thirty per cent. when the board of directors are elected and the remainder in ten per cent. installments every sixty days thereafter. The bank will go into operation as soon as the stock is all subscribed. W. O. Leslie" (f).

While the act of February 25, 1863, was pending in Congress, the Pittsburgh Trust Company, whose officers were personally known to the Comptroller of the Currency, signified to him their wish to organize under the new law should the same pass (g); but their action was anticipated by many other banking institutions elsewhere in the country, as will be seen from the following letter received in answer to an inquiry sent to the Treasury Department:

"Erasmus Wilson.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 22, 1897.

"Sir:—In answer to your inquiry of January 21st, you are respectfully advised that the first bank organized in Pittsburgh was 'The First National Bank of Pittsburgh,' charter No. 48; capital stock \$400,000; date of preliminary organization certificate, June 1, 1863; date of Comptroller's certificate authorizing the association to begin business, August 5, 1863. The incorporators were James Laughlin, William K. Nimick, Robert S. Hays, Francis G. Bailey and Thomas Bell. The next National bank organized in Pittsburgh was the Second National, No. 252, and was chartered on February 13, 1864. The first certificate of authority to begin business was issued by the Comptroller to 'The First National Bank of Philadelphia,' charter No. 1, on June 20, 1863. The preliminary

(b) Statement of William Roseburg, 1897.

(d) Evening Chronicle, March 25, 1863.

(f) Evening Chronicle, April 15, 1863.

(c) Chronicle, March 5, 1863.

(e) Evening Chronicle, April 14, 1863.

(g) Statement of Charles E. Speer.

organization certificate was dated May 28, 1863. To ascertain the date of the first informal application to organize a National bank would necessitate an exhaustive research through the office files, which it is not practicable to have made. It is known to be a fact that upon the day of the passage of the National Bank Act, correspondence was entered into by a number of individuals who contemplated organizing National banking associations under that act.

"Very resp'y, JAMES H. ECKELS, Comptroller."

An examination of the information contained in this letter discloses the fact that from May 28, 1863, to June 1, 1863 (probably inclusive), many preliminary certificates were issued, of which that granted to the First National Bank of Pittsburg was properly well down on the list, unless favoritism was shown, which may not be supposed. Charter No. 1 was issued to the First National of Philadelphia, June 20, 1863; and charter No. 48 to the First National of Pittsburg, on August 5, 1863. It may be reasonably concluded that applications were filed and numbered in the order in which they were received, under which supposition the First National of Pittsburg was preceded by forty-seven other banks. The law was approved February 25, 1863, and yet the first preliminary certificate was not issued until May 28, 1863, more than three months afterward, and the first authorization not until June 20th, nearly four months afterward.

"A preliminary application for incorporation under the uniform National Currency Act has been made by persons in Pittsburg representing capital to the amount of \$400,000" (h). . . . "By advertisement elsewhere it will be seen that the Pittsburg Trust Company, one of the best managed and most successful of our banking institutions, has organized under the new banking law, with the title of First National Bank of Pittsburg, with a capital of \$400,000 and leave to increase the same to \$1,000,000. The new institution will be managed by the same officers who had charge of the old, and we have no doubt whatever that it will prove equally as successful, and give as much satisfaction to the business public" (i).

The First National Bank began business August 8, 1863, with the following officers and directors: President, James Laughlin; cashier, John D. Scully; directors, James Laughlin, Robert S. Hays, Thomas Bell, Thomas Wightman, William E. Nimick, Alexander Speer, Francis G. Bailey, Alexander Bradley and Samuel Rea. In November, 1863, its first dividend as a National bank was declared, and consisted of two dollars per share. About the time business was begun the capital was increased to \$500,000.

"We hail the advent of the new National bank currency with unfeigned pleasure and are firmly convinced that it will inaugurate an epoch in the circulating medium of our country that will bury every irresponsible wildcat institution and gradually change the old banking systems, which have had their day and subserved their end as well as they were capable of doing" (j). . . . "On December 2, 1863, books for subscription to the stock of a new National bank in Allegheny were opened, and during the forenoon of that day over \$100,000 of the stock was taken. By the 5th the subscription had reached \$150,000" (k). . . . "The stockholders of the First National Bank of Allegheny held a meeting Tuesday for the election of directors, with the following result: T. H. Nevin, C. C. Boyle, R. H. Davis, Arthur Hobson, D. N. White, John Thompson, W. Harbaugh, Henry Gerwig and John Dean. The institution being now fairly organized will proceed to business in a few days.

(h) Washington Dispatch, June 3, 1863.

(j) Commercial, September 11, 1863.

(i) Evening Chronicle, August 10, 1863.

(k) Dispatch, December 5, 1863.

The Iron City Trust Company has also decided to go into business under the new banking law" (l).

The Second National Bank of Pittsburg, formerly the Iron City Trust Company, was authorized on February 13, 1864, by the Comptroller of the Currency, to commence business with a capital of \$300,000. The first officers were G. E. Warner president, John E. Patterson cashier, and Jacob Painter, Jake Hill, C. F. Klopfer, William Cooper, Robert Robinson, R. Boughman and W. M. Gormly, directors. The officers announced the bank ready for business on February 23, 1864 (m). "The Iron City Bank is one of our oldest institutions, and has always enjoyed a sound reputation as a financial institution. It has been duly organized as a National bank" (n).

On the 7th of March, 1864, the Third National Bank opened its doors for business, having previously received authority so to do from the Comptroller of the Currency, and having organized February 24. Its first office was in the banking room of the Dime Savings Institution, but a little later in its new building, corner of Wood Street and Virgin Alley. The stockholders gave a banquet to the workmen when the new building was opened. This was the most pretentious banking structure in the city at this time. The first president was Adam Reineman, first cashier Robert C. Schmertz, and first board of directors Adam Reineman, William E. Schmertz, Algernon S. Bell, Samuel Hartman, Lewis Morganstern, Augustus Hartje, Alexander Holstein, Henry Gerwig and Bateman Goe (o). The capital was \$300,000. "In January, 1865, there was an exciting contest in the election of directors of the Third National Bank. The legal question was raised whether a director was an officer within the meaning of the law. The point was referred to the Comptroller of the Currency, who decided in the negative" (p). By February 20, 1864, two hundred and sixty-nine National banks had been authorized to commence business in the United States, with an aggregate capital of over \$32,000,000.

The Fourth National Bank had its origin among the leading coal merchants of the city early in April, 1864. A meeting was called and a committee, consisting of S. M. Bailey, J. F. Herron, J. F. Dravo and James O'Connor, was appointed to open books for the subscription of stock, which was done at the office of Mr. O'Connor, at 55 Market Street, on April 9th. The necessary stock was rapidly taken, and on May 6th the bank was duly organized. This bank, in its early career, had the most phenomenal development of any of the local National banks. With Mr. O'Connor as president and S. D. Herron as cashier it began operations late in 1864. In April, 1865, the Fourth National Bank's statement exhibited an exceptional showing. The deposits amounted to \$1,666,385.19; loans and discounts to \$903,888.35; Treasury notes and Government bonds held to \$663,671.30. At the same time the deposits of the First National Bank amounted to \$1,995,050.93. "From the time of its organization until the present it has surprised our financial men by the magnitude of its business and the liberal dividends which have been steadily announced" (q). On January 1, 1865, its deposits amounted to \$859,158.80. "The success of the Fourth National Bank, we believe, is almost beyond parallel in the history of banking in this country. It has only been in operation for a few months, and yet its stock, the par value of which is \$100, has sold as high as \$160. The directors have decided to increase its capital stock \$100,000" (r). On May 19, 1865, when James

(l) Post, Tuesday, December 8, 1863.

(m) Post, February 23, 1864.

(n) Gazette, January 4, 1865.

(o) Post, February, 1864. (John B. Livingston soon succeeded Mr. Schmertz as cashier.)

(p) Gazette, January 16, 1865.

(q) Commercial, January 4, 1865, referring to the Fourth National Bank.

(r) Gazette March 1, 1865.



O'Connor resigned the presidency of the Fourth National Bank, the directors declared a dividend for the preceding six months of \$13 per share. In resigning, the president referred with pride to the phenomenal prosperity of the bank, and stated that in twenty-two working days alone it had disposed of over \$1,250,000 in Government bonds; that not a dollar had been lost by bad, doubtful or suspended debt; that nearly every security held was worth its face, and that the deposits exceeded \$1,000,000 and the cash \$700,000. In April, 1864, National bank stock here was quoted as follows:

	Par.	Asked.
First National Bank.....	\$100	\$110
Second National Bank.....	100	110
Third National Bank.....	100	110
First National Bank (Allegheny).....	100	110

It was proposed in the spring of 1864 by several prominent brokers to establish a stock board, but no action was taken until autumn. In May gold rose in New York to about 190; in June to 258, and in July to 289. The extraordinary changes under these wild movements were felt with full force in Pittsburg and Allegheny. The immense dealings in oil brought to these cities large sums of money, which found investment eventually in bank stocks, Government bonds and other securities. The loans of the Government in this vicinity during the war were placed almost wholly by the banks and brokers. All became heavy holders for two reasons: (1) Because they considered it their duty to thus assist the Government; and (2) because they regarded the investment safe and profitable. Early in September, 1864, the Bankers' and Brokers' Board began operations with a strong membership, which, by October 1st, consisted of about twenty-five banking and brokerage houses.

"Our city banks were never in a sounder condition since the suspension. The readiness with which their stock is purchased at high prices is evidence of their soundness. Although some of them have expanded their circulation very materially, yet it was done by way of accommodation to well-tried customers, and they have taken the precaution to fortify themselves by investing heavily in Government securities. They may be considered National institutions without the regular form of organization" (t). . . . . "Banks that can show in their assets what can be made immediately available in redeeming their circulation and satisfying the depositors are in no danger from panics. It is this show of strength which has always given the banks of this city a good reputation for soundness and strength. Whenever they have been called upon to increase their circulation by the heavy demands from the manufacturing interests of this community, it was prudently secured by an increase of convertibles. This feature in the management is observable in all their official statements. Latterly they have greatly increased their investments in Government securities which, while it strengthens themselves, is directly aiding the general Government" (u).

By the autumn of 1864 the First National Bank had outstripped the old banks in the amount of deposits—\$2,031,424.20. Its circulation amounted to \$284,000; its loans and discounts to \$942,455.65, and it held \$674,000 in Government six per cent. bonds. On October 1st five National banks were in operation here—the First, Second, Third and Fourth of Pittsburg and the First of Allegheny. The following table shows their condition compared with the seven old banks:

(t) Commercial, May 31, 1864.

(u) Commercial, July 4, 1864.

Capital of old banks.....	\$4,643,505
Capital of National banks.....	1,579,310
Total .....	\$6,222,815
Circulation of old banks.....	\$6,665,655
Circulation of National banks.....	902,500
Total .....	\$7,568,155
Deposits of old banks.....	\$4,412,772
Deposits of National banks.....	4,675,881
Total .....	\$9,088,653
United States securities in old banks.....	\$7,702,050
United States securities in National banks.....	2,078,700
Total....	\$9,780,750
Discounts of old banks.....	\$5,387,618
Discounts of National banks.....	2,498,732
Total.....	\$7,886,350

"The quantity of defaced and mutilated fractional currency in circulation is so large as to be a source of considerable public inconvenience and to call for prompt action on the part of the Treasury with a view to its exchange" (v). . . . . "Our local money market continues very active. Speculation keeps up lively since the election and whatever funds are not invested in the minor stocks are rapidly absorbed in governments" (w). . . . . In December, 1864, for the first time in the history of the city, the balance of trade with the East was in favor of Pittsburg, and exchange with the Atlantic cities sold at par or a slight discount. . . . . "This is one of the beneficial results of a uniform currency, and as the banks become converted into National institutions, the difference between our uncurrent funds and par will disappear, and notes, in fact, will be recognized as money which is at par. In fact, we do not see why the present time should not be selected to do away with the present distinction between par and currency by our banking institutions. The difference is very slight and much future trouble might be avoided by refusing all notes for which a redemption at par was not provided either here or in Philadelphia" (x).

The Pittsburg National Bank of Commerce was organized December 6, 1864, at the banking house of Hill & Co., with a capital of \$500,000. Alfred Patterson was elected president and Joseph H. Hill cashier. The following directors were also elected at this meeting: Alfred Patterson, Joseph H. Hill, Charles Lockhart, Joseph Pennock, Josiah King, Robert Patrick, William Reed, George W. Smith and Walter P. Marshall.

The Iron City National Bank was authorized on December 1, 1864, by the Comptroller of the Currency, to begin business under the act of Congress, approved June 3, 1864. Previous to this, on December 22, 1864, the stockholders had met pursuant to law and had decided to change from a State to a National institution (a). The officers under the old law were continued under the new: James McAuley, president, and John Magoffin, cashier. The former capital of \$400,000 was continued by the new organization.

The Citizens' National Bank, first established as the Citizens' Deposit Bank

(v) Commercial, November 8, 1864.  
(x) Commercial, December 22, 1864.

(w) Commercial, November 16, 1864.  
(a) Post, December, 1864.

in 1853, and changed to the Citizens' Bank in 1857, was authorized December 10, 1864, to begin operations under the National law of June 3, 1864. On December 23, 1864, the stockholders voted to change from a State to a National bank by over two-thirds of the stock in the affirmative (b), and at the same meeting decided to open their doors under the new order on or before January 1, 1865. The capital in 1853 had been \$200,000, in 1857 \$500,000, and under the National law was raised to \$800,000. Francis Sellers was elected president and George T. Van Doren cashier (c). Francis Sellers, Frank Rahm, John S. Dilworth, George S. Head, B. L. Fahnestock, Alexander Reynolds, William McCleery, George B. Jones and William S. Bissell were the directors of the Citizens' National Bank elected March 18, 1865. In March, 1865, the bank bought its present lot for \$18,000. The site had previously been occupied by Hays' tobacco warehouse.

The Mechanics' Bank was merged into a National institution by more than a two-thirds vote of the stockholders, as provided by the State law of August 22, 1864, on December 23, 1864, and on January 11, 1865, the certificate of incorporation was issued by the Comptroller of the Currency. The first president under the new law was William B. Holmes; first cashier, John G. Martin, and first directors W. B. Holmes, James I. Bennett, Christian Yeager, George Wilson, B. A. Wolfe, John Orr, Edward House, Charles L. Caldwell, Philip Reymer, Frederick McKee, Abner U. Howard, Campbell Herron and John Holmes. The capital was fixed at \$500,000, with the privilege of increasing to \$1,000,000. "To the Mechanics' National Bank belongs the credit, we believe, of declaring the largest dividend thus far this year, with the exception of the Fourth National, having declared ten per cent. within seven months. Without speaking disparagingly of others, the Mechanics' is conceded to be one of the soundest and most efficiently officered banks in this city. The president, William B. Holmes, and cashier, John G. Martin, are both gentlemen of energy, intelligence and experience, and are admirably adapted for the responsible positions they occupy" (d).

The Allegheny Bank, which had been in operation under State laws since 1857, was merged into a National bank by a vote of the stockholders on December 24, 1864, pursuant to the State law of August 22, 1864. In 1857 the name had been simply Allegheny Bank, but in 1858 was changed to the Allegheny Bank of Pittsburg. The capital of \$500,000 under State law was continued under National law. The officers elected in 1864 were William Bagaley president and J. W. Cook cashier (e).

The Tradesmen's National Bank, though organized in December, 1864, did not open its doors for business until January 18, 1865. The capital stock was fixed at \$400,000, and there it has remained to this day (1897), though now the surplus exceeds \$500,000. The first president, Alexander Bradley, has served continuously until the present time. The first cashier was George T. Van Doren, and the first directors Alexander Bradley, William H. Faber, William F. McKee, Joseph M. Knapp, David E. Park, James Frazier, Samuel M. Kier, William Vankirk and William H. Forsyth. "The new bank has been singularly fortunate in the selection of its principal officers. The president, Alexander Bradley, Esq., is well known as one of our most careful, prudent and industrious business men, and the cashier, George T. Van Doren, Esq., has established a reputation by his conduct in a similar capacity in the Citizens' Bank second to none other in our city. We predict for the new bank a successful and profitable career" (f).

The Farmers' Deposit Bank was merged into a National institution in

(b) State law of August 22, 1864.

(c) Post, December 26, 1864.

(d) Gazette, July 17, 1865.

(e) Post, December, 1864.

(f) Commercial, January 9, 1865, referring to the Tradesmen's National Bank.



January, 1865, having some time previously made application for the change. It began with a capital of \$300,000. The first president was James Marshall and the first cashier R. A. George. "The Farmers' Deposit National Bank is an old acquaintance in a new suit of clothes. They will open their books as a National bank on the first day of February proximo. We do not suppose that their customers will notice very much difference in their transactions with this bank under their new name. They will find, we have no doubt, the same clever and competent officers prompt and active in the discharge of their duties" (g).

The German National Bank was authorized on January 26, 1865, by Hugh McCulloch, to commence operations under the National Bank Act. It had previously, on December 29, 1864, voted to become a National bank. As the German Trust and Savings Bank it had, before this event, operated with a capital of \$50,000; but upon becoming a National bank it increased the amount to \$250,000. The first president was Augustus Hoeveler, first cashier G. A. Endly, and first directors Augustus Hoeveler, Springer Harbaugh, Adam Weise, Ernest H. Myers, John F. H. Havetotte, Anthony Meyer, Adolph Groetzinger, Joseph Dilworth and Joseph Keeling. "The German National Bank of Pittsburg is known as one of the solid institutions, and enjoys an enviable popularity, not only among the German population, but is recognized by everybody as a sound concern. It is one of the most prominent National banks now in the city" (h).

The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank was merged into a National institution late in 1864, but did not begin business as such until 1865, with a capital of \$800,000, and with William Rea as president and John Scott, Jr., cashier. "The increase of capital stock of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank to \$1,000,000 from \$600,000 was restricted to \$800,000, after the full amount had been subscribed in July, 1865, owing to the fact that the apportionment to the State had already been filled" (i).

The Union National Bank opened its doors for business on February 1, 1865, with a capital of \$250,000. This bank had been organized in 1857 by A. G. Cubbage, John Glass, Thomas Neely and James Crawford. Others joined them and the name Diamond Savings Institution was adopted. In the fall of 1857 the name was changed to the Union Banking Company, and so continued until merged into a National bank. John R. McCune was the first president under the National law and R. S. Smith was the first cashier. In February, 1865, the Second National Bank of Allegheny, with a capital of \$150,000, opened its doors for business.

On March 6, 1865, the People's National Bank, with a capital of \$1,000,000, began business at the corner of Wood and First streets, with Samuel Rea president, F. M. Gordon cashier, and Samuel Rea, B. F. Jones, Barclay Preston, Byron H. Painter and George W. Hailman directors. The Exchange Bank, which had been incorporated in 1836, was chartered under National law April 8, 1865, as the Exchange National Bank, with a capital of \$1,000,000. James B. Murray was elected first president under the National law, and Henry M. Murray first cashier. It has occupied its present location since 1839. The First National Bank of Birmingham began business March 31, 1865, with B. A. Wolfe president, John P. Beech cashier, and George Dunnevan, James Fawcett, Peter Habeman, Joseph Watson, William S. McKee and John Redman directors. Its authority from the Comptroller of the Currency was dated March 22, 1865.

On January 2, 1865, the deposits in the First National Bank amounted to \$2,148,850.24. No other bank in the city surpassed this showing. "A great many of the banks of Pittsburg and vicinity are becoming National banks" (j). In January, 1865, the following notice was issued:

(g) Commercial, January 11, 1865.

(i) Gazette, July 18, 1865.

(h) Gazette, February 11, 1865.

(j) Post, January, 1865.



"In order to further the design of the National bank law, to provide a uniform currency and to relieve this community from the loss incident to the circulation of depreciated banknotes, the following banks have agreed that on and after February 1, 1865, they will pay out only such money as will be received at par on deposit and in payment of all debts due them. They will purchase from their customers all distant State banknotes which they may receive in the regular course of business at the net cost of sending them home for redemption, but will not receive such funds on deposit as currency. To give full effect to this arrangement the acquiescence and coöperation of the business community is respectfully solicited. (Signed) John D. Scully, cashier First National Bank; R. A. George, cashier Farmers' Deposit Banking Company; G. A. Endly, cashier German Trust and Savings Bank; John B. Livingston, cashier Third National Bank; J. R. McCune, president Union Banking Company; Francis Sellers, president Citizens' National Bank; C. H. Riggs, assistant cashier Second National Bank; J. W. Cook, cashier Allegheny Bank" (k).

The Fourth National Bank, having in view the same object, took a different course to attain it. All the National banks at this time were struggling for popularity and supremacy. As a stroke of policy this bank undertook to obliterate the distinction between currency and par funds, and gain at the same time the good will of depositors and business men, and accordingly issued the following: "Notice.—Wishing to further the design of the National bank law to provide a uniform system of currency, the Fourth National Bank of Pittsburg will, on and after February 1, 1865, receive from her regular depositors, customers and dealers, currency at par. By this course the public will obtain par money free of all charge in exchange for their currency. • By order of the board. S. D. Herron, Cashier." The *Post* ridiculed the idea of drawing a distinction between the paper issues of the various banks which had suspended specie payments, when all such paper had greatly depreciated and was constantly subject to rapid fluctuations (l). Yet, despite this, there was a great difference, real or imaginary, in the value of the numerous varieties of paper money. Banks usually required their customers to keep currency accounts apart from par paper or specie accounts. "The question has not yet been presented to the Bankers' and Brokers' Board, but we learn that the private bankers and several of our large banks think it too early to make the proposed movement. As the National banks grow in number and circulation, the evil of a mixed currency will be cured without extraneous effort" (m). . . . "I observe that nearly all the leading banks have agreed that on and after the first day of February they will not pay out currency—will pay all checks only in par funds, such as notes of our city banks, National bank and legal-tender notes. This is a good move and will drive away a lot of miserable currency. . . . I have the best means of knowing that nine-tenths of the business community are heartily in favor of this move, and they also hope that the brokers will also join in the good work.—Dry Goods" (n). . . . "There is a general desire among our business men to see the rule carried into effect for excluding currency after February 1st from business transactions, and to receive and pay out only par money. As par money now includes the issues of all the National banks of the country, as well as greenbacks and the notes of our city banks, the term has a much wider range than it used to have when it embraced only city and Eastern bank notes. The banks which have signed the notice to this effect have agreed to receive 'currency' at one-fourth per cent. discount and send it home for redemption" (o).

It was believed here by financiers, and so announced in the newspapers early

(k) *Post*, February, 1865.

(m) *Gazette*, January 13, 1865.

(o) *Gazette*, January 18, 1865.

(l) *Post*, February 2, 1865.

(n) Correspondence in *Post*, January 14, 1865.

in March, 1865, that the policy of the new Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, would be to bring the country back to a specie basis as soon as possible—to lessen the gap between gold and currency. All thought this could be accomplished in a comparatively short space of time. In fact everybody expected that, as soon as peace would be restored, all banks would be required, within a reasonable time, to resume specie payments. Some argued that peace would lower the price of gold; others that the amount of currency fixed the price of gold, and still others that the excess of active paper money was the cause of depreciation. The currency question throughout the year 1865 continued to absorb the earnest attention of financiers. Would greenbacks be retired? would National bank notes be withdrawn? when could and would specie payments be resumed? were some of the questions anxiously asked, and which time alone could answer. "An early return to specie payments, the bugbear to present operations in stocks, would, in our judgment, be unwise. An immediate one (in 1866, as proposed by some) would be madness. The country is not ready, neither is the Government" (p). . . . "The wonder of the great majority of the people is that there is, as yet, no signs of an immediate return to specie payments. We are but beginning to realize the fact that that process is not the easy one which was predicted it would be at the closing of the war" (p).

The suspension had passed to the domain of the unexpected. It had not been caused by unwise trading, or banking, or commercial methods. No persons blamed the banks for continuing the suspension, save those who were so wedded to old traditions that they could not, or would not, face the unprecedented conditions of a nation in the throes of a Titanic internicine war. The action of the banks in continuing the suspension and in purchasing in immense amounts the war securities of the Government was as directly in the line of patriotic duty as was the enlistment of soldiers to face the enemy on the field of battle. The banks as well as the soldiers had thus enlisted to crush the rebellion and save the Union. And so it came to be thought here that, should the Government survive, no bank thus pouring out its treasure would be permitted to suffer. All banks here took this view and all pursued this course except the Bank of Pittsburg. The latter, always independent and self-reliant, adopted different methods, with no less loyalty than the others. But the suspension had become a national circumstance, owing to the necessity of issuing bonds and Treasury notes, and finally of the establishment of National banks. The other banks here poured out their cash for Government securities and prospered greatly under the new conditions. As had been expected, their course brought them no disaster at the close of the war. They were cared for until the Government itself enabled them to resume without jar or loss in 1879.

By the middle of February, 1865, sixteen National banks were either in operation in Pittsburg or were on the point of embarking under the new system, and two were in operation in Allegheny. They were as follows: In Pittsburg, First, Second, Third and Fourth, Citizens', Exchange, Iron City, Allegheny, Bank of Commerce, Union, People's, German, Tradesmen's, Merchants and Manufacturers', Mechanics', and Farmers' Deposit; and in Allegheny, First and Second. The stock of all these banks fluctuated immensely. By July 22, 1865, the aggregate capital of the National Banks amounted to about \$7,600,000. At this time Pittsburg had more National banks than any other city except New York, which had fifty-three, Boston, which had forty-four, and Philadelphia, which had twenty-nine. All the old State banks had disappeared except the Bank of Pittsburg. Stock of the Fourth National, in January, 1865, was quoted at \$180, and of the First National \$175. By October, 1866, stock of the Fourth National

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(p) Gazette, September and November, 1865.

stood at par. In the autumn of 1865 bank stock, though variable, was quoted about as follows:

Institution.	Par.	Sales.
First National Bank .....	\$100	\$150.00
Second National Bank.....	100	126.00
Third National Bank.....	100	124.50
Fourth National Bank.....	100	113.00
Citizens' National Bank .....	50	61.00
Exchange National Bank.....	50	65.75
Iron City National Bank.....	50	79.50
Allegheny National Bank.....	50	57.75
Pittsburg National Bank of Commerce.....	100	110.50
Union National Bank.....	Not	quoted.
People's National Bank.....	100	112.00
German National Bank.....	100	162.00
Tradesmen's National Bank .....	100	112.00
Merchants' and Manufacturers' National Bank.	50	61.00
Mechanics' National Bank.....	50	72.25
Farmers' Deposit National Bank.....	100	150.00
Bank of Pittsburg.....	50	68.00
First National of Allegheny.....	100	124.50
Second National of Allegheny.....	100	.....
First National of Birmingham.....	100	.....

"No banks, probably, in the country are conducted with more ability or integrity than our Pittsburg banks, and, we are sure, those in other States are in no better trim financially" (q).

It was in 1866 that hostility to the National banking system took color, form and force here. The *Post*, late in the year and during 1867, was emphatic in its denunciation of Mr. Chase's "pet banks," and just as strongly in favor of making greenbacks the only National currency. "We are proud of the fact that the *Post*, from the inauguration of this method of banking (the National), has always stood foremost in denunciation of the system" (r). It is likewise true that many financiers and business men held the same view, another foreshadowing of the Greenback party.

On May 14, 1866, by the failure of Work, McCouch & Co. of Philadelphia, of which they were a branch, Kramer & Rahm of this city, private bankers, were forced to close their doors. "This house is one of the oldest, and has always been considered one of the most reliable banking institutions in the city, and the suspension created considerable excitement in financial circles" (s). The Philadelphia papers stated that the failure was due to stock gambling (Hestonville Railway stock) and involved upward of \$1,000,000, and that the extent of the disaster was in doubt "beyond its intimate connection with a highly respectable firm in Pittsburg, which can scarcely stand up under this disaster." Kramer & Rahm, with characteristic promptness, turned over their private and personal effects to secure their creditors. "Four years ago the number of banking institutions in the city was barely twenty, while now forty will scarcely, if at all, exceed their number" (t). During the year 1866 there were established six new banks of deposit: Pittsburg Savings Bank, Pittsburg Bank for Savings, People's Savings Bank, Keystone Savings Bank, National Trust Company and Franklin Savings Bank of Allegheny. In February, 1867, one of the bookkeepers of the

(q) Gazette, January 8, 1866.

(s) Gazette, May 16, 1866.

(r) Post, February, 1867.

(t) Post, October 18, 1866.

Dollar Savings Bank embezzled a large sum, presumed by George Albree, the president, to be about \$35,000 (u). This loss was partly recovered, and the remainder was charged to contingent expenses, which at that date amounted to \$146,000. Rumors of embezzlement in another bank were circulated, but were concealed before they reached the province of established fact.

On April 1, 1867, the total bank deposits amounted to \$10,434,733.25. The Fourth National Bank was wholly without deposits. The First National led with \$1,435,597.99. The Exchange led with loans and discounts \$1,898,430.85, and the First National stood second with \$1,295,815.77. The Exchange held the largest amount of United States securities—\$1,090,000. All had outstanding a circulation of National currency, except, of course, the Bank of Pittsburg. The banks and their capital stock were as follows :

First National.....	\$ 500,000
Second National.....	300,000
Third National.....	500,000
Fourth National.....	300,000
Pittsburg National Bank of Commerce.....	500,000
Iron City National.....	400,000
Citizens' National.....	800,000
Mechanics' National.....	500,000
Allegheny National.....	500,000
Tradesmen's National.....	400,000
Farmers' Deposit National.....	300,000
German National.....	250,000
Union National.....	250,000
People's National.....	1,000,000
Exchange National.....	1,700,000
Merchants' and Manufacturers' National.....	800,000
Bank of Pittsburg.....	1,153,500
First National, Allegheny.....	350,000
Second National, Allegheny.....	150,000
Total capital.....	\$10,653,500

The project of establishing a clearing-house in Pittsburg had been contemplated many years prior to 1864. One had been started in New York in 1853, Boston in 1855, Philadelphia in 1858, Cleveland in 1858 and Baltimore 1858, but no action had been taken here looking to effective and permanent results. The change in financial systems during the rebellion precluded the establishment of such an institution during that period. The rise of the National banking system, the great increase in the number of banking institutions here and the doubling of capital stock made it apparent in 1865, or earlier, that a clearing-house would vastly facilitate banking operations and place a powerful safeguard over local financial houses.

"A clearing-house is suggested here similar to the New York and Philadelphia plans. It would obviate the necessity of so much currency as is now required, besides a saving of time and liability to losses" (v). . . . "We understand that it is in contemplation to establish a clearing-house upon the mode of the Eastern cities or Cleveland, after the 1st proximo, when the chartered banks cease handling country money or currency. It is estimated that about one-fourth of the amount of the cash now required for the daily transaction of the banks would suffice, if the exchanges were made through a clearing-house" (w).

(u) Post, February 7, 1867.

(v) Commercial, December 22, 1864.

(w) Commercial, January 26, 1865.

It appears, then, that the bankers of Pittsburg and Allegheny, sometime during the winter of 1864-5 (no doubt informally) had made arrangements to establish a clearing-house on or about February 1, 1865. Doubtless it is true that preliminary proceedings were begun about that time; but it is equally true that no formal organization or effective operations were accomplished until a later date, owing probably to the excitement attending the closing scenes of the war and to violent changes in the price of gold and in all valuations.

In May, 1865, by mutual agreement of a number of the banks, a meeting was called for the 26th of that month to establish a permanent clearing-house. On that occasion there were present John D. Scully, cashier of the First National; Henry M. Murray, cashier of the Exchange National; J. B. Livingston, cashier of the Third National; G. A. Endly, cashier of the German National; John R. McCune, president of the Union National, and G. T. Van Doren, cashier of the Tradesmen's National. The meeting was called to order by Mr. Scully, and upon motion Mr. Endly was chosen chairman and Mr. Van Doren secretary. The chairman stated the object of the meeting and the necessity of a clearing-house in this part of the State; whereupon, after some discussion, a committee consisting of Messrs. Scully, Murray and J. P. Cramer, cashier of the First National Bank of Allegheny (who had just come in), was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws, secure a suitable room where operations could be conducted, and invite the banks of the two cities to join the association.

On the 5th of June the second meeting was held to hear the report of the committee, elect the necessary officers, adopt a constitution and by-laws, and set the wheels of the association in operation. There were present John Harper, of the Bank of Pittsburg; John Scott, Jr., of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' National; R. W. Mackey, of the Allegheny National; C. H. Riggs, of the Second National; T. H. Nevin, of the First National of Allegheny; R. A. George, of the Farmers' Deposit National; John R. McCune, of the Union National; G. A. Endly, of the German National; John D. Scully, of the First National; Samuel Rea, of the People's National; D. Donnelly, of the Fourth National; W. E. Schmertz, of the Third National; John A. Wolfe, of the Birmingham National; H. M. Murray, of the Exchange National, and J. E. Brady, of the Citizens' National. Of this meeting of June 5th, John Harper was elected chairman and J. E. Brady secretary. The constitution reported by the committee was adopted, and was thereupon signed by the representatives of the following banks: Bank of Pittsburg, N. Holmes & Sons, and the succeeding National banks: Union, German, First, Second, Third, Exchange, Allegheny, Tradesmen's, Mechanics, Merchants' and Manufacturers', Iron City, Farmers' Deposit, People's, Citizens', First of Allegheny and Pittsburg Bank of Commerce—in all eighteen. This membership of eighteen in the association remained unchanged until July 7, 1884, when the Diamond National was admitted, thus increasing the membership to nineteen, the present (January, 1898) number.

"A clearing-house similar to those established in Eastern cities by various banks will, we understand, be put in full operation in this city in about three months. A room over the Bank of Pittsburg on Fourth Street has been leased, a manager appointed and the room is now undergoing the necessary repairs, preparatory to its occupation for the purpose" (x). . . . "The clearings of the Pittsburg clearing-house, situated over the Bank of Pittsburg, yesterday were larger than on any previous day since the organization of the association, amounting to nearly \$700,000. The association at present includes seventeen National banks, five banking institutions, two banking firms and one State bank. Of the National banks in this city, the Tradesmen's and the Fourth

(x) Gazette, July 15, 1865.



National ones are the only ones who do not redeem their checks through its means. On February 1st the Clearing-house will have been in operation one year, and with such marked success that no one of its members evinces the slightest dissatisfaction or desire to leave the association" (y). . . . "Looking back a few years ago, when we possessed no such institution, when each bank had to collect checks on its neighbor by messengers, it seems astonishing how they got along without the Clearing-house for so long a time. The transfer of large balances through the Clearing-house serves very much to lighten the otherwise heavy load" (z).

If any record of the business done by the Pittsburgh Clearing-house Association (which was the name adopted) during the rest of the year 1865 was kept, such is not now obtainable. The business done, if any, was irregular, and it is probable that no record was kept. On February 5, 1866, when the first recorded proceedings began, the exchanges for the day amounted to \$153,567.95 and the balances to \$40,330.55. The total exchanges for the year 1866 amounted to \$83,731,442.17, and the total balances to \$20,850,179.68. The total exchanges for the year 1896 amounted to \$745,428,891.25 and the total balances to \$138,915,053.48. The total business to December 31, 1896, amounted to \$14,714,743,712.42, and to December 31, 1897, to \$15,711,512,472.64. The present (January, 1898) daily business amounts to from \$2,700,000 to \$3,400,000.

The first president of the association was John Harper, the first manager R. M. Cust, and the first clearing-house committee H. M. Murray, T. H. Nevin, John D. Scully, G. A. Endly and John R. McCune. The second manager was S. F. Von Bonnhorst, the third John Stewart and the fourth, elected in 1869, John M. Chaplin. The second president was John D. Scully, and the third (still serving, 1898) George A. Berry. The present members of the clearing-house committee are William Roseburg (chairman), Thomas H. Given, George J. Gorman, Andrew Long and James J. Donnell. The initiation fee of the association is \$5,000. A member may withdraw after due notice, and may be expelled by a vote of the majority. Two negative votes prevent the entrance of a new member. Promptly at 9:30 o'clock a. m. exchanges are begun; from 11 to 11:30 o'clock a. m. all debtor banks must pay to the manager the balances against them in coin, legal tender notes or National currency; after 11:30 o'clock a. m. creditor banks receive from the manager the amounts due them. Members act as agents through which outside banks clear. Such outside banks are required to return dishonored checks, drafts and notes before 2 o'clock p. m. of the day of clearing, except banks of McKeesport and Braddock, which are allowed until 11 o'clock a. m. of the following day.

The two leading features of the decade of 1870-80 were the panic of 1873 and the redemption of specie payments in 1879. While these were the most important, several others may be mentioned, such as the extraordinary increase in the number of banks in this vicinity; the changes which affected banks by the constitution of 1874, and the great depression of financial affairs in 1878, succeeding the riots of 1877. "The pinch would have been less severely felt had it come in, like a summer's squall at the close of a long summer's day to freshen the atmosphere. Financially the whole year (1870) has been wet, heavy, disheartening, and the stormy day at its close, instead of being a 'panic' thunder-clap, is like many of its predecessors, only more so, wet, soggy and disagreeable. A few years ago we were walking upon air. Now we are wading through the deep mud" (a). The following represents the aggregate business of sixty-six banks, not including those of Allegheny City, as shown by their reports at the close of 1871:

(y) Post, January 8, 1867.

(z) Post, 1869.

(a) Gazette, January 2, 1871.

	Capital and Surplus.	Deposits.
National banks.....	\$12,789,896	\$12,868,555
All other banks.....	5,228,384	13,305,476
Total.....	\$18,018,280	\$26,174,031

"It will be noted that the capital (and surplus) of the National banks is about equal to their deposit line, while the private bankers, State and savings, have a deposit line about two and a half times greater than their capital, which is certainly a state of things conducive to fair earnings and highly expressive of the regard in which they are held by the business community. The loans of the National banks are nearly eighteen millions of dollars" (b).

The stringency was so great during the spring of 1872 that in order to assist business men the banks greatly exceeded the lowest limits of the reserve. On the 19th of April, 1872, the capital of the National banks (nineteen) amounted to \$9,600,000; surplus, \$3,612,556; circulation, \$7,145,176; deposits, \$12,738,114; total, \$33,095,846. At the same time the loans amounted to \$17,636,970. While Pittsburg National banks were required to maintain a reserve of twenty-five per cent., those in Allegheny were required to carry but fifteen per cent. This was considered unjust, as, it was claimed, the banks of the two cities were under precisely the same influences.

Beginning in 1870 the following banks were organized: Enterprise Bank of Allegheny 1870, International Bank 1870, Commercial Banking Company 1870, Germania Savings Bank of Pittsburg 1870, Artisans' Bank 1870, Freehold Bank and Building Association 1870, Germania Savings and Deposit Bank of Birmingham 1871, United Bank 1871, National Bank for Savings 1871, West End Savings Bank 1871, Security Trust Company, Fifth National Bank 1871, Arsenal Bank 1871, Iron and Glass Dollar Savings Bank 1871, Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of East Birmingham 1872, Odd Fellows' Savings Bank 1872, Real Estate Loan and Trust Company 1872, Allegheny Homestead Bank, Shoe and Leather Bank 1872, Monongahela Savings Bank 1872, Weekly Savings Bank, Liberty Improvement Bank 1872, Bank of Industry 1872, Market Bank 1873, Penn Bank 1873, Anchor Savings Bank 1873. The crash of 1873 cut off all new banking enterprises.

On the 18th of September, 1873, the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., of New York, threw the entire country into a financial panic. The next day the New York banks resolved to stand together and disregard the reserve clause in the National banking law. Terrible runs were made upon the banks of that city and elsewhere throughout the country, and one after another began to go down. Banking and business were wholly suspended, except such action as would protect operations then under way. Financial affairs here were quiet, but it was paralysis, not sleep, while newspapers endeavored to aid banks in the game of bluff. Witness the following: "Here in Pittsburg business in a banking way, while not apparently suffering from the important events transpiring in the East, has been, as it were, brought to a halt. The banks have refused to extend their discounts until matters settle somewhat, and the course of affairs in the future is indicated. None of our home institutions is affected to any serious extent, and we feel safe in predicting that the calamity, national as it has been, will not result in a panic in Pittsburg, nor occasion to us here any considerable loss. . . . We assure our readers that our home concerns are, without exception, as sound as before the crisis and worthy of unabated credit. This we say advisedly and after careful and searching inquiry" (c).

(b) Commercial, March 16, 1872.

(c) Commercial, September 20, 1873.

The press had scarcely printed that ingenuous pronunciamiento ere the crash of failing banks was heard in the city. The stroke did not come suddenly, but had been gathering force and venom ever since the war through an extraordinary era of prosperity. The same old question had again come to distract financial men, of continuing the course of inflation until all credit and all institutions should be destroyed, or of courageously meeting the trying ordeal at once, pocketing the losses, sustaining the cares and swinging the ship of State once more, through tempestuous seas, into the harbor of unimpaired credit, hard money and sound sense. Fearing a financial panic here and its consequent run upon the banks, several of the soundest institutions ordered large amounts of currency from New York, but were met by the universal answer, "No bank-notes will be allowed to leave New York City." Regardless of the action of the banks in New York and in other cities, the Pittsburg Clearing-house adopted the following: "*Resolved*, Unanimously by the banks comprising the Pittsburg Clearing-house Association (all being represented), that they do not consider it necessary to make any change in their customary mode of doing business." Although the drain from country banks which held large reserves in the Pittsburg and Allegheny institutions was immense, all demands were promptly met. Not only that, but the leading banks announced that they would pay a fair price for any good collateral which involved banks might wish to sell. They also assisted down to their reserves, yes, below them, many business establishments in weathering the financial gale.

The real crisis fell upon Pittsburg and Allegheny on the 22d of September, 1873, when two banking houses went down—James T. Brady & Co. and the Security Trust Company. The run on the former really began on September 17th and continued moderately until the 21st, and then with increased severity until the 22d. They were the agents of Jay Cooke & Co., and at the time claimed that the failure of the latter firm and the unfounded rumors put in circulation here were responsible for the suspension of J. T. Brady & Co. But it was shown later that Mr. Brady had invested heavily in the stock of an Ohio Railroad, on which he was unable to realize in time to be of any aid to the banking firm. Not only that, but he owed a large sum to the Security Trust Company, which fact compelled the latter to suspend, the two institutions being closely connected. The total liabilities of J. T. Brady & Co. were fixed soon after the failure at \$432,000. The creditors finally agreed to settle by receiving the Ohio Railway stock at seventy cents on the dollar and Tennessee timber land at \$10 per acre, such two properties being the principal assets. The indebtedness of Brady & Co. to the Security Trust Company would have been alone sufficient to compel the suspension of the latter. It was afterward shown that while the paid-in capital of the Security Trust Company was \$138,000, Mr. Brady had been permitted to borrow, with the knowledge of the board of directors, the sum of \$159,000, a gross violation of the law.

The Lawrence Savings Bank, at Penn and Butler streets, suffered a severe run on September 23d, and all demands were met; but confidence was not restored, and, although the doors were opened as usual on the morning of the 24th, the demands continued, and soon after 10 o'clock the institution suspended. This bank was also a partnership, and the run was uncalled for, as the stockholders were amply able to pay all obligations in time. The capital was \$80,000; contingent fund, \$40,000. The president was W. W. Young. On September 29th this bank began to pay checks as usual.

In September a severe run was made upon the Nation (formerly National) Trust Company, but all demands were at first met and the doors were kept open half an hour longer than usual on several days. As this bank was a partnership merely, and all stockholders were individually liable for the debts of the institu-

tion, the run was thought to be without reason, because the stockholders were worth more than \$5,000,000, comprising some of the wealthiest men in the city. On the morning of the 24th this bank opened its doors as usual, and confidence in its solvency was restored, but inside disorders obliged it to close again permanently later in the day. "The Nation Trust Company, which closed its doors early in the panic, and have since been carrying on a precarious hand-to-mouth business, paying one day and not the next, but bravely battling against the stream of adverse circumstances, finally closed down altogether to-day" (d). . . . "Rumor with her thousand tongues has been taking undue liberties with the names of several moneyed institutions. . . . One of the banks in question informs us that they have been largely adding to their deposits and increasing their loans and are feeling easier than at any time since the panic began" (e).

Other rumors said that the City Treasurer was short in his accounts, but he publicly courted an immediate and complete investigation, and his official affairs were found to be sound. Rumor continued to retail her warnings, until finally fact disclosed that John Ross, secretary of the Water Commission, who had deposited a large sum in money and bonds with the Nation Trust Company, had probably lost the whole amount, owing to the absconding of the cashier. It was reported that the bank in its crisis had hypothecated the city securities with the Nation Trust Company of Philadelphia to secure ready money to meet the demands of depositors. The only gleam of hope in this entanglement was the liability of the individual stockholders. The cashier, Robert J. Grier, had taken a large sum of money and fled. The courts finally settled the affairs of this bank. It was shown in the testimony, as stated by one of the witnesses, that "the cashier was the bank," and that the president and the directors knew little of the inside workings of the institution. Upon the disappearance of Grier with his pockets loaded with cash, the stockholders met and pledged enough property to pay all liabilities of the bank. Serious complications and prolonged litigation sprang from this deplorable failure and the flight of the cashier. "Looking over the events of the past few days we find that we are rapidly recovering from the effects of our fright—for it was only a fright—and that no one so far has met with any serious loss. All three of the suspended banks promise to be in operation by Monday and expect to be able to continue business without any further interruptions" (f). . . . Many growls were made at the way the banks held their funds in hand, because of their experience of last autumn, but the storm found the banks strong in resources and the mercantile community with sails all trim. We owe our present safety to the conservative policy of our banks in restraining their loans to a safe limit" (g).

On November 7, 1873, Ira B. McVay & Co., private bankers, succumbed to the pressure and closed their doors. The failure of this old house caused much excitement. On September 18th their deposits had amounted to nearly \$1,000,000. They had been constantly drained since the panic began, as had nearly all the other private bankers and small or doubtful institutions. By November 11th the air was filled with rumors of other tottering financial houses. On that day the Duquesne Savings Bank and the Savings and Deposit Bank of East Liberty suspended, assigning as the cause the fearful runs upon them and the want of ready money, owing to their heavy investments in real-estate securities. At this time also the International Bank sustained temporarily a prolonged run. Thomas Mellon & Sons, private bankers, were forced to suspend, owing to the failure of the East Liberty Bank, with which they were intimately connected. Upon inves-

(d) Commercial, November, 1873.

(e) Commercial, November 21, 1873.

(f) Commercial, September 29, 1873.

(g) Commercial, October 6, 1873.



tigation the Duquesne Bank showed \$236,782.90 assets and \$153,013.86 liabilities. Their proposition to settle in five twenty per cent. installments three months apart was accepted by the creditors. Ira B. McVay & Co. showed \$517,659.73 assets and \$452,943.34 liabilities. Their proposition to settle in four equal semi-annual installments was not accepted, whereupon Mr. McVay filed a voluntary petition in bankruptcy. Their assignee had paid fifty-five per cent. of the liabilities by July 17, 1875, and estimated that from five to ten per cent. more would be realized. On the 12th of November, 1873, the Mechanics' Savings Bank found itself in serious trouble. It suspended and its principal officers were at first arrested. The arrest of men of such prominence, one of whom was Mayor James Blackmore, "created great surprise, notwithstanding the fact that startling revelations in monetary affairs have been frequent of late" (h). Later the creditors agreed to receive their dues in four semi-annual installments. The banking house of S. McLean & Co. also suspended during the panic, showing assets at \$186,600.34 and liabilities at \$117,235.46. They also went into liquidation, and an assignee closed the affairs of the institution.

"Other than these mentioned every banking house in the city is at present conducting its business as usual, and no apprehensions of failure are admitted in any quarter, the managers of each asserting their full ability to meet every demand" (i). . . . "We may safely say of the local money market that there is no movement perceptible to the most attentive observer, for things have now surely touched bottom and are so firmly grounded that movement is impossible. People have ceased to be shocked at the announcements of failures and defalcations and only wonder who will be the next. The past two months have given everybody such a general shaking up that the weak ones must by this time be pretty well shaken out. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that things are looking up, for the whole body financial, being on the flat of its back, can't well look any other way" (j).

On the heels of this extraordinary period of financial distrust and collapse came the unexpected intelligence that Robert Finney, secretary and treasurer of the Eureka and the Boatmen's Insurance companies, an old and trusted employe, was a defaulter to a large amount. By the middle of January, 1874, however, the excitement of the panic had almost wholly spent itself, leaving in its stead the agony of slow and torturing recovery and many salutary lessons for the profit of financiers. Numerous improvements had been suggested by the mutual relations of banking institutions, which promised that the panic would leave some lasting benefits in accordance with the maxim that "'tis an ill wind that blows nobody good."

During the year 1874 intense distress was almost continuously felt in financial circles. George B. Hill & Co. were forced to suspend and the Workingmen's Mutual Savings Bank, unable to make any profit, dissolved in July. However, the year 1874 as a whole was profitable for the leading banks. During the panic several of the strongest and wealthiest banks, through the medium of their directors or brokers, purchased paper at the highest rates of discount—in other words, took advantage of the necessities of individuals and concerns to charge them excessive rates for accommodation (k). "The year 1874 was undoubtedly one of the severest that has ever been experienced since the organization of the National banking system. The panic came in the latter part of September, 1873, and continued to disturb monetary affairs during the remaining three months of the year. During the whole of 1874 the results of the panic were developing themselves, and the banks had to bear their full share of the losses

(h) Commercial, December 1, 1873.

(j) Commercial, November 26, 1873

(i) Commercial, November 12, 1873.

(k) Commercial, June 13, 1874.



by shrinkage and failures, and yet, during that time, but one institution closed its doors (l). Considering the condition of our manufactures and the small amount of general trade throughout the country the success of our banks has been remarkable and reflects the highest credit on the management of those institutions" (m).

Immediately after the panic special attention was called to the fact that, notwithstanding many National banks had failed in the Union, their notes were still as good as any; and a strong contrast was drawn between conditions under the National system and the old State system of 1857. Much trouble was experienced by local bankers in securing remittances of balances due them from cities where suspensions had been general, or where the Clearing-house had issued certificates to settle balances, particularly from Cincinnati, the reply coming back indorsed on checks and drafts, "Payable through the Cincinnati Clearing-house;" or if currency or exchange on New York was ordered, the answer was returned that such paper was at a premium and could not be sent without much red tape and loss of time. Considerable discussion arose over the fact that one of the National banks was reported to be sending greenbacks East, where it realized thereon a premium of one and one-half per cent. Why was not the money loaned here to business men, who sadly needed it? was the question. "In no single instance of the failure of a banking enterprise has the cause been within the sphere of legitimate banking operations. Since the year 1860, from actual personal knowledge, we can trace the reason of each and every bank failure to causes completely outside and foreign to the field of legitimate financial enterprise. Even during the panic of 1873 the suspensions which occurred have proved this position. Instance the Savings and Deposit Bank of East Liberty, which, upon winding up its affairs, shows not only unimpaired capital, but actually a surplus of earnings of nearly or quite thirty per cent., after the payment of all depositors" (n).

As a result, either direct or indirect, of the panic of 1873-4, the following additional particulars covering the ten succeeding years may be appended: The Allegheny Trust Company, with \$220,000 capital and stock selling at 102 and 105, was wound up. The Allegheny Savings Bank, capital \$56,250, with shares at 200, likewise went out of business. The Artisans' Deposit Bank, capital \$300,000, and shares selling at twenty per cent. premium and paying dividends of eight per cent., also closed. The Bank of Industry closed up with its capital of \$100,000. The Commercial Banking Company was reorganized as the Marine National. The Diamond Savings of Pittsburg became the Diamond National. The Dollar Savings of Allegheny was merged into the Third National of that city. The Duquesne Bank reorganized as the Duquesne National. The Duquesne Savings Bank failed, as before stated. The Fort Pitt Banking Company became the Fort Pitt National Bank. The Franklin Savings Bank of Allegheny, with a capital of \$200,000 and dividends of twelve per cent., failed. The Franklin Savings Fund and Safe Deposit Company, capital \$250,000, also broke. The German Savings of Allegheny became the German National. The Homestead Bank, capital \$640,000, paying fifteen per cent. dividends, failed. The Improvement Trust Company, capital \$100,000, dividends fifteen per cent., also failed. The International Bank, with \$200,000, perished before paying any dividends. The Keystone Bank, capital \$123,000 and paying eight per cent., was closed. The Manchester Savings Bank broke, and what was left of the capital was divided among the stockholders. The Masonic Deposit Savings Bank became the Masonic Bank. The Monongahela Savings Bank closed up.

(l) George B. Hill & Co.

(m) Commercial, February 3, 1875.

(n) Commercial, July 30, 1875.

The Penn Avenue Trust Company failed. The People's Savings Bank of Allegheny, with capital of \$100,000, wound up. The Pittsburg Savings Bank broke; its capital was \$300,000. The Real Estate Savings Bank failed. The Security Trust Company, which failed, as stated above, had paid as high as eighteen per cent. dividend annually. The Smithfield Savings Bank was wound up. The South Side Savings Bank passed into the hands of a receiver. The Tenth Ward Bank was wound up. The United States Bank was wound up, but gave a profit to stockholders. The Shoe and Leather Bank became the Commercial National Bank. All this did not happen in 1873-4, but was strung along for ten years, and resulted to unsound or new and untried institutions during the efforts of the Government to place the national finances on a specie, as well as a sound, basis (o).

At the close of 1874 there were one hundred banking institutions in this vicinity, as follows (p):

National banks, Pittsburg.....	18
National banks, Allegheny.....	2
Savings and other banks, Pittsburg.....	42
Banks represented by assets.....	3
Private bankers, Pittsburg.....	6
Private banker, Elizabeth.....	1
Private banker, Mansfield.....	1
Savings and other banks, Allegheny.....	16
Savings and other banks, South Side.....	6
Savings and other banks, Sharpsburg.....	2
Savings and other banks, McKeesport.....	2
Savings bank, Braddock.....	1
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>100</b>

The following banking institutions were in business here late in 1874, the first eighteen being members of the Clearing-house, the numbers corresponding to their position in that association: 1, Bank of Pittsburg; 2, Exchange; 3, Merchants' and Manufacturers'; 4, Citizens'; 5, Iron City; 6, Mechanics'; 7, Allegheny; 8, First; 9, Second; 10, Third; 11, Farmers' Deposit; 12, Union; 13, People's; 14, German; 15, First of Allegheny; 16, National Bank of Commerce; 17, N. Holmes & Sons; 18, Tradesmen's; and the following, not being members of the Clearing-house, the numbers indicating through which member of the association they cleared: Anchor Savings, 8; American, 11; Artisans', 18; Allegheny Savings, 7; Allegheny Real Estate, 15; Allegheny Trust, 17; Arsenal, 16; Allegheny Homestead, 11; Bank of Industry, 7; Braddock's Trust, 8; Central, 7; Commercial Banking Company (McKeesport), 2; City National, 8; City Deposit and Trust Company, 16; Diamond Savings, 3; Duquesne, 2; Diamond Savings, of Allegheny, 15; Dollar Savings, of Allegheny, 4; Enterprise Savings, of Allegheny, 14; Fort Pitt Banking Company, 4; Freehold, 7; Fifth Avenue, 18; Franklin Savings, of Allegheny, 12; Farmers' and Mechanics', of Sharpsburg, 7; Farmers' and Mechanics, of Birmingham, 10; First National, of Birmingham, 11; German American, 5; German Savings, of Allegheny, 10; German Savings and Deposit, of Birmingham, 14; Girard Savings, of Allegheny, 15; Hoboken Savings, 7; Hart, Caughey & Co., 7; International, 14; Iron and Glass Dollar Savings, of Birmingham, 6; Keystone, 8; Lawrence Savings, 12; Liberty Improvement, 4; Masonic Deposit Savings, 7; Metropolitan, 18; M. L. I. and Improvement T. Company, 5; Monongahela Savings, 13; Manchester Savings, of

(o) Commercial Gazette, January 25, 1883.

(p) Leader, February, 1875.

Allegheny, 7; Nation's Bank for Savings, 15; Odd Fellows' Savings, 8; People's Savings, 3; People's Savings, of Allegheny, 11; People's Savings, of McKeesport, 8; Penn, 7; Park Savings, of Allegheny, 15; Pittsburg Savings, 8; R. Patrick & Co., 13; Robinson Brothers, 3; Real Estate L. and T. Company, of Allegheny, 10; Shoe and Leather, 16; Smithfield Savings, 12; Semple & Jones, 3; St. Clair Banking Company, 4; Second National, of Allegheny, 11; South Side Savings, 7; United Savings, 2; United States, 7; Union Savings and Deposit, of Birmingham, 7; Western Savings, 4; Weekly Savings, 7; West End Savings, 18; Woods Run S. and L. Association, 11; Workingmen's Savings, of Allegheny, 12.

While it cannot be said that many failures resulted to the banking interests of this locality during the depression of 1883-85, and while it is questionable if the term "panic" can properly be applied to the intense distress which prevailed, it is nevertheless true that those years, continuing, in fact, until September, 1885, are generally classed among the periods of great financial depression which have so disturbed the business of the country. "The general condition of financial affairs in Pittsburg and vicinity during the year of 1883 has been one of depression. The Clearing-house statement, the most reliable indicator of financial progress or depression, shows an increase of exchanges over last year of only 2.9 per cent., instead of something over twenty per cent., which is the average for the past five years. This diminution in the Clearing-house exchanges is greater than the actual diminution in the advancement of the financial interests, because the Oil Exchange had no clearing-house until November 22, 1882, and the exchanges instead of the balances in that market swelled the volume of business in the Clearing-house of associated banks during the year 1882. It was from this cause principally, in the month of November, 1882, when speculation was rampant on the Oil Exchange, that the bank Clearing-house showed the largest transactions in its history for one month. Setting various transactions against each other, the business of the Clearing-house shows a healthy advancement" (q). . . . "The demand for money has fallen off greatly and there is a steady accumulation in banks of idle funds. The week just closed has been the dulllest for a long time past in all departments of finance. . . . Two months ago men were compelled to go from bank to bank seeking accommodation. Now the case is reversed and money is beginning to seek borrowers and banks to solicit paper. The stringency in money at the East is beginning to make itself felt here, but not yet to any marked degree. While the local money market cannot yet be pronounced stringent, it is certainly working much closer than for months past, and all evidences point to a still closer condition in the near future. For three years past Pittsburg has escaped the stringency in money which had always previously occurred at the first of April, but present indications are that it will be with us this year" (r).

"The month of May (1884) will be remembered locally from the collapse of the Penn Bank and the exposure of a state of affairs in that institution as foul and disgraceful as that which attended the New York failures in the same month. . . . The Clearing-house Association did not come to the rescue of the Penn Bank, nor, so far as known, to any of the others which were put in jeopardy by its failure. That certain other banks received timely relief is an open secret now, but there are no indications that the Clearing-house Association granted it. The relief which was accorded the Penn Bank enabled it to reopen its doors and to resume business for a day or two, was given by banks and bankers on the individual responsibility of the directors of the Penn Bank,

(q) Commercial Gazette, January 2, 1884.

(r) Leader (adapted), February and March, 1884.

with collaterals; and however meritorious the intention may have been, there is reason to think that the depositors of the bank were left in a far worse position by the reopening and the second collapse of the institution than if such alleged relief had never been given. The confidence the people had in this speculative bubble was noteworthy. The next day after its first suspension 107 was openly bid for its stock, the best evidence of confidence in its solvency; whereas, it was not only worthless, but was so utterly insolvent that its depositors have never received anything. Its second closing was a severe blow to the business interests of the city. Confidence was lost. Country banks began drawing their funds from the city banks. Rumors of probable runs were rife. Small runs were made, but met so fully and satisfactorily that no other financial institution was carried down, and thanks to the good sense of the people and the conservative system of banking generally pursued, the excitement was soon allayed. It was several months, however, before the funds were fully returned from the country. They are now stronger than ever. The sterling conduct of our bankers at this critical juncture of affairs was not only worthy of commendation, but justly entitled them to the additional confidence which has since been reposed in them. The bank exchanges at the Clearing-house began to fall off immediately on the failure of the Penn Bank. During the first six months the exchanges exceeded those of 1883 by more than forty millions, but during the last six months fell off more than twenty-eight millions, compared with 1883. The Diamond National Bank was admitted to membership in the association this year. Among the ventures of the year was the Keystone Bank, under State laws, upon the new system in this city of loaning on collateral security. The result has proved entirely satisfactory to the founders" (s).

"The latter (1890) was the banner year in the history of the city, the bank exchanges aggregating \$786,694,231. For the year just closed (1891) they were \$679,062,255. The falling off of \$107,631,976 was due to the depression which prevailed during the first six months in Pittsburg's two most important industries—iron and steel and coke. At the close of the year (1891) the surplus and profits of Pittsburg's twenty-seven National banks amount to \$7,600,000, against \$7,287,000 at the close of 1890, and \$6,569,000 at the close of 1889. The figures show that while the percentage of profits was largely reduced, the banks nevertheless had a prosperous year's business" (t).

"In 1861 Pittsburg had thirteen incorporated banks, with a capital of \$5,245,200. At the beginning of the present year (1893) it had fifty-one banks, with a total capitalization of \$16,241,540. The growth has been steady and uninterrupted. In Allegheny County the increase has been from thirteen banks in 1861 to seventy-three in 1893, with an aggregate capitalization of \$18,715,540. And this growth continues to-day, for since the first of the year there have been organized in the county four new National banks, one savings bank and one trust company, and one of the established institutions has given notice of an increase in capital from \$250,000 to \$500,000. The new banks which do not appear in the last mentioned totals are: The National Bank of Western Pennsylvania, \$300,000 capital; Columbia National, \$250,000; Bank of Secured Savings, \$100,000; Citizens' National, of McKeesport, \$100,000; First National, of Verona, \$50,000; the Pittsburg Trust Company, \$600,000. These will add \$1,600,000 to the present capital, increasing the total for the county to \$20,315,540. The total banking capital of Allegheny County, including under this head the capital, surplus, undivided profits and deposits of the seventy-three banks, is \$120,563,553. This sum is larger than the combined banking capital (the

(s) Commercial Gazette, January, 1885.

(t) R. J. Stoney, Jr., January, 1892. (By permission.)

same items included) of all the incorporated and private banks of eight Southern States, namely, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and West Virginia. The paid-up capital of the incorporated banks of Allegheny County exceeds the total capital of all the banks in the State of Pennsylvania in the year 1852, and the deposits are more than four times as great. In the year 1834 the total number of banks in the United States was 506, with total deposits of \$75,600,000. In the year 1893 the seventy-three banks of Allegheny County have nearly \$89,000,000 deposits. Heretofore Pittsburg's reputation has rested almost exclusively upon its manufacturing industries. It will now be seen that it may also lay claim to prominence as a financial center" (u).

The year 1893 opened with nearly \$69,000,000 worth of business for January in the Clearing-house, but fell off in February to about \$55,000,000. Then there was a gradual fall until September. The exchanges for the month of July were over \$56,000,000; in August they dropped to a little more than \$40,000,000, and in September to less than \$40,000,000. The last three months of the year they stood at about \$50,000,000. This extraordinary depression was felt in every avenue of business. The banks, however, made a better showing than expected.

Early in 1893 the financial distress began to announce its appearance in Pittsburg by an unaccountable scarcity of currency. Banks accommodated business men even beyond the limits of safety. The increase in the number of failures of financial institutions throughout the country revealed the terrible stress under which all business was transacted. Banks particularly were soon crashing in every direction. Distrust seized all classes, and depositors and country bankers drained the staunch moneyed institutions of Pittsburg and environs as they had never drained them before. In June, 1893, the banks of New York, as they had done in previous panics, resorted to Clearing-house certificates to save themselves from despair. By the 30th of June they had taken out certificates to the amount of \$17,000,000. At this time currency there was so scarce that it was bought and sold like any other commodity. Call loans commanded seventy-five per cent. As the country bankers and the depositors drained the Pittsburg banks, the latter were forced to call in their reserves from New York and other large cities, but to a large degree the calls were evaded or refused. Early in July wholesale importers here were told by New York merchants that nothing but gold would be accepted to settle the bills of the foreign houses. On July 13th the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, in a stirring session, demanded the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver bill, and recommended an amendment to the National banking law, permitting banks to issue currency to the par value of their bonds deposited with the Government. About the middle of July several banks of Kansas City and Denver went down, and were followed by many others in all parts of the Union. Early in August currency was so scarce in New York that it rose from one and a half to two and a half per cent. premium, with gold at one per cent. premium over Clearing-house certificates, the latter forming the basis for estimates of valuation.

"The Pittsburg banks have not resorted to Clearing-house certificates, but they have manifestly done all in their power to meet the requirements of the business public" (v). . . . "An attempt to force or induce the local Clearing-house Association to issue certificates, as many of the financial centers have done, was a failure, so far as taking immediate action was concerned. A meeting of the Association was held yesterday, when it was the unanimous opinion that

(u) R. J. Stoney, Jr., January, 1894. (By permission.)

(v) Dispatch, July 17, 1893.





the time for such a step had not arrived and might not come. In order to be prepared to protect local manufacturing and mercantile interests, it was decided to get ready for such an issue should one be required" (w). . . . "The local Clearing-house loan certificates will be issued. This was decided upon at a meeting of the association this afternoon. As the assent of all the nineteen members of the Association was necessary, delay was occasioned by two of the members, who thought that the issue of such certificates was not imperative at this time. It was decided to-day that the Clearing-house should issue the certificates as fast as they are called for by the members. The issue of the Clearing-house loan certificates is a simple matter, but it would never have been resorted to by the local banks if they had not been forced to do it by the action of Eastern banks in refusing to ship currency on drafts, yet demanding currency from Pittsburg banks. The *modus operandi* is as follows: When a bank finds, on making its morning settlement with the Clearing-house, that it is a debtor to that concern, it may hereafter, instead of taking from its vaults the currency it may need in the transaction of business over its counter, apply for one of these certificates, to be turned over probably to the banks to whom the Clearing-house statement shows it is indebted for the day. But these certificates, which are really a sort of I O U, require some security by the Clearing-house Association; and this is obtained by the banks turning over to the loan committee of the Clearing-house such of its securities and collaterals as its directors may select. These the Clearing-house accepts at seventy-five per cent. of their face value, and holds until the bank sees its way clear to redeem them by turning over the cash to the Clearing-house or settling with the creditor bank in some other way. It is an expedient that would not have been adopted but for the present stringency, and, as stated, the fact that so many other cities have been forced to take the same step. Pittsburg is one of the last to fall in line, and it is not likely that this course will be pursued one moment longer than is absolutely necessary" (x).

The issue of Clearing-house certificates was an immense relief to the bankers of this vicinity. They had been drained for months of their currency, until some of them could not safely afford any further assistance to their patrons and were in a dangerous condition should a run upon them be precipitated. The certificates set free a large amount of currency, but this did not afford all the relief needed by business men, a number of whom issued their own certificates of indebtedness. "Checks, drafts, notes, acceptances and other items, not payable in this city, are received and forwarded for collection at depositor's risk only until we have received a final actual payment" (y). The Clearing-house certificates were eagerly taken up by the majority of members of the Association; by August 21st \$825,000 had been issued, and by August 22d the amount had reached \$922,000.

"The banks have so strengthened themselves that no additional Clearing-house certificates are being taken out, and it was again said to-day that some of the \$922,000 already issued would soon be withdrawn. The interest they bear, and the fact that they are taxable by the Government, are enough to call them in as soon as they can possibly be spared. There is no disguising the fact that they were a mighty useful article for several down-town banks that were being drained pretty close by their country correspondents when currency was commanding a premium, and, indeed, almost a necessity at that time." (z). . . . "Two weeks have now passed since the last Clearing-house loan certificate was

(w) Times, August 8, 1893 (adapted).

(x) Commercial Gazette, August 10, 1893 (adapted).

(y) Action taken by some of the banks.

(z) Commercial Gazette, September 12, 1893.

issued by the loan committee for the association of Pittsburg banks. It is not to-day expected that any of the \$922,000 issued will be withdrawn quite as soon as had been predicted. One prominent banker said: 'I see it stated that several of the banks that were opposed to the issue of certificates had been glad to take out some of them. I know that is a mistake. They have pulled through without resorting to such an expedient, and, on the other hand, many of the banks that favored the issue of certificates have taken out none at all' " (a). . . . "A meeting of the loan committee of the Clearing-house Association was called for to-day for the benefit of a bank that wished to take out \$25,000 in loan certificates, but before the committee got together it was notified that there was no pressing use for the certificates, as currency was coming in sufficiently for the transaction of business" (b). . . . "The loan committee on the Clearing-house to-day issued \$25,000 certificates, making the total outstanding \$947,000" (c). . . . "The Clearing-house loan committee to-day issued \$40,000 in loan certificates, which makes the total to date \$987,000, and pretty nearly destroys the hopes of those who predicted that the total issue would not exceed \$1,000,000 before some of them were retired" (d). . . . "Not only were there no Clearing-house loan certificates issued by the Pittsburg Association yesterday, but notice was given that \$50,000 of those now out would be retired and canceled to-morrow (26th September)" (e). . . . "The first day of a new week, and that the first of the last quarter of the year, was celebrated by the banks of this city giving notice of the retirement of \$150,000 worth of Clearing-house certificates, leaving the amount now outstanding \$878,000, and the prospects are that these will be canceled very shortly. At least eighty per cent. of the debit balances in the Clearing-house are now settled in cash. The banks are increasing their deposits, are not giving up any more money than they can help, as they are anxious to make as good a showing as possible when the comptroller calls on them" (f). . . . "The local banks are fast canceling their outstanding Clearing-house loan certificates. By to-morrow afternoon the balance against all the banks in the city will be but \$672,000, as \$50,000 were retired to-day and \$75,000 called for to-morrow" (g).

The total amount of Clearing-house certificates issued to the Philadelphia banks aggregated about \$13,000,000, of which less than \$4,000,000 were canceled by the middle of October, 1893. The banks of New York had yet outstanding over \$12,000,000, but Boston had retired all except about \$100,000. New York had issued a total of \$41,490,000 of these certificates. It was thought by financiers generally in this locality in the summer and autumn of 1893 that the repeal of the Sherman silver act would restore confidence to money and business and inaugurate good times; hence great anxiety was felt on the subject, and great pressure brought to bear to effect the repeal of that law. Its repeal finally was not followed by the good times expected. In fact, no sooner had the act been repealed than the shipments of gold to Europe began to frighten financiers almost into spasms. The encroachment on the gold reserve, it was seen, was certain to oblige the Government to issue bonds to replenish the large amount shipped abroad.

"Of the multitude of causes assigned for the recent disturbance we think the most vital was distrust of our currency. It was a veritable money panic and the fiercest that ever swept over the nation. At its incipency the fever was for gold, but before it spent its force all discrimination had ceased and there was

(a) Commercial Gazette, September 13, 1893.

(b) Leader, September 14, 1893.

(d) Press, September 16, 1893.

(f) Commercial Gazette, October 3, 1893.

(c) Commercial Gazette, September 15, 1893.

(e) Commercial Gazette, September 20, 1893.

(g) Times, October 11, 1893.

a grand scramble to obtain anything that passed current as money. The run on the banks reached the maximum in August, and as no official call was made in that month, we will never know exactly how great the withdrawal of funds was. Since August and down to date of the present call of the comptroller the banks have made immense gains. But while it is impossible to give statistics covering the extremes of the panic, some idea of the extraordinary movement of money out of bank may be had by comparing the items contained in the official calls for May 4 and July 12, 1893. Between these dates the deposits of the National banks of New York City decreased 11.73 per cent., while the loans and discounts increased .42 per cent. The decrease in deposits of all National banks in the country was 11.83 per cent., which is nearly double the loss in each of the three preceding panics. The shrinkage in loans was 6.36 per cent. St. Louis, which was the greatest loser in 1890, was the only city gaining in deposits this year—4.04 per cent. At the same time that city reduced its loans 18.96 per cent., the greatest reduction reported from any of the leading cities, and nearly thirteen per cent. greater than the average of all the banks in the country. Kansas City was one of the centers of greatest disturbance, losing over thirty-three per cent. of its deposits, and reducing its loans nearly fifteen per cent. In Pittsburg the decrease in deposits was 14.18 per cent., and in loans 4.21 per cent" (h). . . . "The Pittsburg banks to-day (10th), somewhat unexpectedly, canceled the last of their \$165,000 outstanding Clearing-house loan certificates, thus getting rid of them before interest again became due. The total amount issued here was \$987,000, but a great many were never used in any manner" (i). . . . "The fact that one small private bank (Patrick & Co.) in this city has suspended payment is to-day being pointed to as only another evidence of the substantial basis upon which the local institutions are established" (j). . . . "On the 14th of August (1893) the local Clearing-house issued loan certificates to such of its members as desired assistance of that kind. The scarcity of currency made the step necessary, but Pittsburg was about the last city in the country to adopt such a course. Only \$987,000 were taken out altogether, and the last one was canceled November 10th" (k).

From May 4 to October 3, 1893, there was a decrease in the National banks of individual deposits, 17.12 per cent.; of total deposits, 20.45 per cent.; of loans and discounts, 13.8 per cent.; and in the twenty-four State institutions of individual deposits, 11.68 per cent.; total deposits, 11.01 per cent.; loans and discounts, 11.34 per cent. When the purely savings institutions are separated from the State banks and trust companies, the loss in individual deposits is found to be about equal to that of the National banks. The decrease in four large savings banks was only 7.29 per cent., while in the nineteen State banks it was 17.56 per cent., against 17.12 per cent. for the National banks (l).

"The year 1893 has passed into history, and so far as its financial and industrial record is concerned it stands without parallel, both as to the extent and character of its disasters. Certainly there have been no such shrinkage in securities and no such business depression during the past fifty years as have been experienced since last spring. The fright seems to have been caused by apprehensions of serious impairment of the national credit by the reduction of the gold reserve below the required standard. Confidence was not restored by the repeal of the silver purchase law. Money grew abundant in the banks, while orders became scarce in the mills" (m). . . .

The following table shows the relative standing of the nineteen banks of

(h) R. J. Stoney, Jr.

(j) Commercial Gazette, December, 1893.

(l) Times, January, 1894.

(i) Commercial Gazette, November, 1893.

(k) Commercial Gazette, December, 1893.

(m) Commercial Gazette (adapted), January, 1894.

the Clearing-house, as regards the volume of their exchanges, from 1893 to 1897, inclusive (c):

	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.
Farmers' Deposit.....	1	1	1	1	1
National Bank of Commerce.....	2	3	3	4	2
People's .....	3	5	5	5	5
German.....	4	4	4	3	4
First.....	5	7	9	9	9
Tradesmen's.....	6	8	8	6	6
Merchants' and Manufacturers'....	7	2	2	2	3
Second.....	8	9	7	8	7
Allegheny.....	9	6	6	7	8
Union.....	10	11	10	10	12
Mechanics'.....	11	10	11	12	10
Citizens'.....	12	12	12	11	11
Iron City.....	13	13	13	13	14
Third.....	14	14	15	17	17
Exchange.....	15	15	16	15	15
Bank of Pittsburg.....	16	16	14	14	13
First (Allegheny).....	17	17	17	18	18
N. Holmes & Sons.....	18	18	19	16	16
Diamond.....	19	19	18	19	19

The total exchanges of the Clearing-house from 1866 to 1897, inclusive, are as follows (o):

1866 .....	\$ 83,731,242.17	1882 .....	\$483,519,704.53
1867 .....	97,157,556.03	1883 .....	497,653,962.43
1868 .....	115,206,621.33	1884 .....	469,316,009.68
1869 .....	156,880,910.90	1885 .....	356,171,592.53
1870 .....	178,409,905.51	1886 .....	409,155,367.10
1871 .....	215,201,413.59	1887 .....	511,010,701.38
1872 .....	284,859,477.08	1888 .....	581,580,644.69
1873 .....	295,754,758.33	1889 .....	654,080,356.93
1874 .....	257,548,600.75	1890 .....	786,156,221.40
1875 .....	233,160,448.36	1891 .....	675,876,995.27
1876 .....	224,758,910.43	1892 .....	759,530,746.06
1877 .....	223,569,252.09	1893 .....	665,328,769.11
1878 .....	189,771,695.27	1894 .....	652,907,141.32
1879 .....	217,982,649.43	1895 .....	746,110,263.85
1880 .....	297,804,747.21	1896 .....	745,428,891.25
1881 .....	389,170,379.10	1897 .....	819,637,017.03

(n) Leader, 1893-1897.

(o) Times; numerous recent issues.



## CHAPTER XX.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS—THE SCHOOL OF 1761—THE VARIED CHARACTER OF INSTRUCTION—ERA OF ACADEMIES AND SEMINARIES—TUITION—PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS—THE CLASSICS CONSIDERED IMPORTANT—BELLES-LETTRES AND SIDE BRANCHES—THE BREVOSTS—THE TEACHING OF PLAIN SEWING AND FANCY NEEDLEWORK—THE LANCASTERIAN SYSTEM INTRODUCED—THE ADELPHI FREE SCHOOL—IMPROVEMENT OF METHODS—SMITH'S MONITORIAL SYSTEM—SCHOOLS OF THAT SYSTEM ESTABLISHED—CHARACTER AND USEFULNESS OF THE LATER SEMINARIES AND ACADEMIES—INSTITUTES—DUFF'S MERCANTILE COLLEGE—PITTSBURG FEMALE COLLEGE—IRON CITY COMMERCIAL COLLEGE—THE COLORED SCHOOLS—NORMAL SCHOOLS—PITTSBURG ACADEMY—WESTERN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA—BOWMAN'S INSTITUTE—THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

One of the first schools in Pittsburg, perhaps the first, was referred to in the diary of James Kenney, a young man who conducted a store here for the Pembertons of Philadelphia in the autumn of 1761. On the date of December 1st, of that year, he wrote as follows: "Many of ye inhabitants here have hired a schoolmaster and subscribed about sixty pounds for this year for him; he has about twenty schollars; likewise ye soberer sort of people seem to long for some public way to worship, so ye schoolmaster, etc., reads ye Littany and Common Prayer on ye first days to a Congregation of different principles (he being a Presbiterint), where they behave very grave (as I heare) on ye occasion; ye children also are brought to church as they call it." Unfortunately the name of this teacher was not mentioned in the diary. If he was a resident the previous April his name may be found in the list of inhabitants of that date, found elsewhere in this volume. Sixty pounds per annum must be considered high wages for that primitive time. After 1764 many schools, no doubt, were taught here, except, perhaps, during periods of excitement resulting from Indian incursions and during the Revolutionary era. However, they seem lost to history.

In November, 1786, a Mrs. Pride advertised in the *Gazette* that she would open a boarding and day school for young ladies on the 15th of the month, in the house where John Gibson formerly lived, where she would teach the following branches of needlework: Plain, colored, flowered, fringing, Dresden, tambourine, embroidery, leaf both by needle and bobbin, knitting, and would also teach reading in English. She advertised particularly that the morals and good conduct of her pupils would be guarded. She stated that her long experience, both in Great Britain and Philadelphia, would enable her to have no trouble, she thought, in satisfying the patrons of her school. On January 4, 1788, Thomas Tousey advertised that he would open a school in the house of Mr. McNickel, on Front Street, where he would teach Latin, reading, English grammar, writing and arithmetic; and that an evening school would soon be opened in the same house.

In 1799 Benjamin F. Brewster opened a night school in the Academy. In January, 1801, Charles Barbier announced that he would open a free school, as it was then called, in the house of William Watson, on Water Street, for the purpose of instructing in French, and that the school would be open on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. In 1801 John Taylor opened a night school in

one of the rooms of the Academy. All of these schools were select or private schools. Joseph McClelland, about this time, opened a day school, and later an evening school. On the 19th of April, 1802, Phillip Gilland opened what he called a "New Seminary," near the corner of Second Street and Chancery Lane, where he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, English grammar, geography, trigonometry, mensuration, surveying and navigation. He announced as a separate department of his school that he would hold special morning exercises, and that a separate room would be given to young ladies. The tuition was \$3 per quarter for reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar. A higher price was charged when any of the other studies mentioned were added. A little later he opened a night school also. Abraham Steers, about this time, also opened a night school. In 1802 E. Carr established a seminary in John Irwin's brick house, and asked for the patronage of the public. In September, 1803, Gaspard Arnold opened a school for the teaching of fencing and the French language. It should be understood that these schools were wholly private in their nature, and that a liberal tuition was charged, and the teachers were careful to announce that strict attention would be paid to the deportment of the pupils in attendance. The standing of the school, its popularity and success, depended wholly upon the moral character and literary qualifications of the tutor. Among the school-books used at that time were the old English readers and Gough's, Fisher's, Pike's and Dilworth's arithmetics. Regularly at the close of every quarter the select schools held public examinations, on which occasion the patrons were invited to be present to witness a public examination of their children. Not infrequently a public exhibition would close the quarter term. Sometimes dramatic performances were attempted, and on such occasions much interest was manifested. In May, 1803, William Jones opened an evening school in reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar, for \$2 per quarter. Rev. Robert Steele, who had been connected with the Pittsburg Academy, announced in January, 1803, that he would open a private school on Second Street, where would be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the elements of grammar, the elements of geometry, and Latin and Greek. His tuition for Latin and Greek was \$4 per quarter, and for the other studies a less sum. His prominence and well-known ability and character rendered his academy successful from the start. John Taylor's school was conducted in his residence. He had a set of globes, which were offered free to his pupils. Among other branches he taught navigation, then considered a subject of great importance here; also gunnery, probably as a preparatory for any possible war in which the country might become involved. He also taught the "application of algebra and fluxions to mathematics in exhausting the quadrature and cubature of all kinds of regularly generated curves."

In August, 1812, John C. Brevost, a native of Paris, where he had lived for a period of thirty years, and a teacher of long experience, opened here a school for instruction in French. He had previously taught for a short time in Philadelphia. His school seems to have been well patronized, owing to the confidence the citizens had in his scholarship and to his moral influence over his pupils. His wife and daughter assisted him. They advertised a young ladies' boarding and day school in October, 1814, and announced that they would teach reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, history and geography for \$8 per quarter; the same, with the piano added, \$10 per quarter; the same, with vocal music added, \$13 per quarter; drawing and painting flowers, \$6 per quarter; French, \$5 per quarter; and boarding, \$37.50 per quarter. The school taught by the Brevosts was one of the most useful and successful of any in Pittsburg in early years. Miss Antoinette Brevost, the daughter, possessed, it was said, splendid and fascinating talents. Her manners, her artistic accomplishments and her intel-

lectual acquirements fitted her for the important situation she supported with so much distinction and so much dignity. She was endowed with the rare gift of gaining the affections and confidence of her scholars. The system of government and instruction she enforced resulted in the surprising progress of all who attended her seminary. In fact, her department was far beyond all ordinary boarding-schools—so far as to place it, in point of popularity and culture, by the side of the highest educational institutions in the country.

In 1812 Aquila M. Bolton opened an academy for young ladies in his house on Liberty Street, opposite the Diamond, and stated that a limited number of young ladies would be received, and announced that a full academic course would be afforded. In 1812 John Armstrong opened an English school on Fifth Street, and gave instruction in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, surveying, navigation, geography, astronomy, natural philosophy, English grammar, bookkeeping, and a little later announced that an evening school would be opened. It must not be imagined that the children living here at that time were without means of education. As a matter of fact, the educational facilities were excellent, and the number of select schools was sufficiently large to prevent overcrowding. The private and select nature of the schools, and the moral character of the instructors, were alone sufficient to insure precept and instruction of the highest order.

In 1812 Z. Phelps opened an English school on Market Street, between Second and Third. Previously, Daniel Chute had conducted a school in the same room, and it was upon his recommendation that Mr. Phelps succeeded him. In 1812 Mr. Colome began teaching small and broad sword exercises according to both the French and the English systems. In 1813 Susan Dalrymple opened a sewing-school across the Monongahela River, opposite the foot of Liberty Street. She advertised to teach plain and ornamental needlework, knitting, fringe weaving, etc.

In 1812 Mrs. Gazzam opened a seminary for young ladies for instruction in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, composition and needlework, for \$4 per quarter. Her seminary was first located at the corner of Market and Fourth streets, but in 1814 was removed to Fifth Street, near Market. In 1814 Mr. Donough began teaching the English branches on Market Street.

In 1816 or 1817 the Smithfield Seminary was opened by B. B. McGahan, in which reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, surveying and other branches were taught. This school was continued for several years with satisfactory success. In September, 1817, a day school was opened by John Wainright, and reading and spelling were taught for \$3.50 per quarter and writing and arithmetic for \$4.50 per quarter. He announced that ink and quills would be furnished without extra charge. In 1818 a school was conducted in the new Masonic lodgeroom above the store of Henry Doane, on Water Street, by a Mr. Waldron.

In 1818 William and Robert Moody opened a school for instruction in the common branches and called their institution Moody's Academy. This school became one of the best in Pittsburg. They made a specialty of instruction in grammar, pursuing much the same method as is practiced at the present day. In 1819 Miss Moody began instructing young ladies in her father's academy. One of the most interesting features connected with this academy was its public examinations. It was necessary to secure the largest hall in the city to accommodate the crowds that gathered to witness the closing literary exercises of any term.

In 1819 G. and B. Ely conducted a writing-school for a few months at Market and Diamond streets. In 1817 John Riddle opened the Wood Street Academy for the instruction of both sexes. Upon its commencement the

academy occupied an inferior room, but in 1818 was removed to a new hall on Wood Street, near Virgin Alley. It had separate entrances for boys and girls, the boys entering from Virgin Alley and the girls from Wood Street. "This arrangement, it is expected, will obviate the objection made to educating both sexes at the same school, as they will be constantly under the eye of the tutor when together." Mr. Riddle cordially invited parents to call at any time and inspect his methods and criticise the management of his school. He stated that unexpected calls were more desirable than visits at a fixed and determinate period. He announced that boarding at reasonable rates would be furnished pupils coming from a distance. His terms were \$5 per quarter, and when boarding and washing were furnished, \$40 per quarter.

Late in the eighteenth century a Mr. Lancaster of London, England, founded what became known as the Lancasterian system of education, which soon attained great popularity and success. In 1811 it was introduced into this country by Robert Ould. Immediately after the war of 1812 the new system was heralded with much persistence in this community, and finally a Mr. Babe advertised that he would open an institution in Pittsburg for instruction according to the rules of the method. He announced that the system had many attractive features, among its merits being that one teacher could instruct five hundred children, and that each child would receive more exercises than by the ordinary plans, and learn as much in two years as he could in five years by other methods of teaching. Flogging was forbidden by him and the school was divided into classes and conducted by signals from monitors, the latter being often older scholars, who received such honor as a reward of merit for their own proficiency under the chief instructor. Mr. Babe, who had previously taught in the Royal Lancasterian School at Belfast, advertised for a teacher qualified to teach the system. His institution became known as the Lancasterian Seminary, and all persons from fourteen to seventy years were admitted. The Lancasterian method became so popular that another was opened on Wood Street in October, 1818, by Samuel Falconbridge, where orthography, reading, writing, grammar, bookkeeping and needlework were taught. So much confidence had the instructor in the merits of his system, that special offers were made for children under five years of age, who were charged but \$2 for the first quarter.

Previous to 1818 M. B. Lowry conducted a school on Third Street, which on that date passed to the control of Mr. A. Tierney, who gave instruction in English and mathematics. This institution was called the Smithfield Seminary. Mr. Tierney employed as one of his assistants Mr. J. Callan. In 1819 Bernard McGuire opened an English and classical school here, and about the same time Mrs. and Miss Harvey conducted a school for young ladies and gave instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, history, geography, music and needlework, for from \$4 to \$10 per quarter. About the year 1818 William Leckey opened a school on Wood Street, but in 1820 he was succeeded in the same room by Adam Coon. Mr. Coon seems to have been a competent teacher, and gave instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, surveying with the use of globes, elementary chemistry, Latin and Greek. In April, 1820, Rev. Joseph Stockton opened a private academy, with an assistant, on Federal Street, in Allegheny, near the St. Clair bridge, where he offered instruction in mathematics, grammar, bookkeeping, history, geography, English classics, Latin and Greek. He advertised that pupils from both towns would have no difficulty in attending his school, owing to its proximity to both places. The well-known scholarship of Mr. Stockton, his excellent character among the moral people of the community, inspired great confidence in his institution, and made it one of the most successful of





that early period. Mr. Stockton was the author of the system of arithmetic which was used in his own school, and generally throughout the West. One of his early assistants was John Kelley. In 1830 the "Allegheny Academy," as his institution was called, was still in successful operation, and at that time had an attendance of seventy boys. Like other schools of this character, public examinations were held therein at the end of every month, and literary exercises were rendered at the close of each quarter.

One of the most important of the early educational institutions here was called the Adelphi Free School, which was founded and conducted by volunteer young ladies for the benefit of poor and destitute female children. It was established as early as 1818, and soon had a large attendance. It seems to have been founded purely as an act of philanthropy, and must take rank as one of the best conducted and most efficient of the early educational efforts on behalf of the poor. Late in the decade of the twenties the institution was placed under the control of Mr. and Mrs. Quinan, and by them its scope was greatly enlarged and its usefulness vastly improved. At this time its character seems to have been expanded from the education of the poor alone to the instruction of older and more advanced pupils as well. The Quinans made out of it an educational institution of wide usefulness, which furnished a general and thorough education in English, mathematics, the classics, drawing, music and belles-lettres. They received boarders and charged per quarter for all necessities \$130.

In 1819 Mr. Cole, Daniel Bushnell and William McCleary taught school in Pittsburg. In 1821 Rev. John Campbell taught over Leckey's blacksmith shop on Virgin Alley. V. B. McGahen taught here about this time. David L. Brown taught in 1821-2. Mr. Carr, Mr. Forrester and Mr. Dumars were teachers about this time.

In 1826 John S. Hammon conducted a school here. About the year 1827 John McNevin opened the Central Academy, where he gave thorough instruction to beginners, as well as to advanced scholars, in mathematics and mercantile affairs. In 1830 Mr. McNevin was appointed deputy surveyor, though he still conducted the school with the aid of an assistant. About this time J. and D. Rupp delivered a course of lectures here, under the sanction of Mr. McNevin, on the subject of grammar, and criticised quite severely the methods of Mr. Brown, particularly on his method of analyzing sentences. Mr. Rupp entitled his lectures, "Scanning, Construing and Analyzing Sentences." His views attracted the attention and consideration of all teachers here at that time. In April, 1827, Mrs. Eliza Barker conducted a female seminary. In October, 1827, Professor S. Kirkham, the author of Kirkham's Grammar, began here a course of lectures on the subject of English grammar, the term of six weeks to cost \$4. His lectures were largely attended by the educators of that period. In 1828 William Lowrie conducted a school here, and was assisted by William W. Watson. In October, 1828, N. M. McCurdy opened a female seminary under the monitorial system. About the same time Miss Parsons established a female seminary on Third Street. In the fall of 1828 Mr. Leleu advertised to teach French and Latin, and solicited employment either in private families or in some of the private schools here.

One of the most prominent educators in the early years was Professor N. R. Smith, who as early as 1826 lectured and contributed articles to the local newspapers on the subject of infant and female monitorial schools. Many of his ideas were far in advance of the time, and foreshadowed the complex yet beautiful system of the present day. It was largely due to his efforts that infant and female monitorial schools, after the system had been thoroughly discussed, were established here. In 1827 Benjamin Bakewell, John Snyder,

Richard Bowen and John Towne, "believing that a school of such description was better adapted for communicating useful knowledge, and for calling forth and cultivating the intellectual powers of youth than any other," proposed to the citizens to establish a monitorial high school for boys. Their proposition was favorably received and the school was accordingly established. In April, 1829 a circular was left at the newspaper offices, and in other public places, to be signed by all citizens favorable to the establishment of a school under this system. A little later in the same year, sufficient signatures having been secured to warrant such a step, an infant monitorial school was established by the Pittsburgh Infant School Society, based largely upon what has since been called "object teaching." From the start it proved highly successful and deeply gratifying to the parents of very young children. The school was conducted by a board of managers composed of three of the leading citizens. It must be stated as a matter of history that this school, according to the newspapers of that date, gave better satisfaction to the parents of young children than any other opened here up to that time. The room was located on Liberty Street, near Fourth, and the walls were covered with colored engravings, texts and objects of interest to young children, the idea being to arouse the curiosity, and therefore the interest and attention, of the young. The first instructor was Rev. Samuel Williams, but as he demanded more wages than the board of managers could afford to pay, he was succeeded in July, 1830, by a Mrs. Newcomb. Notwithstanding the fact that female instructors at that time were not regarded so highly as they are at present, this system seems to have been so successful under Mrs. Newcomb that others were started, and soon Pittsburgh and vicinity had four or five. One adapted for older persons was conducted by N. M. McCusky, and was called the Female Monitorial School for Young Ladies. Another was established by Withington and was called the Pittsburgh Monitorial High School, which was placed under the management of a board of trustees. Mr. Smith, who seems to have been the founder of the system here, had begun urging the importance of its adoption as early as 1825. The tuition charged small children was very low, and opportunity was afforded all parents to become members of the "Pittsburgh Infant School Association," as it was also called, upon the payment of \$1 per annum. The payment of \$10 constituted membership for life, and the payment of \$20 placed anyone on the board of managers. The public examinations were held every six months and the tuition charged was \$2.50 per quarter. The First Presbyterian Church, in about 1829, started a school under this system as an adjunct of its Sunday-school. Mr. Smith's essays on the system evinced advanced views on the subject of education and should be read in the columns of the old *Gazette* and *Mercury* to be appreciated. The board of managers said: "If it is questionable whether this school, or rather this system of imparting instruction to the infant mind, has called forth that interest and received that countenance from our fellow citizens which the board had anticipated, it is not a question whether this system deserves, and will yet receive, the cordial countenance and liberal patronage of the virtuous and enlightened. It is already adopted in all the most important cities at the East, and is rapidly enlisting in its behalf the augmenting suffrage of popular favor. In the opinion of this board, the corporation of the city of Pittsburgh would confer a blessing upon their city should they take measures to secure to the entire juvenile population in this city the privilege and blessing of infant school instruction." One of the early teachers in the infant school was Miss Anne Bisbing. After Mr. Williams had severed his connection with the school, he announced in August, 1830, that he would open a school under the same system on his own account, provided he received sufficient encour-

agement. In 1830 Thomas Malin was placed in charge of the Pittsburg Monitorial High School, and continued to conduct the same for several years. Among those who sent small children to him were George Anshutz, Thomas Dickson, Martin Rahm, M. M. Murray, Webb Closey, J. Harmon and S. Cuthbert.

In 1827 Mrs. M. Oliver, who had previously taught school for a short time in this city, removed it to Braddock's Field, in the "Old Wallace Mansion," nine miles from Pittsburg, and named her establishment the Edgeworth Female Academy, which became one of the most widely known and best of the early educational institutions. She remained in control of the school for eighteen or twenty years, until her death, when, for a short time, it was suspended, but in 1846 it was revived by Professor D. E. Nevin, who reopened it and continued its former useful career. It gave thorough instruction in all branches and furnished accommodations and facilities for students from abroad. Late in the fifties the institution was under the management of Rev. H. R. Wilson, D. D., and at this time enjoyed merited prominence and a large patronage. It was during the decade of the fifties, also, that Rev. J. S. Travelli established an academy for boys at Sewickley.

In 1830 Samuel P. Reynolds, author of a system of arithmetic, opened an academy in Robinson's Row, in Allegheny, where all branches were taught. In April, 1828, I. I. Gurnsey opened the St. Clair Female Seminary and began teaching all English branches, French, Latin and the classics. He announced that the attendance would be limited to twenty-five pupils, and that in case of incorrigible conduct on the part of any student he would pursue the following steps: First, private admonition; second, public reprimand; third, reference to parents or guardians; fourth, expulsion. He announced that a specialty would be made of penmanship. In April, 1830, John Winter opened an academy on Fourth Street, near the ferry, but a little later established himself in the old Gurnsey room, where he advertised a full academic course.

In 1830 G. and J. Smith opened an evening school and a day seminary at No. 73 Third Street. In 1830 a Miss Parry opened the Pittsburg Seminary for Young Ladies at the corner of Grant and Second streets and for a half-dozen years or more conducted the institution with great success. In 1830 Michael McSharry opened what he called an "Academic Seminary," in Gray's Row, on St. Clair Street, and began giving instruction in all the higher branches. About this time, also, a gymnasium was opened here and an instructor secured for physical development. In 1832 N. R. Smith opened a mercantile academy, where the first instruction in Pittsburg upon commercial studies exclusively was given.

In September, 1832, the Western Female Collegiate Institute, which afterward became one of the most popular schools in the West, was established one mile east of Pittsburg, on Erin Hill, by Rev. William B. Lacey, assisted by Miss Elizabeth H. Smith, governess. A full course of instruction in all branches of learning was afforded. This institution was conducted with great success until 1837, when damaging reports having been circulated concerning the moral character of the principal, the institution suffered a period of decadence. In 1832 the Washington Street Commercial Academy was founded by William Staunton, with Mrs. Haywood as assistant. In connection with a full commercial course they advertised to teach reading in English. In 1832 Misses E. and B. Gallagher opened a female seminary at No. 130 Wood Street, and for several years conducted it. It was the custom at this time for the leading instructors here to deliver lectures upon various scientific

and moral subjects. Samuel P. Reynolds was an enthusiastic student of astronomy and was often secured to lecture upon that subject.

In 1833 H. Williams opened his writing academy, where, so far as can be learned, the first instruction in Pittsburg in shorthand or stenography was given. His advertisement reads that he would give instruction in "long and short hand writing." In 1833 Eliza W. Logan conducted here a school for young ladies. In 1834 what was called the Pittsburg High School was opened in the basement of the Third Presbyterian Church by George L. Crosby, assisted by Mrs. Crosby and Mrs. S. E. Taplin. About this time, also, George Smith conducted an academy on Seventh Street, and H. Sutherland a seminary on Sixth Street.

In 1833 Daniel Stone opened a literary and scientific institute for boys on Prospect Hill. All were required to dress in uniform consisting of cap, blue roundabout with metal buttons and blue pantaloons. The tuition was \$200 per year, with all necessaries furnished. In February, 1833 William H. Van Doren opened an eclectic school of English, French, Latin and Greek. About this date Miss Milroy began teaching young ladies English, French, music, drawing, etc., in Roger's Row, in Allegheny. In April, 1834, Timothy and Mrs. Alden opened the East Liberty Academy in a brick building about four miles from the Courthouse, where they advertised to teach Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, French, Spanish and English. They soon connected with this academy a young ladies' institute. The president of the board of trustees was Harmar Denny, the other members being T. B. Dallas, F. G. Bailey, H. F. Gore, D. R. McNair, Daniel Negley, B. A. Fahnestock, J. M. Davis and Thomas Davidson. In August, 1834, J. Fletcher opened a gymnasium or school for athletic exercises, or, as he phrased it, "an arena for gladiatorial and athletic exercises after the manner of the ancient Greeks and Romans." He charged \$2.50 per quarter and his institution was located "on Fifth Street at the building formerly occupied as a circus." Mrs. S. Thidford conducted a school of elocution, drawing and painting about this time, and charged a tuition of from \$3 to \$5 per quarter. About this date Mrs. McGowan and Miss Preble were successful teachers here. In 1836 Mrs. Barlow, assisted by Mr. S. G. Olmstead, conducted a boarding-school two miles below Pittsburg on the Ohio River. Mr. Will and Mr. E. S. Blake opened classical schools about this time.

In 1836 Professor E. S. Blake opened an English and classical school, which he conducted with varying success for about ten years, when he changed the location to Manchester and continued it as a female institute, where a complete education in belles-lettres and the useful branches was afforded young ladies for \$10 per quarter. He ran an omnibus from his institute to the city and announced that its use would be given the students for \$8 each per quarter.

In April, 1836, Rev. Nathaniel Todd, who had previously been connected with the educational institutions of Washington, Pennsylvania, established here the Pittsburg and Allegheny English and Classical Seminary, and located the same on Federal Street, two doors north of the canal. He advertised a complete course in the classics and in mathematics.

About 1836 the St. Clair Seminary for Young Ladies, conducted on an eminence near Pittsburg by French nuns under the superintendence of Rev. Charles B. McGuire, had attained a high degree of importance in this vicinity. Thorough instruction in all branches was given, and the tuition and boarding per year were placed at \$100; music, \$20 additional; drawing and painting, \$10 additional; embroidery, \$10 additional. Students in the boarding school were required to dress as follows: Each young lady must have two black bombazette frocks, one white one, two black capes, two white ones,



two black bombazette aprons, handkerchiefs, towels, combs, brushes, wash-bowls, etc., all furnished at the charge of the parents.

In 1838 S. J. Bulfinch conducted a select school in the lecture-room of Trinity Church, and charged from \$5 to \$10 per quarter. Mrs. S. E. Taplin, who had formerly been connected with Crosby's High School, opened a select school for young ladies on Third Street, next door to the United States Bank. In 1838 Mrs. O'Madden opened a seminary for young ladies at No. 26 Fourth Street, where she advertised a thorough ornamental education—drawing, painting in oil and water colors, music, English literature, French, etc. In 1838 Mr. M. J. O'Conway opened a school of languages exclusively, where French, Spanish, Latin, Italian, Greek and English were taught. In 1838 Raub & Brown conducted a school of bookkeeping, penmanship and painting for a few months. Jason Holmes and D. C. Holmes, in 1838, conducted a seminary for young ladies, in the basement of the Third Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Third and Ferry streets. The school was select and confined exclusively to young ladies. Mr. and Miss Leech, who had previously conducted a seminary for females at New Brighton, removed their institution to Allegheny in 1838, and advertised a boarding-school for young ladies for \$90 per session. They gave instruction in useful and polite literature, and announced two sessions of five months each per annum. Although the institution was a boarding-school, yet day scholars were admitted for from \$15 to \$18 per session. About 1838 Mrs. Whittier and Miss Washburne established a select school for young ladies on Smithfield Street between Second and Third, but had previously for a short time conducted their school at Concert Hall, on Penn Street. They advertised that instruction would be given in drawing, painting and needlework, beside the English branches.

One of the most important of the early educational schools here, and one which is yet in existence after more than half a century of usefulness, was Duff's Mercantile College. It was established by Peter Duff in 1840, and was then called Duff's Academy, for the instruction of youth in mercantile affairs. The institution was incorporated in March, 1851, and the trustees at this time were Peter Duff, president; John B. Warden, William Kerr, Joel Moore, John H. Mellor and Thomas Shinn. The academy from the outset became one of the most prominent in the West, owing to the thoroughness of the course of instruction afforded by Professor Duff. He employed competent assistants in penmanship, bookkeeping, mathematics, commercial science, commercial law, and the classics, and from the start enjoyed an excellent patronage. It is claimed that this institution was the first regularly organized business college in America, though this is probably a mistake. At any rate, it was the first regularly organized commercial school here, although instruction in commercial affairs had been given in previous institutions. Professor Duff must be given great credit for the success which has attended his institution from 1840 to the present day.

In 1840 Rev. Dr. Wilson, assisted by James Neal, conducted the Allegheny Institute on Federal Street, above the North Common. About the same time Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy opened a select school for young ladies on Penn Street, near Irwin. Rev. William J., Mrs. and Miss Bakewell, in 1840, conducted a day school for young ladies on Penn Street, near Irwin.

In February, 1846, James H. Teasdale managed the Pittsburg Institute for Boys in the basement of the Grant Street Baptist Church, and limited the number of pupils in attendance. In 1847 Professor Thompson opened a young ladies' seminary here, which he conducted with success for eleven years, and then removed to Wilmington, Delaware. In 1847 W. W. Metcalf



established a young ladies' seminary on Federal Street and soon had in successful operation one of the most excellent schools of the time. Rev. J. M. Goshorn conducted the Pittsburg Female Institute at No. 52 Liberty Street, in 1849. At this time Mr. Davis taught a select school for young ladies on Wylie Street.

In 1848 Louis Bradley conducted an English and classical school on Federal Street, in Allegheny. In February, 1850, J. F. Gregg taught a grammar school in the Davis Block on Federal Street, Allegheny, and charged for tuition \$20 for the term of five months. Some time during the decade of the forties, O. K. Chamberlain, assisted by John Fleming, opened a commercial college, which by 1851 was enjoying a high degree of prosperity. In 1851 J. M. Smith conducted Penn Institute in the Fourth Ward, at the corner of Penn and Hancock streets, where, for the tuition of \$10 per quarter, and to a select and limited attendance, he gave instruction in English, mathematics and the classics. A Mr. Harbordt was employed as instructor of vocal and instrumental music in Mr. Smith's institute. In 1851 Mrs. Gregory managed a young ladies' seminary at 246 Penn Street, where the English branches and French were taught. In April, 1852, the Wilkesburg Academy, for instruction in the higher branches, was established and incorporated; and soon became one of the most prominent educational institutions in the vicinity of Pittsburg.

In 1855 the Iron City Commercial College was incorporated, the first principals being Miller & Bro. Before the institution opened its doors one hundred students signified their intention to attend. The Miller brothers were instructors in plain and ornamental penmanship, John Barry in bookkeeping, John Fleming in accounts, and James H. Hopkins in commercial law. The Miller brothers, in connection with their college, conducted night classes for the benefit of those who could not attend during the day. They seem to have sold the institution, or at least severed their connection with it, because in the fall of 1857 the principal was J. W. Jenkins. Unquestionably this college was one of the most prominent established here up to that time. A Mr. Hitchcock acquired an interest in the institution about the time Mr. Jenkins assumed control. It may be related as a notable circumstance that in 1897 the widow of one of the Miller brothers, then residing in Baltimore, claimed that a balance of \$2,400 was due her from the sale of Iron City College by her husband in 1857.

Professor Thompson, who had established a seminary here during the decade of the forties, was succeeded about 1857 by Miss Dickson, a sister of Professor Dickson, of the High School. Her school stood on Sixth Street nearly opposite the St. Clair Hotel.

One of the most prominent of the early schools was the Pittsburg Female College, which was incorporated by the Legislature in February, 1854. The incorporators were: Allen Kramer, Edward Hazleton, James B. Woodwell, A. Bradley, Jonathan Kidd, Francis Sellers, W. J. Kountz, J. B. Canfield, Benjamin Glyde, Dennis Leonard, W. B. Pusey, W. W. Wallace, H. D. Sellers, A. M. Bryan, William M. Wright, E. Rahm, S. M. Kier, N. Holmes, H. D. Riddle, Christopher Zug, W. B. Scaife, James Bensey, Homer J. Clark, George R. Riddle and William Bingham. This institution was placed under the management of Professor S. L. Yourtee, A. M., and was divided into three departments—primary, academic and collegiate. The primary department was divided into two classes, first and second; the academic into four classes, first, second, third and fourth; and the collegiate into three, senior, junior and third. This institution was conducted under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and it was specified in the act of incorporation that

at least two-thirds of the trustees should be members of that denomination. The institution was incorporated with two hundred shares, but could increase the number to one thousand. It was further provided that the annual income should not exceed \$5,000. This act also stipulated that while the institution should be under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it must likewise be kept open for students of all religious denominations. By March, 1854, \$12,000 had been subscribed by the citizens toward the stock of the institution, and a lot had been procured, and the building was in progress of erection. It was located at the corner of Penn and Hancock streets, adjoining the Methodist Episcopal Church. By May, 1854, \$18,000 in shares of \$100 each had been subscribed. On July 2, 1857, occurred the first commencement of this college, on which occasion two young ladies, Miss Ada Hoffstott, of Allegheny, and Miss Mary McKee, of Birmingham, graduated. An enrollment of 153 students was exhibited by the institution for the first year. There were nine members of the faculty, and instruction was given in all branches of English, mathematics and the classics. At the time of the organization of the college Dr. H. D. Sellers was president of the board of trustees and Rev. F. S. De Hass was secretary. In 1857 Rev. L. D. Barrows was principal of the college. In December, 1862, J. C. Pershing, D. D., was principal, and at this time the institution employed seventeen teachers and had an enrollment of 221 pupils. A literary adjunct of the college at this time was a Browning Association. Since its establishment the Pittsburgh Female College has been one of the most useful and successful of all the private schools established here.

During the early part of the decade of the fifties Professor S. Caton conducted the Cottage Hill Academy, twelve miles from Pittsburgh. At this time the principal educational institutions here were the University, the Pittsburgh Female College, Duff's Mercantile College, Iron City Commercial College, the High School, Locust Grove Seminary, Cottage Hill Academy, Edgeworth Female Seminary and Wilkinsburg Academy.

In 1853 the Locust Grove Seminary was established in Lawrenceville by Rev. William H. Clarke, A. M., as principal, and on the first day was attended by forty-four young ladies of the most prominent families of Pittsburgh and Allegheny. From the start this institution attained a high rank of importance and was confined exclusively to young ladies. Great care was taken to admit only young ladies of the highest degree of respectability. Rev. George T. Rider succeeded Mr. Clarke as principal. The seminary was located two and a half miles from Pittsburgh, on a tract of ground adjoining the arsenal.

In October, 1855, a Catholic Theological Seminary was founded here by Bishop O'Connell, who issued a pastoral call to the members of his diocese for subscriptions to aid the institution. A gentleman of his church donated sufficient land for the purpose, and in a short time the building was erected and school was begun. In November, 1855, the Associate Reformed Theological Seminary was opened in Allegheny, with an attendance of thirty students. About this time a seminary conducted by Miss Worthington was in a flourishing condition. The Sewickley Academy for boys, under Rev. Mr. Travelli, was managed with much success at this date.

In 1858, at a time when many educational reforms were instituted, and when industrial features were presented and discussed with much earnestness, there was founded here what was called the First Industrial School for Girls. It was first instituted in the Good Intent House on Wylie Street, and was designed solely for the aid of poor children. Rev. Mr. Sinclair was the founder of the institution. The children were called together every Thursday in the University building, where many prominent ladies of the city repaired to

instruct little girls in sewing, housekeeping, etc., and to aid them in mental and moral improvement. In a short time over 160 small girls were in attendance, and eleven teachers were employed. During the first year of its existence the institution was attended by about 600 children, and as high as 35 teachers were engaged at one time. During the first year over 800 garments, a large number of shoes, and numerous other useful articles were either made or solicited for distribution among the poor.

In 1818 Robert Smith announced that, actuated by motives of commiseration, he would commence a school for the instruction of colored children, and that no tuition would be charged for his services. Later he was continued as instructor of colored children, but was paid a small tuition from the poor fund by the overseers of the poor. Unquestionably his school was the first in Pittsburg, and, perhaps, in Western Pennsylvania, for the exclusive instruction of colored children. He was actuated by pure philanthropy, and he used no artifice nor evasion to conceal the zeal with which he served the colored people.

In February, 1832, the colored people of Pittsburg and vicinity met in the African Methodist Episcopal Church to organize the Pittsburg African Education Society, to adopt a constitution and to make arrangements for opening schools of their own. The officers elected were John B. Vashon president, Louis Woodson secretary, and A. D. Lewis treasurer. A board of trustees was also appointed to manage the affairs of the society. Pursuant to the action of this meeting, one colored school was put in successful operation, but flourished for only a short time, and then seems to have been abandoned, owing to lack of funds.

In January or February, 1837, a joint meeting of the school directors of Pittsburg was held to take action in regard to the formation of the colored school, on which occasion it was determined that the colored people were entitled to their pro rata share of the public fund, and should have established at once their own separate schools. On February 6, 1837, the colored people met at their own church, and appointed a committee to ascertain the number and residence of all colored children, and to report the same to the Pittsburg school directors. Under this action at least two schools were opened, one being on Robinson Street. By April, 1839, excellent progress had been made in the colored schools in reading, writing and arithmetic, and a visitor, who had been in attendance thereto, a correspondent to a local newspaper, expressed surprise that the colored children showed so great an advancement, and generally such proficiency in their studies. At this time Mr. Templeton was their instructor. In 1844 they were removed to a room on Sherman Avenue, and in 1846 to Avery Street. In February, 1848, the white schools of the city were so numerous and so thoroughly efficient, while the colored schools were so notably neglected, that the newspapers criticised the school directors for not affording the colored people the educational facilities to which they were entitled. Two or three such schools were in progress, but at this time the colored people did not possess a single schoolhouse, and their principal room was the cellar of the African Methodist Episcopal Church on Wylie Street, and was damp, dark, and wholly unfit for the occupation of children. It was argued that the colored people paid their taxes and submitted to law, and should, therefore, be furnished with the school facilities lawfully due them. It was admitted that they had a right to demand their pro rata share of the school fund provided by the laws of the State. It was generally conceded by both the colored and the white people that it was out of the question for colored children to be sent to the white schools.

In November, 1848, at a meeting of the Pittsburg Educational Association in the chapel of the University, it was urged upon the members present, to the shame of about 100 ministers of the gospel and nearly as many houses of



public worship, that little more than nothing had been done here to ameliorate the condition and educate the children of colored families. At this time the presidents of the several boards of school directors acted as a board for the colored schools by common consent rather than by virtue of any specific law. They had made several attempts to secure a location where the greatest number of them could attend without much inconvenience. The Third, Sixth, and Ninth wards each contained more colored children than all the other wards put together. Under the law, each ward must provide for the education of its own children. This meeting made preparations for the permanent opening of satisfactory colored schools. In October, 1849, the colored people, who had again been neglected, employed Attorney George W. Layng to represent them in an attempt to secure their rights to public funds and facilities under the law. The colored people asked for nothing but their rights. The law was fully explained by Mr. Layng to the fourteen directors present out of the fifty-four in the city who had been called together, and after such explanation, a committee was appointed to prepare a plan that would aid the colored people in securing their rights. Rev. Samuel Williams stated that in the Sixth Ward \$50 per quarter had been appropriated for some time for the use of colored schools, and that thirty or thirty-five colored children of school age resided therein, but that a school which had been in progress there had been lately suspended, owing to the dampness of the schoolroom. He further stated that the Sixth Ward had paid, during seven or eight years, \$200 per annum for the education of colored children. At this meeting two colored men delivered creditable speeches, and urged their claims upon the consideration of the white directors. Mr. Templeton at this time was the teacher of colored children in the Sixth Ward.

But the colored children were destined to receive aid from a princely and wholly unexpected source. Rev. Charles Avery, a man of broad intelligence and unusual purity of purpose, and one of the first abolitionists in this vicinity, determined to found a colored college, and accordingly secured the incorporation of the Allegheny Institute and Mission Church in March, 1849, the object of which was to promote and elevate the moral and educational status of the colored people. The incorporators were Charles Avery, Joseph P. Gazzam, William M. Shinn, Samuel Johnson, John Peck, Morrison M. Clarke, David Stevens, Spencer Watts, and Edward R. Parker, who were likewise the first trustees. The law provided that such institute or college should be managed by a board of nine trustees, one-third of whom, at least, should be white; that the yearly income should not exceed \$5,000; that the buildings or apartments built or secured by the incorporators should be for the use of that congregation in Allegheny City which was a branch of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in America; that diplomas should be granted; that the necessary teachers or tutors should be employed; and that the college should be non-sectarian. In accordance with the purposes of the institute, a new building was erected in Allegheny, consisting of three stories, the first and second devoted to education, and the upper to religious exercises, the building being 75 by 55 feet. The educational stories were divided into two departments, one for males and one for females, and furnace heat rendered the building comfortable in cold weather. The building was said to have cost Mr. Avery about \$30,000. The first instructors were Rev. Philotus Dean, white, senior professor, and Martin H. Freeman, B. A., colored, junior professor. This institution soon became one of the most noted for the education of colored youth in the country and reflected upon the founder the highest credit. In January, 1858, when Rev. Mr. Avery died, his will provided that \$25,000 should be given to the colored institute, and in addition that \$5,000 should be given to Passavant Infirmary; \$5,000 to the



Insane Asylum of Western Pennsylvania; \$20,000 to superannuated clergymen of the Protestant Methodist Church; \$20,000 to Oberlin Institute, or College, in Ohio, and small sums to many of the local churches, including the African Church, for which he had previously done so much. The residue of his estate was donated to the cause of Christianity and civilization in Africa and to the elevation of the colored people in the United States and British America. The college founded by him for the colored people became in all respects as efficient as any of the public schools of this vicinity.

The establishment of this institute, however, did not thereby deprive the colored people of their right to a share of the public fund, and to the further right of having suitable buildings and other facilities provided for them by the city authorities. In October, 1849, the directors met in the Fourth Ward school and considered a plan to organize a central free school for the benefit of colored youth. Thomas Hamilton was chairman of the meeting, and John W. Bell secretary. George W. Layng, on behalf of the colored people, had previously communicated with the State Superintendent, and had received an answer, which he read to the directors present. The superintendent stated that the colored people were entitled to every right under the school law enjoyed by the white people. The result of this meeting was the thorough organization and equipment of colored schools in Pittsburg and Allegheny. In 1858 G. B. Vashon was a prominent instructor of the colored youth of the city. He reported an attendance of 89 boys and 61 girls, and that his schoolrooms were crowded and uncomfortable.

Early in the decade of the fifties, the Legislature enacted that Allegheny, Butler, and Beaver counties should constitute the Eleventh District for the establishment of normal schools, and provided for the formation of stock companies to educate and train teachers. Under this law the Allegheny Normal School was established at Mansfield, five miles from Pittsburg, at the junction of the Noblestown and Washington plank roads, in 1855, where the first term was opened in April of that year. Rev. Robert Curry, A. M., was chosen principal, and soon had some forty teachers in attendance. The school became known as the New Brighton Normal Academy. Other normal schools or special schools for the training of teachers were opened here, one of which was conducted by Professor Burtt, principal of the Fifth Ward Public School, in a room in the Iron City Commercial College. Under the school law of 1855, the county superintendent was authorized at certain seasons of the year to conduct an Allegheny County normal school for the training of teachers. In 1855, B. M. Kerr, county superintendent, and Professor Curry were associated in conducting several normal schools throughout the county. Curry University, a normal training school for teachers, was founded in 1869, and in the course of time became one of the most prosperous institutions of the kind in the United States.

"The situation of the town of Pittsburg is greatly to be chosen for a seat of learning. The inhabitants have entertained the idea of instituting an academy, but have it not in their power all at once to accomplish every wish. The first efforts have been made to accommodate themselves with lots of ground with buildings and the common means of life; next to establish and support a Christian Church. In a short time, more conveniently, they may be able to attend to that great object, the education of youth. One or two schools are established to teach the first elements, but it is greatly desirable that there be such which can conduce to more advancement in science. I do not know that the Legislature could do a more acceptable service to the Commonwealth than by endowing a school at this place. It will introduce money to Pennsylvania for a series of years from the whole Western country. It will institute knowledge

and abilities in this extreme of the Government. The college at Carlisle is at the distance of nearly 200 miles from the greater part of this country, and admitting that the expenses of education are not greater there than they would be at a seminary here, yet the inconvenience must be obvious of sending to so great a distance and providing for the usual wants of those abroad. But why shall this country be under the necessity of remitting money to the county of Cumberland for the advancement of education? The country west of the mountains certainly deserves a particular attention from the Commonwealth. It has been a barrier of the war against the savages, and has greatly suffered from the depredations. To the inhabitants the whole war has been a tour of duty. Since the war, money has been drawn from the country in obtaining rights for the lands which they have defended. In the meantime the country on the west of the Ohio has been sold at a distance, and scarcely an individual of this country has had it in his power to make any purchase. Inasmuch as there are lands still remaining, might it not be wise in the Government and discover a disposition of doing equal justice to all parts of the Commonwealth to appropriate some of them for the use of an academy at Pittsburg? The 3,000 acres that are opposite the town, sold in lots, would establish a handsome fund for that purpose. There is certainly no better use to which the wisdom of the State could apply it. It will be well that the representatives, especially of the three western counties, press this point. It will be for the interest of this county in particular, and for the credit and interest of the whole Commonwealth" (a).

In January, 1787, H. H. Brackenridge, then representing this community in the State Legislature, wrote to the citizens that a bill had been introduced to incorporate a number of trustees of the Western country for an academy at Pittsburg. He stated that he had secured from the Penns a grant of one square on what was called Ewalt's Field, for the use of such institution, and further stated that, although Mr. Ewalt had a claim upon this grant, yet he thought the trustees would have no difficulty in securing the same, upon a fair and reasonable compromise with this gentleman.

"Whereas, The education of youth ought to be a primary object with every government; and whereas, any school or college yet established is greatly distant from the country west of the Allegheny Mountains; and whereas, the town of Pittsburg is most central to that settlement, and accommodation for students can be most conveniently obtained in that town, therefore

"Be it enacted, etc., That there be erected, and is hereby erected and established in the town of Pittsburg, in the county of Westmoreland, in this State, an academy or school for the education of youth in useful arts, sciences and literature, the style, name, and title of which shall be the Pittsburg Academy.

"And be it further enacted, etc., That the following persons, viz.: The Rev. Samuel Barr, the Rev. James Finley, the Rev. James Powers, the Rev. John McClellan, the Rev. Joseph Smith and the Rev. Matthew Henderson, General John Gibson, Colonels Presley Neville, William Butler and Stephen Bayard; James Ross, David Bradford, Robert Galbraith, George Thompson, George Wallace, Edward Cook, John More, William Todd, Alexander Fowler, Esquires; Drs. Nathaniel Bedford and Thomas Parker, shall be the trustees of the said school, which said trustees and their successors, to be elected in the manner hereinafter mentioned, shall forever be and they are hereby elected, established and declared to be one body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession in deed and law, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, by the name, style and title of the Trustees of the Pittsburg Academy. . . . .

"And be it further enacted, etc., That persons of every denomination of

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(a) Gazette, 1786.

Christians shall be capable of being elected trustees. Enacted into a law at Philadelphia on Wednesday, the 28th day of February, A. D. 1787."

Among those connected with the Academy at the outset in the capacity of instructors were Revs. Mr. Steele, Mr. Swift, Mr. Stockton and others. For many years the Academy had a precarious existence, but managed to continue with a fair share of success. Supplementary laws for the benefit of the institution were passed in September, 1787, and March, 1798. Among other provisions by the latter law was one to the effect that the Academy should not be required to educate gratis more than ten poor students at one time. In 1801 the separate department of penmanship was added to the institution. In 1800 the tuition of the Academy was collected by three inspectors, and at this time the school was placed in charge of two masters, one a clergyman, who was employed to instruct in mathematics, reading, writing, Latin and Greek, and the other for special branches. The inspectors were empowered to take charge of the finances, were required to examine scholars monthly, and at this time they reported that the funds were not sufficient for the purpose of securing the necessary number of instructors. Quarterly payments of tuition were required, the bills being sent to patrons. Boarding was advertised for scholars attending from abroad. At this time the Academy was in debt, having borrowed a considerable sum of money, upon which interest was being paid. In 1803 Mr. Hopkins, who had lately been instructor in Princeton College, was employed to take the principalship of the Academy. Under this able teacher the institution assumed a new lease of life and soon attained an unexpected and gratifying efficiency. In April, 1804, a public exhibition was given at the Courthouse by the students of the Academy, for which an admission of 50 cents was charged. This was said to have been the first public exhibition ever given by the students of the Academy. Great interest was shown and a large attendance anticipated, as was shown by the high price of admission. The Courthouse was filled to overflowing with parents and friends of the students, and a most creditable exhibition was presented, one of the features being the rendition of a dramatic performance of considerable length, in which it was specially noticed that boys of ten and twelve years of age took part and correctly delineated by gesture and expression the principal emotions and passions. Mr. Hopkins announced in July, 1803, that a special school for the instruction of young ladies in geography, grammar, arithmetic, reading and writing would be opened in one of the upper rooms of the Academy, from 12 to 1:30 o'clock daily. It was said of Mr. Hopkins that "his instruction extended not only to the useful but to the ornamental branches of education; whilst employed in expanding the young mind by the rudiments of science, he was also careful to adorn it." Later, Rev. Mr. Stockton took charge of the Academy and placed it in a higher state of efficiency than even Mr. Hopkins had done. He was a man of great breadth of learning and strength of mind, and became one of the most prominent instructors in education and morals in all the Western country. Almost the same may be said of Rev. Robert Bruce and Rev. John Black, who were associated with him later in the management of the Academy.

In 1818 the institution became the Western University of Pennsylvania. Under the management of Revs. Robert Bruce, John Black, E. P. Swift, Joseph McElroy and C. B. Maguire, faculty, elaborate courses were prepared in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, mathematics, geography, belles-lettres, logic, natural philosophy, moral philosophy and the common branches. "The buildings, late the property of the Pittsburg Academy, having been prepared, are now ready for the reception of pupils, to whom all due attention will be paid" (b). At this time the

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(b) Mercury, June 30, 1818

board of trustees consisted of George Stevenson, president; Samuel Roberts, Francis Herron, J. H. Walker and Morgan Neville, inspectors. "It gives me great pleasure to state that the progress made by the different classes since the last examination offers the strongest evidence of the correct system which is observed in this academy" (c).

The law provided that the Western University of Pennsylvania should be built near the town of Allegheny; that twenty-six trustees should manage the institution, nine of whom should constitute a quorum; and that the real estate held should not exceed \$20,000 in value. By the act of March 9, 1826, it was provided that for each of five years, beginning January 1, 1826, the sum of \$2,400 should be appropriated for the benefit of the Western University of Pennsylvania, provided the trustees should relinquish to the State the land granted the institution by the act of February 18, 1819. This tract comprised forty acres adjoining the outlots of Allegheny. The trustees announced that by the law of 1787 the land of Allegheny Common could not be made available by the institution, in consequence of which they were unable to establish a university proper. In March, 1826, the board of trustees, having become considerably disorganized by removals and otherwise, offered to relinquish their positions in order that a new board might be appointed. This was done, whereupon the Legislature empowered Joseph Stockton and thirty others to erect the necessary buildings and place the institution on a proper basis to furnish a university education. This proceeding led to the construction of new and commodious buildings, and to the entire reorganization of the University. It entered upon a career of progressive usefulness, and soon became the pride of this vicinity. In 1837 M. F. Eaton was professor of English, E. S. Blake of mathematics and natural sciences, J. S. Patch of penmanship and bookkeeping, and J. E. Barbezat of modern languages. The institution was located on Third Street, near Cherry Alley, but the situation was not considered suitable. The great fire of 1845 destroyed the structure, whereupon the trustees, in 1848, selected a site on Duquesne Way and erected thereon the necessary buildings. Soon afterward it was found that the buildings were too small to afford the facilities needed, and additional ground was called for, and at this time it was suggested that endowments of certain professorships would be most acceptable. It was stated that the erection of additional buildings on the tract on the Allegheny River would be much better than to remove the students and professors to the crowded vicinity of the Courthouse, where the "inns of court" would prove more or less damaging to the usefulness of the institution. In a short time the University was enjoying a degree of prosperity never before attained, but in 1849 fire again destroyed the buildings and the institution suffered another period of quiescence. During the first meetings held here for the purpose of establishing a high school, the professors of the University were warmly in favor of the project, contending that the establishment of such a school would prove a valuable preparatory adjunct of the University; but it was found that the site on the Allegheny River was unsuitable, and accordingly, in February, 1854, the trustees purchased a new tract, 93 by 100 feet, at the junction of Diamond and Ross streets, for \$8,200, and made preparations to erect thereon a large building. The contract was given out and the work progressed satisfactorily until February, 1855, when, owing to lack of funds, labor was temporarily suspended. There was considerable talk at this time of transferring the University buildings to the Central Board of Education for high school purposes. The *Gazette* asked, "If the University is to be a failure, what better use could be made of the buildings?" The trustees denied the correctness of the rumor

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(c) Notice in Mercury, April 11, 1820.



and stated that the passage of the recent act of the Legislature, authorizing them to borrow on bond and mortgage free from taxation, was secured in order to save the University from the necessity of selling its investments in Allegheny County and other bonds in their then greatly depressed state, and not because the institution was without means. At any rate, the University did not pass to the High School. In September, 1855, the new buildings of the University at Diamond and Ross streets were opened. From this time forward the institution had very little trouble to maintain an existence and attain a high degree of usefulness. Previously, its career had been troubled and involved, and often a desperate struggle for existence was necessary to save the school from extinction. Its buildings had been destroyed by fire twice, but all of the various dilemmas and calamities were survived. After the destruction of the buildings on Duquesne Way the trustees had judiciously husbanded their means until in 1855, the institution was at last, for the first time in its career, in a condition which promised permanent success. The University at that time possessed a cabinet of minerals, considerable valuable philosophical apparatus and a library of several hundred volumes, and the trustees publicly solicited endowments for special professorships. At this time the trustees were M. Hampton, H. Hepburn, J. K. Moorhead, John Harper, Bishop Simpson, E. G. Edrington, M. D., and J. F. McLaren, D. D. The building fronted 80 feet on Diamond Alley and 70 feet on Ross Street, and comprised three stories. On the first story were four rooms for residence, and on the second were five rooms, and on the third were two rooms and a chapel. John F. McLaren was principal at the opening in the new building. In 1861 provision for military drill was made, and in 1863 a scientific course was established. In 1867 the Allegheny Observatory was transferred to the University, and in 1869 a course in engineering was introduced. In 1871 a preparatory department was added, in 1872 a chemical laboratory opened and in 1880 military instruction was abandoned and instruction in mechanical engineering suspended. In 1871 William Thaw donated \$100,000 to the University, upon condition that the trustees would raise the same amount from other sources. In 1874 the library of Robert Watson, comprising 2,500 volumes, was willed to the institution. In 1882 the University was transferred to the Allegheny Theological Seminary building and the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, on North Avenue, Allegheny, and later to the new buildings on Observatory Hill.

In 1862 Bishop Bowman Institute was established through the aid and encouragement of Rev. Dr. Van Dusen, rector of St. Peter's Church. The first rector of the school was Rev. Anthony Ten Broeck, D. D., and the first term was opened in the old Murray residence on Second Avenue, near Smithfield Street. Later a charter was secured and the scope of the school materially extended by Bishop Kerfoot. Various changes occurred, but the school has since continued to enjoy a fair degree of prosperity. In 1869 the Pennsylvania Female College was established by the leading members of Shady Side Presbyterian Church, among whom were Rev. W. T. Beatty, David Aiken and John A. Renshaw. In a short time \$30,000 was pledged. The institution was soon incorporated, a site of ten acres purchased on Fifth Avenue, three and a half miles from Pittsburg's center, and in September, 1870, school was begun in the new buildings erected thereon. The institution was under the control of the Presbyterian Church, and was assisted to the extent of nearly \$100,000 by this and neighboring presbyteries. In 1885 Joseph Dilworth donated \$10,000 to found a hall, which was named in his honor.

Early in 1825 the Western Theological Seminary, an institution founded by the Presbyterian Church, was established, and in 1827 located in Allegheny. The offer of that town to donate eighteen acres of the "Common," and to raise



the sum of \$21,000, to be paid in installments, was accepted by the Church Assembly. The citizens there granted the church the right to occupy a tract of ground on the "Common," and the Legislature, by act of April 17, 1827, confirmed the grant. In May, 1827, the General Assembly of the church finally decided to accept the offer, and preparations were at once made to carry the project into execution. The following directors for the Seminary were appointed: Revs. Francis Herron, Obadiah Jennings, Mathew Brown, Samuel Ralston, Ashbel Green, Elisha P. Swift, Elisha McCurdy, William Speer, Thomas Barr, William Jeffries, Robert M. Laird, Robert Johnston, Thomas E. Hughes, Charles S. Beatty, Joseph Stockton, Joseph Treat, Randolph Stone, Andrew Wilie, Thomas D. Baird, James Graham, Francis McFarland and Elders Mathew B. Lowrie, John Hannen, John M. Snowden, Samuel Thompson, George Hummer, Benjamin Williams, Aaron Kerr, Reddick McKee and Thomas Henry. The directors were notified to assemble for organization and business in the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburg, on the third Tuesday in June, 1827, on which occasion Rev. Dr. Herron was elected president, Rev. William Speer first vice-president, Rev. Mr. Ralston second vice-president, Rev. E. P. Swift secretary, and Michael Allen treasurer. "Considerable funds have been offered in one of our Eastern cities to aid in the endowment of this institution" (d). Rev. Jacob J. Janeway was chosen by the General Assembly of the church to occupy the chair of theology in the new seminary. By act of January 21, 1828, the Seminary was duly incorporated by the Legislature, and Revs. Mathew Henderson, Alexander Porter, David Proudfit, Isaiah Niblock and William Rainey were appointed trustees. Rev. Dr. Campbell, founder of the Third Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg, which had its start in Northern Liberties in 1828, with a membership of seven persons, visited England in 1829 to solicit contributions for the seminary, and was highly successful in his mission. The institution grew slowly and suffered many buffetings and defeats. It was opened on November 16, 1827, by Revs. Janeway, Swift and Stockton, with a class of four students. In 1829 Rev. Luther Halsey succeeded Mr. Janeway. All members of the church, particularly in this vicinity, were interested in its welfare and anxious for its success. In the spring of 1831 the first building, on Seminary, now Monument, Hill was ready for occupancy. Nearly forty young men attended the opening of the school in the new building. In January, 1854, the building was totally destroyed by fire, but in 1856 was rebuilt on a different site, lower on the same hill, at a cost of about \$22,000. In 1859 Mrs. Hetty E. Beatty of Steubenville, Ohio, donated \$10,000 for the erection of "Beatty Hall." The institution still pursues its mission of usefulness.

In 1825 the Allegheny Theological Seminary was established at Pittsburg by the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Dr. Joseph Kerr was installed as professor. He opened the school with three students in December, 1825, and continued with prospects of success until his death in November, 1829, checked temporarily farther progress. In October, 1831, Rev. J. T. Pressly succeeded to the position and continued to serve until his death in 1870. He was succeeded by Rev. Dr. J. T. Cooper. In recent years the institution has enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity.

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(d) Recorder, July, 1827.

## CHAPTER XXI.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS—EDUCATION OF THE POOR—FUNDS, HOW RAISED—LAWS OF 1819-21-24—PITTSBURG MADE AN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT—STRUGGLE FOR THE FREE SCHOOL LAW—COUNTY CONVENTION OF TEACHERS—SCHOOL FUND ESTABLISHED IN 1831—COMMON SCHOOL LAW OF 1834—TAXATION FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION OPPOSED—FIRST DIRECTORS—THE LAW ADOPTED AND ENFORCED—OPENING OF THE FIRST WARD SCHOOLS—APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS—GREAT SUCCESS OF THE NEW SYSTEM—COUNTY AND CITY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS—METHODS DISCUSSED—LECTURES—THE LAW OF 1854—THE LAW OF 1855—IMPORTANCE OF THE LATTER—PITTSBURG MADE AN INDEPENDENT DISTRICT—TAX LEVY—STATISTICS—DIVERSION OF PORTIONS OF THE FUND CONSIDERED—THE HIGH SCHOOL—OFFICERS OF THE CENTRAL BOARD—ENROLLMENT—OBSERVATIONS AND STATISTICS.

The Constitution of 1790 provided that the Legislature, at some convenient time, might establish schools throughout the State for the gratuitous teaching of the poor, and that the arts and sciences should be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning. In 1802 a law was passed providing for the education of the poor, but it failed to answer the purposes intended. The law of March 19, 1804, provided that all teachers of private schools throughout the State should receive a limited number of poor children, to be sent to them by overseers of the poor, or justices of the peace, and should be recompensed from the fund provided by the county. This law was wholly experimental, and was, therefore, limited to three years' duration. A later law provided that the commissioners of counties might employ teachers and erect suitable buildings solely for the education of the poor, the expense to be paid by taxation. These schools were established under the approval of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and were devoted exclusively to poor children.

In 1819 the commissioners of Allegheny County petitioned the Legislature for the enactment of a law "authorizing them to choose and contract with teachers for the education of the poor gratuitously, within the city of Pittsburg and one mile from the limits thereof, and to erect one or more public schools for that purpose within the same limits." No action seems to have been taken by the Legislature at that time in response to this petition; but on March 31, 1821, the Legislature authorized the County Commissioners to select and employ capable and discreet teachers for the education of poor children gratuitously, and required the assessors to report the names of such poor children. This law firmly established in this county poor schools for the exclusive and gratuitous instruction of poor children, and empowered the Court of Quarter Sessions to adopt all necessary rules and methods to carry the same into effect. The act further provided that the County Commissioners should appoint five citizens to visit and report from time to time on the condition of such schools.

On March 29, 1824, another act was passed, providing more effectually for the education of the poor gratuitously and "for laying the foundation of a general system of education throughout the Commonwealth." This law was a long stride in the cause of education, but became so unpopular, owing, no doubt, to the system of taxation connected therewith, that on February 20, 1826, it



was repealed. The law provided that three men, to be called school men, should be appointed in every township, ward and borough, whose duty should be to perform whatever was necessary to place the poor schools on a substantial and permanent basis; and provided further that the question should be submitted to the voters whether such schools, with the additional taxation connected therewith, should be established or not. If such a question was voted upon here, it was unquestionably lost; at any rate, as above stated, the law was repealed. However, the action of the Legislature and the extensive advertisement given to an advanced school system were not without their effect upon the people of the State in subsequent attempts to establish a school system. By the act of February 19, 1828, it was provided that:

*"Whereas, It has been satisfactorily ascertained that the existing mode of educating the poor gratuitously in the city of Pittsburg has been very oppressive on the county of Allegheny, without contributing equivalent advantages to the community; and whereas, it is believed that the introduction of the Lancasterian system of education in the county of Allegheny would effect an economical reform as well as an important improvement in the mode of instruction; therefore, Be it enacted, etc., that the Commissioners of Allegheny County be authorized to build, or procure, a suitable building for the purpose of educating the children directed to be taught at the public expense within the city of Pittsburg; and also to furnish the same for the accommodation of such children."*

The law further provided for the employment of teachers for the introduction of the Lancasterian system; for the appointment of nine citizens of the city as a board of examiners of teachers; for the admission of poor children upon application; for the payment of contractors of the school buildings; and for all necessary books, stationery and other supplies. All action was made subject to the approval of the majority of the County Commissioners and the grand jury of the county, and such approval was required to be filed with the prothonotary of the county. By reason of the fact that the law provided that all action should be approved by the officers stated, and as such approval was never filed in Pittsburg, the law, of course, failed, and was wholly inoperative. All these attempts to improve the schools of the State were more or less crude and imperfect, but the question was thoroughly discussed in all the cities, and in the end all such attempts were beneficial, though they met with the fiercest opposition from the principals of private schools, and from persons who opposed the system of taxation necessarily included therein. In 1828 the education of the poor cost Allegheny County \$468.81½ (a). This expenditure was regarded as burdensome.

Another attempt was made in 1829 to establish a law for the education of children generally throughout the State and to permit people to form school districts, erect buildings, elect officers, employ teachers, and otherwise provide for conducting such schools. But this law was hampered so that it failed to accomplish the design intended. The friends of education were resolute, and were determined to secure the enactment in this State, as in neighboring States, of a common school law, and, accordingly, in February, 1831, another school bill was introduced and discussed in the Legislature. Some years prior to this, the first independent school district in the State was established in Northern Liberties, near Philadelphia, and in 1822 the second was established at Lancaster. The law of 1828 made Pittsburg another independent school district.

On October 23, 1830, a county convention of teachers was held in Pittsburg to consider the expediency of adopting a plan for increasing the efficiency of teachers without increasing expenses or loss of time in going to school; improv-

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(a) Gazette, February 27, 1829.

ing the methods of communicating instruction; raising the standard of education, and interesting the public to a greater degree. Louis Atwood was called to the chair, and J. A. McKay appointed secretary. M. W. Miller, A. C. Miller and J. A. McKay were appointed a committee to prepare a plan for consideration and a form for a township constitution. The plan recommended the formation of township and county associations, their adoption of new books, methods, and other efficient action. On December 18, 1830, a meeting of the teachers of the county, held at the Courthouse, effected a thorough reorganization of the County Association, and adopted resolutions as to the necessity of mutual assistance and coöperation. Of the meeting Thomas Malin was chairman and John Winter secretary. At this time associations similar to this were formed in all parts of the county. Townships, boroughs and wards were at last fully alive to the importance of a common school system. Such meetings were held in Plum, Wilkins and other townships.

In 1831 a law was passed providing for the establishment of a permanent school fund for the State. The Secretary of State, Auditor-General and Secretary of the Land Office were constituted commissioners of the fund to be raised under this law. The source of the fund was as follows: First, money due for unpatented land secured by mortgage or lien for purchase money; second, moneys for applications, warrants, patents, etc.; third, fees in the land office; fourth, proceeds of a tax throughout the State of one mill on the dollar. It was provided that as fast as interest accumulated it should be added to the principal until the annual interest should amount to \$100,000, after which such interest should be distributed to the school districts throughout the State.

At last, in 1834, after many years of patient warfare, the friends of education succeeded in securing the passage of the famous common school law, which became the basis of the magnificent schools of the present day. Thaddeus Stevens was the "father" of the law; only one member of the House voted against it. The law was entitled, "An act to establish a general system of education by common schools," and was approved April 1, 1834. The law provided that each county in the State should form a school division, and that every ward, township and borough should form a school district. The sheriff of each county was required to give notice of the election of the necessary school officers, and, accordingly, William Leckey, sheriff, called for such elections in the four wards of Pittsburg; in the Monongahela region; in Northern Liberties, at the Town House in Lawrenceville; in Birmingham, at the house of Robert Campbell in Allegheny—all to be held on the third Friday of September, 1834. The law provided that six directors should be elected in each school district; that the County Commissioners and one delegate from each board of directors in the county should meet semi-annually to consider the condition of the county schools, and to decide whether a tax should be levied for the support of the same, and if so to apportion the just amounts among the several districts; that such tax should be a part of the county expenses, but in no case to be more than double the amount each district should receive from the State fund; that any district whose delegate should vote against such a tax should receive no portion of the State fund; that directors should build necessary schoolhouses, employ teachers, etc. The law provided that \$75,000 should be appropriated for the year 1835, and annually thereafter, to be distributed among the accepting districts of the State. The treasurer and the auditor of Allegheny County were made county treasurer and county auditor of the school fund.

At the first school delegate meeting, held on the first Tuesday in November, 1834, it was determined to levy a tax for school purposes of \$6,500 in all of Allegheny County. The County Commissioners, under the law, levied a



one-mill tax upon the assessed valuation of the city, which was \$4,419.135. The tax amounted to \$4,419.13 in Pittsburg, whereas, under the apportionment of the delegates, the amount required from this city was only \$1,552.45, leaving \$2,866.68 raised in Pittsburg to be devoted to the benefit of schools in other parts of the county. This disparity was denounced vehemently by the enemies of the common school system residing here. It was a notable example, they claimed, of the injustice of the law. The plan of taxing the people of Pittsburg for the benefit of the people residing in remote parts of the county was denounced in the severest language; but, despite opposition, the school authorities proceeded with great unanimity to carry into effect the provisions of the law. As if to add still further to the rage of the enemies of the common school system, the school tax in the city in 1835 was raised to two mills on the dollar. It was stated by the enemies of the system, in 1835, that under this proceeding the school tax in Pittsburg "would amount to the enormous sum of \$13,300." Not only the enemies of the school system found fault with it, but the local newspapers and many of the friends of the system likewise called attention later to what seemed to be the manifest injustice of the law. The *Gazette* said: "If this injustice in taxing the city nearly \$3,000 for the support of township school districts arises from a defect in the school law, it should be amended and made to conform to the just principle of taxation—make those pay who get the value" (b). All or nearly all looked at it from a mercenary point of view. At public meetings held in the four wards on June 28, 1834, strong speeches were made in favor of carrying into effect the provisions of the bill. Committees were appointed to nominate, at an adjourned meeting, six persons in each ward to serve as directors after having been elected in the approaching September, as provided by law. The elections of school directors were held at the following places: South Ward, at William Alexander's; North Ward, at Allen Brown's; West Ward, at George Beale's; East Ward, at J. Wallace's. The following directors were elected: South Ward, Richard Biddle, Trevanion B. Dallas, John P. Bakewell, George Cochran, Andrew Fleming and George D. Bruce; North Ward, Abishai Way, George Grant, Stephen Colwell, Z. W. Remington, Benjamin Darlington and Oliver Metcalf; West Ward, W. H. Denny, H. D. Sellers, John McKee, James S. Craft, John Sheriff and W. W. Fetterman; East Ward, Walter Forward, Thomas Fairman, W. H. Lowrie, Dr. James R. Speer, John Arthurs and Benjamin Bakewell. In looking at this array of names one is led to inquire whether it was possible to secure the election of men of greater prominence, force of character and education than those mentioned above. Surely it was determined to place the cause of education here both in the hands of its friends and in the hands of the ablest men of this community. The people had struggled too long to secure the passage of the common school law to permit it now to fall into the hands of its enemies. It was said at this time by the friends of education, concerning the previous educational law, that in all its features it was "anti-republican, and conveyed a direct insult to the poor by dispensing that as a charity which is the right of all" (c).

During the summer of 1834 the new school law was thoroughly discussed in all parts of the State, but nowhere with greater intensity of feeling than in this community. Its enemies brought every argument possible to bear against it, while its friends combated with equal directness and force every objection offered. As a whole, this community favored the law. The old newspapers are full of accounts of meetings held in all parts of the county to discuss its measures. Late in 1834, when it had been definitely settled here that the new

(b) *Gazette*, February 7, 1837.(c) Writer in *Gazette* of June 27, 1834.

law would be put into effect, preparations were made in all school districts to either rent or erect the necessary buildings, and competent teachers in more than one instance were advertised for in the newspapers. In several of the districts it was thought proper to instruct the boys and girls separately. Many other important questions arose and were settled as the years rolled round.

On November 14, 1834, the delegates from the several wards, townships and boroughs of the county, in a meeting held in Pittsburg for the purpose, adopted by a unanimous vote the provisions of the Education Bill, and provided for an appropriation sufficient to entitle the county to claim the aid conditionally proffered by the Commonwealth. It was recommended at this meeting that a two-mill tax be levied and that male and female children be instructed in separate schools. Benjamin Bakewell, H. D. Sellers, Richard Biddle and Stephen Colwell were appointed a committee to prepare and report a system of school education, to be submitted to a joint meeting of the city board of directors. On December 3, 1834, this joint meeting was held in the hall of the Young Men's Society to hear the report of the committee. The report recommended that, considering the large number of children and the small amount of fund, the improved Lancasterian system, then in successful operation in the city and county of Philadelphia, presented the only practicable plan; that the directors of the city should continue to work in harmony in order to secure the best results from the Education Bill; that the location of the schools should be under the authority of the joint board; that the establishment of a model school, advanced beyond the primary grade, would be advisable, and that the erection of one or more suitable buildings was indispensable (d). "The law is in force and would be unanimously approved were it not that many of our citizens believe that the addition of the school taxes in addition to those for our State improvements would prove oppressive" (e).

In December, 1834, Mr. Lawrence introduced a resolution in the Legislature that the senators and representatives of this State in Congress be instructed to favor the passage of a law to distribute the proceeds of the sale of public lands among the several States, for purposes of education, etc. The resolution was laid upon the table. More than 500 adults of Pittsburg in December, 1834, could neither read nor write (f). In December, 1834, a large number of petitions from all portions of the State were received by the Legislature, praying for the repeal of the school law. In 1835 the Legislature made several important changes and improvements in the original act. At this time petitions, signed by an aggregate of 2,084 persons, were sent to the General Assembly, praying for the repeal, or a modification, of the school law; while 2,575 remonstrated against such repeal. Many who signed for the repeal either made their marks or wrote their names very illegibly. In May, 1835, Benjamin Bakewell, president of the joint board of directors, called for applications from competent male and female teachers, to instruct under the Lancasterian or monitorial system. They were requested to state the wages wanted. A splendid welcome was given Thaddeus Stevens on his visit here, July 4, 1835, by the friends of the common-school system. A high school with a tract of arable land adjacent where labor could be performed, was proposed at this time. In 1835 Allegheny County drew from the State school fund \$3,017.35.

School Districts.	State Appropriation.	Received from Local Tax.	Total School Fund for 1835.
East Ward.....	\$231.96	\$2,182.00	\$2,413.96
South Ward....	160.92	1,495.74	1,656.66

(d) Gazette, December 11, 1834.

(e) Gazette, December 15, 1834.

(f) Gazette, December 20, 1834.

School Districts.	State Appropriation.	Received from Local Tax.	Total School Fund for 1835.
West Ward .....	\$ 154.56	\$2,853.00	\$3,007.56
North Ward.....	173.14	1,796.00	1,969.14
Allegheny.....	270.23	582.17	852.40
Northern Liberties.....	149.97	323.11	473.08
Birmingham.....	36.93	79.00	115.93
Lawrenceville.....	31.48	67.82	99.30
Pitt Township.....	153.00	329.71	482.71

For the school year beginning June, 1836, the county received from the State fund, including the bonus from the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States, the sum of \$7,664.14. At a convention of the common schools of the county, held in Pittsburg in 1836, every district in the county, except Birmingham, was represented by delegates. It was unanimously decided by the convention to vote as a school tax double the amount received from the State, to wit: \$15,328.28. This sum, added to the amount above, gives the total school fund of the county for the year 1836-7—\$22,992.42. During this year the schools were in a flourishing condition.

The success of the law, after it had once been put in operation, was a source of astonishment to the friends as well as to the enemies of the system. In 1836 it was enacted that four years should be the lowest school age, and that the school year should consist of not less than six months. From time to time laws were passed increasing the amount of the school fund of the State, and improving in many important particulars the educational system. In 1837 the county apportionment for county schools amounted to \$27,722.41. About this time a law was passed appropriating to each university in the State, under certain restrictions, for the period of ten years, the sum of \$1,000.

The first school in the Second, or South, Ward was opened September 11, 1835, in the old carpet factory building near the corner of Smithfield and Water streets; the second building was the old chair factory at Cherry and Third avenues. The first building erected for school purposes in this ward was built in 1841, at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Ross Street. In the Third (East) Ward the first building was erected in 1836 and stood at the corner of Cherry Alley and Diamond Street. The first school in the Fourth (North) Ward was opened in 1835 in a dilapidated building at the corner of Duquesne Way and Seventh Street. It was removed in 1838 to a new building near Penn Avenue. The first school in the First (West) Ward was opened in an old building which stood on Ferry Street, and the first school in the Fifth (Northern Liberties) Ward was held in the old Phoenix Cotton Factory.

The act of April 3, 1837, appropriated \$500,000 to be distributed to the common schools of the State. In 1837 Thomas H. Burroughs, superintendent of the common schools of the State, accompanied by Governor Joseph Ritner, visited Pittsburg, and while here settled many important questions which had arisen concerning the provisions of the school law. In November, 1837, a convention of common school officials met in Pittsburg and appointed Rev. Dr. Presley, Dr. George D. Bruce and Benjamin P. Hartshorn a committee to examine and compare Emerson's and Russell's series of readers and other schoolbooks, and report which should be adopted. The committee favored the selection of Emerson's readers, spelling-book and first part arithmetic, Keefe's new arithmetic and Russell's histories. At an adjourned meeting, held December 7th, the use of these books was recommended in all public schools of the city and county. The common school appropriation from the State fund for the school year commencing the first Monday in June, 1838, was as follows: East

Ward, \$863.64; North Ward, \$429.88; West Ward, \$586.56; South Ward, \$342.48; Allegheny Borough, \$714.74; Birmingham, \$100.99; Northern Liberties, or Fifth Ward, \$422.11; Lawrenceville, \$92.58. By doubling each of these amounts, and adding the results thereto, the school fund of each district may be ascertained (g).

The law provided that the State fund due to non-accepting districts should be allowed to accumulate until a certain fixed time in the future, in order to give such districts an opportunity of accepting the benefits of the act; and in case such date was reached before the law had been accepted, the option was still further extended, so that in the end each district received its accumulated apportionment.

It must not be supposed that the schools of the decade of the forties were crude and inefficient. On the contrary, they were well conducted, had competent teachers, and thorough discipline and method secured from the scholars the highest degree of advancement. In many particulars the advanced methods of the present day were foreshadowed by the teachers in the public schools of that period. The importance of object lessons and of adapting instruction to the degree of mental maturity secured the earnest, practical consideration of both parents and teachers. By 1848 the system had become so generally adopted throughout the State that an act was passed requiring all school districts, whether they had accepted the law or not, to be so considered, and further requiring them to levy the necessary tax in order to obtain their pro rata share of the State school fund. Late in the decade of the forties the old schoolhouses, which had been rented or built ten or twelve years previously in nearly all the districts, were in such a dilapidated condition as to necessitate the erection of new buildings, and accordingly, in nearly all the wards of Pittsburg and Allegheny and in the surrounding boroughs, new structures were erected, many of them large, comfortable and commodious brick structures. In case the school districts had not sufficient funds to erect such buildings, it was provided by law that they could borrow to a limited extent for that purpose. By June, 1848, the whole number of school districts in the State was 1,306; accepting districts, 1,102; number of schools, 7,845; number of scholars, males, 197,984; number of scholars, females, 162,621; number of teachers, males, 6,065; number of teachers, females, 3,031; average number of scholars in each school, 44; average number of months taught, 4.245; received for school purposes, \$508,696.51; State appropriation, \$193,035.75. After the great fire of 1845 the school tax in the burned district, and, in fact, all other tax, was for a time suspended, but the tax on personal property therein was increased.

The teachers of the county, from the commencement of the common school system, maintained a county teachers' association, and annually held conventions, where educational matters of all descriptions were discussed and various methods of instruction under improved ideas were exemplified. On occasions of this character it was customary to listen to lectures upon educational topics by prominent instructors. In 1847 the officers of the County Teachers' Association were Dr. Dyer president, Louis Bradley and Daniel Holmes vice-presidents, L. H. Eaton treasurer, and H. Williams secretary. At the meeting held in November, 1847, Professor Kelley illustrated a new method of teaching arithmetic, and Professor Dyer lectured on "Improvements in Educational Methods." At this time the Association was reorganized and new by-laws and an amended constitution were adopted. In 1848 A. G. Rhinehart was president, and among those present at the annual convention were Messrs. Eaton, Bryan, Whittier, Smith, Kelley, Livingston, Stevens, Kerr, Schoon-

(g) Gazette, February 23, 1838.



maker, Sterrett, Sanderson and Covell. The executive committee of the Association were Lemuel Stevens, Charles Elliot, James Thompson, L. H. Eaton and Frederick Overman. Professor Metcalf lectured on "Arithmetical Notation," and Professor Williams on "Phonography and Phonotypy." Professor Thompson read an essay on "Education." At this time the schools of this vicinity were in a most prosperous condition. The attendance increased so rapidly that the directors found it difficult to provide suitable buildings and were constantly perplexed with questions of taxation and school management. But while it was true that the schoolrooms were usually overcrowded, it was generally the case that excellent discipline and advanced methods of instruction prevailed. "How 500 or 600 children of all ranks, rich and poor, could be taught and disciplined in the Fourth Ward in the manner these have been, in the short space of three months, is beyond the calculations of numbers who were present and witnessed the examinations" (h).

At this time so great was the interest in education that many of the prominent lawyers, physicians and teachers of the city were called upon to give public lectures in Temperance Hall or Lafayette Hall on the various problems arising under the existing system of mental development. Walter Forward lectured on the subject of "Industrial Schools," as did Professor Allen also. About this time educational societies were formed in many of the wards, boroughs and country school districts. One was formed in the Sixth Ward, where Professor Stevens lectured on "The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," and Robert Christy read an essay on "The Formation of Hail." John Kelley, principal of the First Ward School, Allegheny, held a public exhibition in 1849, on which occasion the musical instruction which had been given to his scholars was shown to have been most efficient. Late in the forties the school directors of the city employed Daniel Shryock to visit each of the ward schools two or three times per week, to give the scholars therein instruction in vocal music. He was the author of a publication called the "Musical Teacher and Copybook," which had been issued by John T. Shryock several years previously.

While the school law of 1854 was pending in the State Legislature a meeting of the citizens of the Sixth Ward was held at the public schoolhouse in February, 1854, on which occasion James D. Kelley was chairman and W. E. Stevenson secretary, and the following resolutions, by a unanimous vote, after a full discussion, in which Captain Ward and C. O. Loomis participated, were adopted:

*Resolved*, That this meeting regards with disfavor any appropriation of the common school funds to the purpose of building or supporting sectarian schools. *Resolved*, That we hereby request our senators and representatives in the State Legislature to vote for the repeal of the 20th and 21st sections of the act of 7th of April, 1849, and to oppose the introduction of the principles embraced in either of said sections into any other law. *Resolved*, That our said senators and representatives be requested to have a provision inserted in the proposed school law, making the City of Pittsburg one school district, and the several wards of said city, sub-districts, with uniform taxation for the support of the public schools, to be divided according to the number of pupils in each sub-district—each of the said sub-districts to procure the ground and erect its own schoolhouse. *Resolved*, That we have full confidence that the chairman of the Committee on Education in the Senate, and our other senator and our representative at Harrisburg, will use their utmost endeavors to procure legislation in accordance with the spirit of these resolutions. *Resolved*, That two copies of the proceedings of this meeting be made out and signed by the officers, and a copy

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(h) Spectator in Gazette of December 25, 1848.



forwarded to one of our senators and one of our representatives at Harrisburg, to be presented to their respective houses."

The Legislature of 1854 materially revised the school law of the State. Under the revised law the wards of the cities were consolidated into one district, having a central board of directors authorized to elect teachers, assess all taxes and receive, by deed from ward boards, the district school property. This centralization of power met with no opposition from Pittsburg or Allegheny, though several ward meetings were held to consider the subject in detail. After the passage of the law its friends called a convention of city directors, who, by a small majority, decided not to organize thereunder; though later, at a convention held in the fall of 1854, such an organization was effected. It may be said that the results of this convention were the passage the following year of the special law creating Pittsburg an independent district. After the law of 1854 had been passed it was taken up and thoroughly dissected and discussed in public meetings and through the newspapers of the two cities. Under this law provision was made for the election of a county superintendent, and accordingly, on June 5, 1854, a convention of school directors met in Pittsburg to elect such official, fix the amount of his salary and discuss the probable result of his efforts. T. J. Bigham was made chairman of the meeting, and J. W. F. White, the principal speaker, discussed at length the provisions of the new law and the important duties of the county superintendent. Sums ranging from \$600 to \$2,500 were proposed by the directors present as the salary of the superintendent. It was decided at last to determine the amount of his salary by vote, and accordingly every even hundred was voted upon up to \$3,000. It was found that the greatest number of votes was polled in favor of the sum of \$1,000. Several ballots were cast at this convention for county superintendent, without result, whereupon the election of that official was postponed until July, when Professor B. M. Kerr was given the honor.

The law of May 8, 1854, reaffirming the law of 1848, assumed that every borough, township and city in the State was a separate school district; and each district was authorized to own and retain its school property, elect a separate board of directors, and, in general, provide for the proper management of its own school; but upon the board of controllers was placed the general direction of all the city schools. Under this law the school age was fixed at from five to twenty-one years.

By the act of February 9, 1855, Pittsburg was made an independent school district, and all law previously passed inconsistent therewith was repealed and rendered inoperative. It was provided that the board of directors of each school district should elect one member, either from its number or an outsider, for the Central Board of Education, who were directed to qualify for three years. The Central Board of Education were given great power. They were created a corporation, with power to hold real estate not exceeding \$10,000 at one time; and were authorized to establish two high schools, one for each sex, and one or more separate schools for the education of children of color; to maintain night schools in the wards for at least three months of each year; and to levy the necessary tax and otherwise provide in detail for the proper management of all schools. The election for the Central Board of Education resulted as follows: First Ward, J. B. Bell; Second Ward, R. Miller, Jr.; Third Ward, S. M. Kier; Fourth Ward, R. E. McGowin; Fifth Ward, William McKeig; Sixth Ward, James Lowrie; Seventh Ward, William Arthurs; Eighth Ward, W. H. Everson; Ninth Ward, William Varnum. R. E. McGowin was elected president of the board for the ensuing year, Joseph W. Lewis secretary, and Reuben Miller, treasurer. Kier, Arthurs and Varnum were chosen to



serve for one year; Bell, Miller and McKeig for two years, and McGowin, Lowrie and Everson for three years.

The general school tax levied here in 1855 was five mills on the dollar, though wards were empowered to levy an additional tax for building houses, keeping them in repair, buying lots, etc. All the teachers of the ward schools, and the professors and teachers of the High School and colored school, were paid by the Central Board out of the general tax of five mills. For the school year beginning June, 1855, the following was the assessment for school purposes:

First Ward.....	\$9,197.06	Seventh Ward .....	\$2,021.76
Second Ward.....	7,951.58	Eighth Ward.....	2,528.90
Third Ward.....	8,549.87	Ninth Ward.....	2,439.33
Fourth Ward.....	9,428.35		
Fifth Ward..	5,836.49		\$52,213.21
Sixth Ward.....	4,259.87		

The expenses for that year were estimated as follows:

First Ward, teachers.....	\$3,800	Instructors in High School.....	\$4,295
Second Ward.....	3,450	Janitor .....	200
Third Ward.....	5,800	Rent High School.....	450
Fourth Ward .....	3,800	Furniture and repairs.....	800
Fifth Ward .....	5,450	Expenses High School.....	500
Sixth Ward.....	4,200	Salary of treasurer.....	500
Seventh Ward.....	2,200	Salary of secretary.....	500
Eighth Ward..	3,700	Collecting, three per cent.....	1,560
Ninth Ward.....	3,100	Lost, etc.....	2,700
Music in ward schools.....	1,178		
Expenses of colored schools...	1,000		(j) \$49,183

The following tabular statement shows the condition of the public schools of the city for the school year 1854-5 (k):

Whole number schools taught.....	12
Average number of months taught.....	10
Number of male teachers.....	14
Number of female teachers.....	73
Average salary of males per month.....	\$64.60
Average salary of females per month.....	\$24.72
Number of male scholars.....	2,961
Number of female scholars.....	2,980
Average number attending.....	3,961
Cost of schooling each scholar per month.....	\$ 0.65
Amount of tax levied for schools.....	37,967.69
Amount of tax levied for school buildings.....	18,036.64
Total tax levied.....	56,004.33
Received from State appropriations.....	2,964.34
Received from collectors of school tax.....	48,161.09
Cost of instruction.....	27,372.67
Fuel and contingencies....	4,340.20
Cost of schoolhouses, repairs, rents, etc.....	1,197.88

In 1854 and 1855 the Catholic citizens generally, and their newspaper organ, the *Pittsburg Catholic*, did all in their power to secure the diversion of a portion of the public fund to the maintenance of their sectarian schools. It was argued by them that inasmuch as they paid this tax and refrained from attendance

(j) Commercial Journal, December 13, 1855.

(k) Gazette, September 4, 1855.

upon the public schools, they should therefore be entitled to their pro rata share of such fund; otherwise they declared that the poor people of their denomination would be doubly taxed and would be forced to contribute to the support of the "godless schools." All this was answered by the Protestant denomination and by the local secular press. The question of whether the Bible should be read in the public schools was another important question of this date. The *Pittsburg Catholic* maintained that the Bible should not only be read, but should also be taught in all the public schools. The principal objection to the new school law was the great increase in taxation incident thereto, in addition to the enormous burden already placed upon the citizens through railroads, water rent, the High School, etc.

It was about this time that the Farmers' High School, as it was called, was established in Allegheny County, on the Youghiogheny River, on the estate of George A. Baird. The committee of the State authorized to view the various situations offered selected 600 acres there, for which they agreed to pay \$35 per acre. In 1855 a large brick structure was erected thereon and school was soon opened. The city at this time took a long step forward in the matter of education. Not only were the common schools of the city placed on a new and better basis, but the High School was also established and other noteworthy progress made in the matter of affording advanced education to youth. Ten years previously the importance of training the youthful mind in methodical lines, and in accordance with its degree of development, was not appreciated nor even understood. Gradually the citizens awoke to the vast importance of improved educational facilities, until the culmination was reached in 1855 by the formation of Pittsburg as an independent district and the commencement of the High School. The ten years saw remarkable advancement. Teachers had changed; directors were not what they were; discipline had become one of the first considerations; school buildings and apparatus were vastly improved, and, as a crowning consequence of all this remarkable state of affairs, scholars were found not only to be much more proficient in their studies, but took an intense interest in their books and in their attendance.

The Teachers' Association of Allegheny County continued its career of usefulness. On January 27, 1855, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: R. Morton, president; Miss M. Glass, vice-president; W. B. Frew, secretary; A. H. English, treasurer. At this meeting Mr. Forner read an essay on "The Duty of the Educated." W. W. Dickson illustrated an advanced method of teaching proportions; Miss Glass read an essay on "Literary Adventures;" Mr. Carey read an essay on "The Best Method of Teaching Grammar;" and Professor Thompson, in an able lecture, declared that the first step to be taken in the education of children was to teach them to think instead of to memorize. This precipitated a vigorous discussion of the subject. In August, 1855, the State Teachers' Association met in Pittsburg at the Third Ward school-house. It was largely attended by teachers throughout the State, and great enthusiasm was shown. Professor W. V. Davis, of Lancaster, presided. Among the questions discussed were "Normal Methods," "School Discipline," "Teachers' Methods of Instructing," "Remuneration of Teachers," "Corporal Punishment," "Should Religious Teaching Be Included?" etc.

Each of the ward schools was divided into three departments: Primary, intermediate and grammar; and each of these into four classes, A, B, C, D. In 1859 the following statistics were published:

	Pittsburg.	Alle'y.	Boro's.	Tps.	Total.
Male teachers .....	15	6	25	207	253
Female teachers.....	91	55	43	68	257

The public schools of the present day are the descendants of those established under the independent school law of 1855; but a visitor who could compare such schools, upon their first establishment, with the elaborate and magnificent institutions of the present day, would discover a vast difference for the better. As the years have passed away one improvement after another has been added until there is no comparison between the results achieved and the methods adopted. The figures of the present schools are bewildering. In 1896, 838 teachers were employed; 41,497 pupils were enrolled, and 72 school buildings were necessary to accommodate the children. In 1896 the school property was valued at \$3,500,000. The 72 schools were under the supervision of 39 principals, including the principals of the High School. The special teachers employed were two music supervisors, three school kitchen teachers, two teachers of sloyd and one superior of drawing. As nearly as possible one teacher was assigned to each forty pupils in attendance. Books and supplies were furnished free to all pupils.

## PRESIDENTS OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF EDUCATION.

R. E. McGowin.....	from February 20, 1855, to January 12, 1858.
Benjamin Singerly .....	from January 12, 1858, to February 14, 1860.
Felix C. Negley.....	from February 14, 1860, to October 12, 1865.
Benjamin Singerly....	from October 12, 1865, to February 13, 1866.
Jared M. Brush.....	from February 13, 1866, to February 9, 1869.
John Wilson.....	from February 9, 1869, to February 11, 1873.
T. J. Craig.....	from February 11, 1873, to February 10, 1874.
J. H. Nobbs.....	from February 10, 1874, to February 13, 1877.
James M. McEwen.....	from February 13, 1877, to February 11, 1879.
T. W. Shaw, M. D.....	from February 11, 1879, to February 10, 1880.
George T. Oliver.....	from February 10, 1880, to February 13, 1883.
W. H. McKelvy, M. D.....	from February 13, 1883.

The following statistics by semi-decades will exhibit in a general way the growth of the public schools of Pittsburg:

Year.	Teachers.	Enrollment.
1856 .....	109	6,724
1860 .....	118	7,608
1865 .....	128	8,743
1870 .....	215	12,888
1875 .....	414	20,927
1880 .....	467	24,325
1885 .....	545	27,440
1890 .....	620	31,482
1896 .....	838	41,497

The attendance in the High School and special schools during the month of May, 1869, as reported by Philotus Dean, principal, was as follows:

Institutions.	Males.	Females.	Total.
High School.....	62	79	141
Normal School.....	1	68	69
Commercial.....	76	0	76
Totals.....	139	147	286



In January, 1869, Joel Kerr, who had established a Sunday-school mission as an auxiliary of the U. P. Church, had a colored deaf mute for a scholar and was greatly puzzled how to instruct him. Mr. Woodside, an educated deaf mute, was called upon to assist, and other deaf mute children were invited in to receive instruction, and soon much interest was shown. Dr. J. G. Brown, pastor of the church, solicited funds from the Central Board, and Mr. Woodson and his sister, teachers, were employed for \$1,000 per year, and by November, 1869, had an enrollment of over twenty deaf mutes, at which time they occupied a room in the First Ward School building. From this small beginning grew up in Pittsburg this branch of instruction.

In 1895 an act was passed compelling parents and guardians to give at least sixteen weeks' schooling to children under their control between the ages of eight and thirteen years. This law became popularly known as the Truant Law. Its real benefits remain yet to be determined.

The subject of a common school system, supplemented with a high school, was discussed here and fairly well understood as early as 1798, when a writer in the *Gazette* proposed the adoption of such a system throughout the State, and even went so far as to recommend a high, or advanced, school to supplement the common schools. His recommendations are surprisingly like the provisions of the law adopted in 1834, except that he did not call the advanced school a high school; he used the term model school. But the principle of the latter was the same, the idea being to afford facilities for advanced students beyond those reached by a common school system. The same question arose in this community from time to time, and the wonder is that a separate high school was not permanently established in 1834, when the common school system was carried into effect. In 1835 the question was discussed here, through the newspapers and otherwise, of the propriety of establishing such an advanced school (1). But the people were not yet ready for such an innovation, and accordingly the question terminated merely in talk.

Late in the decade of the forties, when the schools here were enjoying a high degree of prosperity and nearly all districts were erecting new buildings and adopting new methods, the question of establishing a high school was again brought prominently before the public. On March 15, 1849, a largely attended meeting was held and a committee that had been appointed at a previous preliminary meeting, of which Lemuel Stevens was chairman, submitted a report on the advisability of establishing such a school. Nearly all the directors of the city were present, and Robert McKnight served as chairman and John Harper secretary. The previous meeting, which had been held March 8th, had considered the defects of the present system, and had prepared a report on the remedies best to be adopted. It was conceded that the existing system was behind the times as compared with other States; that instruction was afforded in the common branches only; and that problems concerning the Constitution of the United States, the organization of the human body, the secrets of nature which surrounded the scholars—the winds, rain, heat, cold and many similar subjects were wholly unknown to the students even after they had successfully passed the requirements of the common schools. For these and many other reasons it was declared imperative that a more advanced course of instruction should be afforded scholars who had successfully passed the primary studies of the local public schools. On this occasion many of the prominent men of the city engaged in the discussion, and, with scarcely an exception, favored the establishment of a high school. Many of the provisions of the subsequent law of 1855, which finally established such an

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(1) *Gazette*, July 30, 1835.

institution, were set forth and discussed at this meeting. One of the most important suggestions was that young men should be taught in practical lines, so that the knowledge gained by them could be made available in the industrial pursuits which they proposed to make their life duties. As a matter of fact this meeting led upward to the passage of the law which subsequently established the High School. T. J. Bigham introduced a set of resolutions, urging the necessity of establishing a school for the advanced education of young ladies and gentlemen, who should be admitted thereto from the public schools upon examination and instructed in studies not taught in the common schools, and suggested that a board of controllers, consisting of one member from each school district, should have general management of such school; should have power to examine teachers and grant them certificates, designate books and establish a uniformity in methods; and further suggested the appointment of a committee to prepare a bill having these objects in view, to be introduced in the State Legislature at the present session. Among those who took part in the discussion were Messrs. Bigham, Craft, Shaler, Stevens, McCracken, Bakewell, Hamilton, Denny, Watson, Wills, McAllister, Havens and Totten. The following gentlemen were appointed to prepare such bill: Lemuel Stephens, W. S. Havens, Reuben Miller, J. McAllister, C. B. M. Smith, Dr. McCracken, L. R. Livingston, J. W. Buchanan and James McCune.

By act of April 9, 1849, it was provided that each ward in the city of Pittsburg should elect one school director to be a member of the Board of Controllers of the institutions, to be called the Public High School of Pittsburg, and such Board of Controllers was made a body corporate to manage the affairs of such school. It was further provided by this law that on the first Tuesday of June, 1849, a special election should be held, on which occasion the question of establishing here a high school should be voted upon. It was also provided that the electors should be permitted to vote on the question of whether there should be a school fund common to all wards, or whether each ward should have its own separate fund. This election was duly held, and both questions were voted down, the vote for the common fund standing 328, and for the ward fund 1,073.

Under the law of 1855 the High School was finally established. It may be said that this school is the crowning glory of the common school system. It is the poor man's college, or the people's college, and is designed particularly for the benefit of children who are unable, for want of means, to secure a higher education. It is the necessary consequence of the common school system, and has become probably the most important feature of the common school law. Many objections were urged against it at the time of its establishment, among which were that it was uncalled for; that it increased taxation; that it would bring into disfavor the common school system; that its benefits were unequal and partial; that its benefits were likely to be devoted, through favoritism, to children of special families; and that it had been, in 1849, rejected by a heavy majority. Under the new school law an applicant for admission to the High School in Pittsburg was required to pass spelling, reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, elementary bookkeeping, history of the United States, and algebra as far as simple equations; and the faculty of the High School were constituted a board of examiners to determine upon the fitness of the applicant for admission. The rooms for the High School were rented in a building opposite the Custom-house for \$450 per year, and comprised the second, third and fourth stories of the building. The rooms were small, but were the best that could be secured at the time. The school was divided into two courses, one for two years and one for four years, and first furnishing a complete mercantile and business education, and the second full classical and collegiate instruction.

The examinations in the various wards showed that 198 students had successfully passed the examination for admission into the High School. On Tuesday, September 25, 1855, students to the number of 113, the majority of whom were young ladies, attended the first day's session of the High School. It had been announced that 108 would be in attendance from the various wards, as follows: First Ward, 14; Second Ward, 12; Third Ward, 20; Fourth Ward, 11; Fifth Ward, 17; Sixth Ward, 13; Seventh Ward, 8; Eighth Ward, 8; Ninth Ward, 5.

The principal of the High School was Jacob L. McKowan, who had been selected on July 13th, previously, from more than thirty competitors, for the position. After much discussion his salary had been fixed at \$2,000 per annum. He had previously conducted a female seminary at Cooperstown, New York. Philotus Dean was chosen professor of natural sciences, W. W. Dickson professor of mathematics, and Miss Mary Maitland female assistant. Among many applicants the latter, who had previously taught in the Second Ward public school, passed the most satisfactory examination. To govern deportment the black mark system was adopted, forty being sufficient to warrant suspension. The High School hours extended from 8:45 a. m. to 2:15 p. m., with a few minutes for luncheon during the middle of the day.

The High School began its career under the most flattering circumstances. The attendance was large and enthusiastic. The parents and teachers were determined to make it successful, and nothing remained in the way of attaining this object except hard work and careful study of methods. In a short time the school was exceedingly prosperous and became the pride of the city. It is scarcely necessary to add that it has remained so down to the present day, with ever increasing attractions and ever expanding fields of usefulness. The principals of the High School have been as follows: Jacob L. McKowan, from 1855 to 1856; D. H. A. McLean, from 1856 to 1858; Philotus Dean, from 1858 to 1871; B. C. Jillson, from 1871 to 1880; C. B. Wood, from 1880 to —.

## CHAPTER XXII.

THE GREAT REBELLION—CHICAGO ZOUAVES—REMOVAL OF THE CANNON—INDIGNATION OF THE PEOPLE—MILITIA ORGANIZATIONS—RECEPTION TO MR. LINCOLN—FALL OF FORT SUMTER—INTENSE EXCITEMENT—THE CALL TO ARMS—VOLUNTEERING—PUBLIC MEETINGS—APPEALS OF ORATORS—FIRST COMPANIES TO TAKE THE FIELD—COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED—CONTINUED AND UNPRECEDENTED VOLUNTEERING—DEPARTURE OF OTHER COMMANDS—CAMP WILKINS—ACTS OF THE COMMITTEES—HOME GUARDS—CAMP WRIGHT—NEWS OF THE GREAT BATTLES—THE FIRST DEAD—MILITARY SUPPLIES—RECRUITING—EFFORTS TO FILL THE QUOTA—THE DRAFTS—DISLOYALTY—THE ENROLLMENT—EXPLOSION AT THE ARSENAL—INVASION OF GENERAL LEE—FORTIFYING THE CITY—WAR VESSELS—BOUNTY—RODMAN GUNS—MILITARY BONDS—OTHER DRAFTS—FEDERAL VICTORIES—GREAT REJOICING—SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE—DEATH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—SUMMARY OF TROOPS FURNISHED—SOLDIERS' MONUMENT—RELIEF FUNDS—SUBSISTENCE COMMITTEE—CHRISTIAN COMMISSION—SANITARY FAIR—RETURN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

Previous to the outbreak of the Rebellion several events of a quasi-military character occurred here, which should be considered as forming a part of the record of Allegheny County in that great conflict. The people, during the exciting presidential campaign of 1860, were fully alive to the vast importance of the issues pending, but none believed that severe measures would be resorted to by the South in case of defeat at the polls; nor had it occurred to anyone that the election of Mr. Lincoln meant secession and rebellion, though it became clear later that the leaders of the South had long premeditated such a momentous step. Even after the election of Mr. Lincoln was assured it was believed that although the advancement of slavery into the North, or into new territory, was at least checked, public affairs would resume their former tone and character.

On the 6th of August, 1860, the famous Chicago Zouaves, under Colonel Ellsworth, arrived here from Baltimore on their way to the West. They were given a splendid reception and escorted through the city by the Duquesne Grays, Jackson Blues, National Guards of Birmingham, Allegheny Rifles, Turner Rifles and Pennsylvania Zouaves, all under the command of Captain David Campbell. With drums beating and colors flying the companies marched through the streets, led by the Chicago Zouaves and followed by large and enthusiastic crowds. General Negley and Mayor Wilson were members of the reception committee. The following morning the Zouaves gave an exhibition drill at the Fair Grounds to an immense concourse of people, and astonished all by the wonderful precision of their movements. Captain R. B. Roberts, on behalf of the Duquesne Grays, presented Colonel Ellsworth with a magnificent sword, which had previously been the property of Captain P. N. Guthrie, who had served with distinction in the Mexican War. Captain Joseph Gerard, of the Pittsburg Zouaves, who had seen seven years of active service in the French army in Africa, complained of the discourtesy of Colonel Ellsworth in not con-

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Note.—Nearly all the material in this chapter was obtained from the files of the Gazette, Dispatch, Post and Commercial and from the Records of the Adjutant-General.

senting to a trial of skill between the two commands in the use of the musket and the sword.

The delight of the Republicans was great when it became known that Mr. Lincoln had been elected. "And now that the people have decided that Abraham Lincoln shall be our next President, let the insane howling about dissolving the Union of these States cease forever" (a). So many others said and thought. In November, 1860, a meeting was held here by the officers of the militia companies of the Allegheny County brigade, at which General J. S. Negley was indorsed for Adjutant-General of the State under the new administration. The Pennsylvania Infantry of East Liberty changed its name to the "Negley Zouaves," in honor of General Negley. Early in December J. E. Harris, a commercial traveler for B. A. Fahnestock & Co., of Pittsburg, was waited upon by a committee of citizens in New Orleans, where he was stopping, and after being rigorously catechised in regard to certain statements he had made concerning the election of Mr. Lincoln, was warned or advised to leave that city at once, which he did unceremoniously (b). On the 22d of December the news came that a convention in Charleston, South Carolina, had "adopted a declaration of independence." This was received with grave apprehensions; but not until it was learned that other States had gone out of the Union did the spirit of resistance to secession begin to flame up in loyal hearts. Among these were some who said, "Let them go!"

"More treason," said the *Dispatch* editorially. "It is not enough that we are to be sold out to the secessionists—the administration would bind us hand and foot, deprive us of arms and deliver us tied neck and heels to the traitors who would destroy the Union. It has already ordered 124 heavy guns from our Allegheny arsenal to the far South—not to defend the stars and stripes, for which our skillful mechanics made them, but to batter it down under the pirate flag of some Lone Star or Rattlesnake government. The order came a few days ago to ship on Wednesday, December 26th, the following guns: To Ship Island, near the Balize, mouth of the Mississippi, 21 ten-inch columbiads, 128-pounders; 21 eight-inch columbiads, 64-pounders; 4 iron guns, 32-pounders; to Newport, near Galveston Island, Texas, 23 ten-inch columbiads, 128-pounders; 48 eight-inch columbiads, 64-pounders; 7 iron guns, 32-pounders; in all 124 guns, one broadside of which would throw five tons of balls. To take these would strip us entirely of cannon and leave us disarmed, and (as far as cannon are concerned) at the mercy of traitors. For months the muskets have been sent to Southern points, where rebels have already seized them by the thousand. Shall Pennsylvania be disarmed and Charleston be allowed with impunity to seize on Federal arms with which to overthrow the Union? Will our people submit to this? Our citizens of all parties as a unit denounce the movement as treason, and prominent Democrats, leading Breckenridge men, have telegraphed to Washington to have the order revoked. If it is not done when treason endeavors to destroy the Union, while for two months yet in power, we owe a duty to the Nation, to the State of Pennsylvania and to ourselves, to prevent (by force if necessary) the transfer of these munitions of war, under color of law, to the enemies of the nation. . . . The people of Allegheny County should see that the cannon purchased by the National treasure are not conveyed to the far South; and they need not barricade Liberty and Penn streets to prevent it. Let them decide that no cannon shall be shipped till Charleston arsenal is in the possession of the Federal Government and Fort Moultrie reinforced, and *none will be*. . . . On applying for information to Major John Symington (of Maryland), in command at Allegheny Arsenal, he

(a) *Dispatch*, November 7, 1860.

(b) *Dispatch*, December 10, 1860.





politely declined giving us any information. . . . On inquiring in Lawrenceville we were informed that, for a week or more, Government wagons have been hauling muskets to the city, one of the employes stating that 10,000 muskets were shipped within a week, no doubt to be placed where traitors can obtain possession of them without a gun being fired. From another source we learn that small arms, cavalry equipments, balls and shells have been quite recently shipped by river to the South. The Government is even now hurrying up the completion of the enormous twelve-inch gun at the Fort Pitt Foundry, and hopes, doubtless, to have it South before the 4th of March. There are about 100 ten-inch cannon (128-pounders) at the arsenal, and orders are to ship forty-four of this size. General J. K. Moorhead, M. C., on hearing of these movements, at once telegraphed to Mr. Stanton, chairman of the military committee, House of Representatives, to make inquiry at the War Department on the subject. . . . Arrangements were making on Monday to haul some of these guns to the river. We suppose some one will tap the fire-bells on the route on their making their appearance on Penn or Liberty Street, that our people may witness their removal."

In the same issue (December 25th) the *Dispatch* said: "Our people are a unit in the sentiment that not a gun shall be shipped South," and in the next issue said, "The plain object of shipping guns South at this juncture is to put them in the hands of enemies of the United States, and it must not be permitted. . . . At present it is only necessary to prevent the transportation of these arms over three miles of land carriage, by interposing the bodies of citizens of the United States before the timber wheels engaged in the job. If Major Symington cannot get 124 guns hauled, they cannot be shipped and his responsibility ceases. We dissent from those who advise the guns be allowed to go to the wharf. If they go there they will be shipped to their destination."

The excitement in Pittsburg and Allegheny over the order to remove to the far South cannon from the arsenal was intense. The object of the Secretary of War was instantly perceived, and nearly all persons at first avowed that no guns should leave if force could prevent it. The subject was in everybody's mouth, and the streets were thronged with angry people. An informal meeting convened at the Mayor's office on the afternoon of the 25th, which was presided over by William Robinson, Jr. Remarks were made by the chairman, S. F. Von Bonnhorst, J. Herron Foster, Charles Shaler, Thomas Williams, W. M. Hersh and others. Messrs. Robinson and Williams were appointed to confer with the authorities at Washington on the impropriety of stripping the arsenal here of arms; and a committee consisting of Messrs. Wilson, Wilkins, Jackson, Patterson, McCandless and Hersh was appointed to ascertain the amount of war supplies that had been sent South within the preceding ninety days, and the quantity now ordered away, and to request the contractors for removing the cannon to suspend operations until the authorities at Washington had been conferred with. While this course was publicly taken, it was evident from the determination of the citizens that the removal of the cannon would scarcely be permitted in any event. A petition, signed by about fifty of the leading citizens, requested the Mayor to call a public meeting at the earliest possible date to consider the crisis.

The committee appointed to report on the quantity of ordnance here did so on December 26th. The officer in charge of the arsenal explained that the guns which had been ordered away had been prepared for two new forts on the Gulf of Mexico, and that the natural course of events required that they should be sent to their destination. The report was not satisfactory to the citizens as a whole. The majority were determined that the big guns should not be sent away. It had been ordered that they be taken to the wharf on Wednesday,

the 26th. This was delayed, but, unknown to most of the people, thirty heavy boxes of muskets and bayonets were sent on that day from the arsenal to the steamer "Key West," directed to Galveston, Texas. While it is true that Major Symington may not have deliberately attempted to deceive the citizens, yet every act of his hastened the removal of all sorts of arms to the South and pointed to that conclusion.

About 5,000 people answered the call for a meeting in the Supreme Court room on the 27th, to hear the committee's report. A dispatch was read which had been sent to the President and Secretary of War by Messrs. Wilkins, Shaler, Robinson and Williams, to the effect that if the order for removal was not countermanded they "would not be answerable for the consequences." As the crowd could not be accommodated in the building, an adjournment was taken to the Courthouse yard. Through some mistake, or intentionally, the assemblage was divided, part going to the City Hall, thence to the Market-house, and then back to the Courthouse, where the proceedings were resumed in the yard and on the street. From Diamond Alley to Fifth Street surged a dense crowd of determined humanity, anxious to learn what was to be done. General Moorhead spoke first and advised, through motives of public policy, against any interference with the removal of the guns. A letter was read from Major Symington denying the report that the boxes sent away on the 26th contained muskets. At this juncture a dispatch was received from Philadelphia to the effect that Fort Moultrie had been abandoned, the guns spiked and Captain Anderson had retreated to Fort Sumter. "The excitement in the crowd increased to such a pitch during the reading of the dispatch that the speaker's voice was inaudible to those in the rear" (c). Resolutions were adopted expressing surprise and indignation at the injustice of the order for the removal of the guns, deprecating any interference with the proposed shipment, and favoring a mild and conciliatory policy to allay excitement in the South. The resolutions passed without discussion "by a pretty unanimous vote." The meeting then adjourned, but the crowd lingered as if expecting to hear other speakers or see something happen. A dispatch from Robert McKnight counseled a non-resistant policy and the temporary abandonment of decisive measures.

On Friday, the 28th, five heavy cannon were hauled to the wharf to be sent South. While all opposed the removal, many had concluded it was wiser not to interfere with the shipment; and, although held in check, underneath was a fire which the so-called motives of policy could not quench (d). "If the President of the United States is determined to perform his sworn and constitutional, as well as his patriotic, duty of preserving the Union, he should at once place the departments in the hands of men who desire to save the Union" (e). The action of the meeting of December 28th temporarily allayed excitement, but the explanations were not generally accepted. The statements made, though since proven to have been false in every particular, were taken as an evidence that the Government was not acting in bad faith, and consequently no obstruction was offered to the passage of the guns through the city. On the following day a rumor became current that General Moorhead had received a dispatch from Washington, saying: "Don't let a gun leave the city." It was now known that the forts on the Gulf were not ready for the guns; neither were the gun carriages ready at the Watervliet factory. It was also denied that the big guns had been made for the two forts on the Gulf, because their dates of manufacture were stamped on them—some as far back as 1846, and on none of those at the wharf later than 1856. By the 31st twenty-five of the cannon had

(c) Dispatch, December 28, 1860.

(d) Dispatch, December 29, 1860.

(e) Post, Saturday, December 29, 1860.

been taken to the landing, five of which had already been put on board the steamboat "Silver Wave" (f).

A large meeting of "Wide-awakes," held in Allegheny on Saturday, December 30th, denounced the removal of the guns and pledged themselves as citizen soldiers to the defense of the country. Similar meetings were held elsewhere. Nearly all of the old militia companies continued to drill and to otherwise prepare themselves for military service. On January 3d a large meeting, held in Wilkins' Hall, recommended thorough military organization in all the wards, boroughs and townships of the county. The Allegheny Minute Men changed their name to the State Guard and elected new officers, R. P. McDowell being made captain.

On January 3d the news was received that the order of Secretary Floyd for the removal of the cannon had been countermanded. "A feeling of satisfaction was manifested on all hands, notwithstanding the lurking impression that the guns never would have left our wharf whether the order had been revoked or not. Our citizens have accomplished in a peaceable way all they desired, and it is to be hoped that the 'big guns' will not again be disturbed until there is a more urgent necessity for their removal" (g). . . . "The work of removing the guns from the steamer Silver Wave, which was to have conveyed them to the South, was commenced yesterday. The boat had received thirty-five of the seventy-eight which were to constitute her cargo. Two of those already on board were removed yesterday afternoon, preparatory to their return to the arsenal. The general joy was increased by the firing of cannon, which continued throughout the afternoon from a point on the Monongahela River above the bridge" (h).

The Jackson Independent Blues, on January 5, 1861, tendered their services to the Governor, if required in the country's defense. At a big meeting held January 8, 1861, in Lawrenceville, with Dr. James Robinson in the chair, resolutions were passed praising the conduct of Major Anderson in Charleston harbor, and expressing great satisfaction that the order for removing the cannon had been countermanded. The Pennsylvania Zouaves, Captain Gerard, also tendered their services to the Governor in the event of a rupture between the North and the South. An immense meeting of the workingmen was held in the City Hall January 11, 1861, for the purpose of declaring their fidelity to the Federal Union, Henry McCurry presiding. On motion of W. W. Alexander a committee consisting of W. H. Moody, W. C. Bradley, Edward Armstrong, William Hadfield and Fred Mulholland was appointed to prepare resolutions. W. W. Alexander delivered a strong speech on the crisis and was loudly applauded. Amid much confusion several gentlemen, not workingmen, attempted to speak, but were not recognized by the chairman. The meeting adjourned with cheers for the "Union," "National Flag," "Major Anderson," etc. Postley, Nelson & Co. were given an order in January, 1861, by a Baltimore house, for a large lot of rifle barrels, twenty-five to be delivered daily, the contract to continue for several months. So far as known, shipments were made until the fall of Fort Sumter. A twenty-five ton gun, named "Union," was cast at the Fort Pitt Foundry on January 22, 1861, under the superintendency of Colonel T. J. Rodman and Joseph Kaye, foreman of the works. Although smaller than one previously cast, it had a bore of twelve inches, and was estimated to throw a ball six miles. An artillery company, to be commanded by Captain J. D. McFarland, was organized in January, 1861.

A splendid reception was given to Mr. Lincoln, who passed through here

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(f) Dispatch, December 31, 1860.

(g) Gazette, January 4, 1861.

(h) Gazette, January 5, 1861.

on his way to Washington in February. The special train bearing the President-elect was due in Allegheny at 5:20 in the afternoon, but long before that hour an immense crowd gathered to welcome "Honest Old Abe," as he was familiarly called. An accident delayed the train, but the crowd still lingered, regardless of the fact that at 6 o'clock the rain began to fall heavily. From the depot to the St. Clair Street bridge, and even the bridge itself, was packed with humanity who were willing to brave the inclemency of the weather in order to see the man upon whom, it was believed, the perpetuation of the Union depended. At 8 o'clock, to the great joy of the crowd, the train arrived. The crush was so great that it was necessary for the military companies to clear the way and escort the President-elect from the train to his carriage. As soon as the tall form of Mr. Lincoln appeared tremendous cheering followed, interspersed with calls for a speech from hundreds of throats. In response to the demand, Mr. Lincoln arose in his carriage, and excused himself from an address at that time, but promised that the next morning he "would have a few words to say to them." The Pennsylvania Dragoons, Jackson Blues and Washington Infantry, all under the command of General J. S. Negley, then escorted Mr. Lincoln to the Monongahela House, where another immense crowd had assembled, and where Mr. Lincoln was again importuned for a speech. It was said that 10,000 people were assembled in and around the hotel upon his arrival. So great became the demand for a speech that Mr. Lincoln mounted a chair in the hall and delivered a short address, merely excusing himself until the next morning. This satisfied the people in the hall, but not those on the street, who also desired to see the great man, and continued to clamor for his appearance. He finally emerged upon the balcony and informed them that he would address the citizens of Pittsburg from that spot at 8 o'clock the next morning, his language being: "To-morrow morning I will address you in broad daylight, at half-past eight o'clock, from this balcony, when you will have an opportunity of seeing my handsome physiognomy." The morning of the next day was rainy and dismal, but a vast crowd assembled on the street to listen to the promised speech. Mayor Wilson delivered a short address of welcome and was followed by Mr. Lincoln in a speech of about fifteen minutes in length, which was constantly interrupted with cheers. He spoke of the distracted condition of the country, and said that he would do nothing, as President, in opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to the integrity of the Union, or would prove in any way inimical to the liberties of the people or peace of the whole country. He said that the crisis was an artificial one—that there was none except such as might be gotten up at any time by turbulent men, aided by designing politicians, and recommended that all people should keep cool. He referred to the important industries of Pennsylvania, particularly of Pittsburg, and declared that labor was the true standard of value. Immediately succeeding his speech he was escorted to the depot, where another large concourse of citizens had gathered to catch a glimpse of him and witness his departure. "The crowd in waiting was one unequaled for number and density. There was a solid mass of humanity about the depot almost impenetrable, and the enthusiasm exceeded anything we ever before witnessed. The rain had ceased to fall, and old and young, males and females, crowded around the depot by thousands" (h).

The organization known as the Allegheny Brigade was commanded by General J. S. Negley, and the companies composing it by Captains Vierheller, Boyce, McKee, Rowley, Snyder, Myers, Wilkinson, Gerard, Roberts, Gerst and Campbell. In those days all companies had special names, such as Pittsburg Blues, Pittsburg Zouaves, Aliquippa Riflemen, National Lancers, etc. Wash-

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(h) Gazette, February 16, 1861.



ington's birthday was celebrated with imposing ceremonies by all the above companies and an immense assemblage of citizens. In March the City Guards were organized under Captain T. J. Brereton. Three students in the Western Theological Seminary from Memphis and New Orleans seceded in February, 1861, giving as their reason for so doing "the want of conservative sentiment in Allegheny County" (i). President Lincoln's first inaugural was very favorably received by the citizens of this community. All were pleased with its firm tone and manifest spirit of fairness, and there was a general feeling of satisfaction that the disastrous administration of Buchanan was at an end.

"The news of the attack on Fort Sumter was received in this city about 10 o'clock last night and created the most feverish excitement. The public mind had so often met with disappointment in this particular that hundreds were slow to credit the rumors, but on receiving assurance of the reports the people upon the streets formed in knots, discussing the all-absorbing topic of the hour, while messengers were seen running hither and thither, keeping up communication with the various printing offices, the telegraph office and other sources of correct information. At the theater a large audience had assembled and between the acts a special dispatch was read, announcing the opening of hostilities by the secessionists, and the brave defense of Major Anderson and his little garrison. This elicited the wildest enthusiasm, the reader being interrupted by repeated bursts of applause. . . . Up till midnight hundreds of staid citizens were still on the alert, and at every corner, in every public place—barrooms, halls, offices, etc.—knots of men could be seen talking of the conflict, and showering the highest encomiums upon Major Anderson and his gallant band. The news of the passage of the War Bill, by the Pennsylvania Legislature, came at an opportune moment, and contributed no little to the general enthusiasm" (j).

On Saturday night, April 13th, the news was very contradictory and continued so on Sunday morning, but later in the day positive information came of the surrender of Fort Sumter, "and produced a painfully depressing effect upon all classes." Bulletins were issued by the leading newspapers and were eagerly scanned by anxious crowds. Even yet, thousands who did not want to believe the telegrams waited, hoping there was some mistake. Here and there were a few "madcaps" who sympathized with the secessionists and "chuckled quietly over the disgrace which robbery and treason had brought upon the flag of our glorious country" (k). Almost everybody agreed that the day for talking had gone by and the time for action had arrived. Complaints of the inaction of Mr. Lincoln had been frequent and in some instances bitter and denunciatory, while a feeling akin to resignation had taken possession of many. But now that the rebels had captured Fort Sumter, and the first shock of dismay had passed, the call of President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers aroused all classes to intense activity.

On the night of April 13th, when the first news was received of the attack on Fort Sumter, the Pittsburgh Zouaves assembled in their hall and voted unanimously to tender their services to the Governor. They promptly informed R. B. Roberts, captain of the company, who was absent, of their action, and received from him an unqualified indorsement. This was the first company here, after the attack on Fort Sumter, to tender its services to save the Union; but it was preceded by at least two other companies, which had been offered, in case of war, soon after the cannon were ordered removed South (l). It was remarkable that even as late as the 15th, and in the face of positive and detailed dispatches, that many would not believe Fort Sumter had actually surrendered.

(i) Gazette, March 2, 1861.

(j) Gazette, Saturday, April 13, 1861.

(k) Gazette, April 15, 1861.

(l) Vide supra.

The most absurd and exaggerated rumors concerning the action of Major Anderson were afloat. "At last, however, the fact had to be admitted that it (Fort Sumter) had fallen into the hands of the rebels. This general fact is all that is reliable; for the details respecting the fire in the fort, the damages done to the walls, and many other stories of the same kind are so manifestly absurd as to be entitled to no consideration. For authentic details we must wait for official and epistolary reports. In the meantime it is but just that judgment should be suspended upon the conduct of Major Anderson in yielding before a breach was made or a man killed" (m).

No sooner had the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter been confirmed than the whole community was up in arms. Preparations were made on the 15th to enroll and equip a large volunteer force in the cities and suburbs in response to the call for 75,000 men by the President. No such popular uprising had ever been seen here before. Business was practically suspended and extensive preparations for war occupied public attention. The Zouaves recruited all day Sunday in anticipation of the call for volunteers, and on Monday their services were tendered to the Governor. The Duquesne Grays also began recruiting, under Captain Campbell, with great energy, their services having been previously tendered. The Washington Infantry, under Captain T. A. Rowley, called for recruits and offered their services to the Governor. The Jackson Blues, who had tendered their services at the time the cannon were ordered removed, began rapidly to fill up their ranks. The Scott Legion under Captain O. H. P. Rippey, called for recruits, and Colonel William Trovillo began to form a company. Pittsburg firemen, under Captains G. W. Leonard and J. H. Stewart, formed two companies on Sunday and Monday. The Lafayette Blues and the State Guards, of Allegheny, proffered their services. In response to a telegram from Governor Curtin, General J. S. Negley left hurriedly for Harrisburg on Monday, and on the same day Captain David Campbell wired the Governor for an order to permit the volunteers of this vicinity to rendezvous at the arsenal. Acting with him to secure this privilege were Captains Rowley, Roberts and others.

An immense war meeting was held at the City Hall on Monday night, April 15th, which was one of the largest assemblages ever convened in the city, there being between 4,000 and 5,000 people crowded into the rooms. The venerable Judge Wilkins—a gentleman perhaps as old as the Constitution itself—was called from his retirement to preside. He delivered an ardent and eloquent speech, declaring that party distinctions must be buried in the ocean of patriotism, that all the people must rally to the support of the Government, that he had often supported those men in the South who had now embroiled the country in civil war, and that he no longer entertained a sentiment of respect for them. His speech had an electrical effect upon the pent-up patriotism of his audience and was followed by tremendous applause. John W. Riddle, James P. Barr, William Neeb, T. J. Bigham and James Park, Jr., constituted the committee on resolutions. The band played the "Star Spangled Banner" with thrilling effect, and Thomas M. Marshall was brought out by loud calls and delivered one of his vigorous, fiery and effective addresses. Judge Shannon followed in an eloquent and patriotic speech. Hon. A. W. Loomis' effort "was one of the ablest we have ever listened to." Dr. George L. McCook, Thomas J. Bigham, Robert McKnight, Dr. G. H. Keyser, Marshal Swartzwelder, E. D. Gazzam and William F. Johnston made brief, stirring speeches. The appointment of a committee of public safety, consisting of one hundred men whose duty it was announced would be "to keep a sharp lookout for traitors," was authorized.

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(m) Gazette, April 16, 1861.

During the evening several companies of recruits entered the hall with martial bands and flying colors, and the most unbounded enthusiasm prevailed. The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*Whereas*, The National Government is now seriously menaced by traitors in arms, who have defied its just authority, raised the standard of revolt, and by hostile acts of war disturbed the public tranquillity and endangered the public peace; and, *Whereas*, In an exigency like the present it is the duty of all loyal and patriotic American citizens, casting aside the trammels of party, to aid the constituted authorities in maintaining inviolate the supremacy of the constitution and the laws, therefore *Resolved*, By the people of Allegheny County in general mass meeting assembled, that we deem the present a fit occasion to renew our obligations of undying fealty to that Government and that Union which we have been taught to regard and revere as the palladium of our liberties at home and our honor abroad; and in their defense and support, by whomsoever assailed, we will endeavor to prove ourselves worthy sons of patriotic sires. . . . *Resolved*, That we specially approve of the course of the Legislature and executive branches of our State government, in promptly responding to the call of the President of the United States for men and means to sustain and protect the National Government at this crisis in its history, and that Allegheny County will contribute her full quota of both to vindicate its authority. . . . *Resolved*, That discarding all political or partisan considerations in this hour of our country's danger, we mutually pledge to each other as American citizens for the common defense, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honors. . . . *Resolved*, That a committee of one hundred citizens be appointed by the chair as a Committee of Public Safety to see that the patriot cause receives no detriment in this region, and to convene the people, whenever in their judgment such a step is necessary.

The Committee of Public Safety was announced on the 17th as follows:

William Wilkins,	J. H. Foster,	Wm. Caldwell,	E. P. Jones,
Chairman.	Charles McKnight,	Ed. Simpson,	P. C. Shannon,
Wm. J. Morrison,	William Neeb,	Dr. Jas. King,	E. D. Gazzam,
James P. Barr,	John D. Bailey,	John J. Dravo,	Geo. P. Hamilton,
Wm. F. Johnston,	John W. Riddell,	Jos. R. Hunter,	Thos. M. Marshall,
Dr. Geo. McCook,	James A. Sewell,	W. M. Hersh,	J. R. T. Nobb,
John Marshall,	William M. Lyon,	C. B. Bostwick,	Henry McCullough,
T. J. Bigham,	Thomas Bakewell,	Nat. Holmes, Jr.,	Jas. A. Hutchison,
Joseph Dilworth,	W. J. Howard,	Samuel Riddle,	Joshua Rhodes,
Charles Barnes,	Sol. Schoyer, Jr.,	John Scott,	James Verner,
David Fitzsimmons,	J. P. Pears,	Francis Sellers,	John N. Tiernan,
C. L. Magee,	R. Miller, Jr.,	D. S. Stewart,	Thomas S. Blair,
John Harper,	H. L. Ringwalt,	H. A. Weaver,	Samuel McKelvy,
Andrew Miller,	George W. Wilson,	R. H. Hartley,	John N. McClowry,
James Park, Jr.,	James Reese,	J. R. Murphy,	G. L. B. Fetterman,
C. H. Paulson,	J. W. Barker,	Geo. W. Irwin,	Max K. Moorhead,
Alexander Nimick,	R. H. Patterson,	John M. Irwin,	George W. Cass,
N. P. Fetterman,	W. K. Nimick,	Wm. C. Barr,	Walter H. Lowrie,
John D. Scully,	George Gallop,	Jas. Floyd,	Dr. S. Dilworth,
Dr. Geo. S. Hays,	A. Nicholson,	Alex. Moore,	David Irwin,
Benjamin Coursin,	David F. McKee,	Samuel Rodgers,	And. Burke,
John Mackin.	William Philips,	Alfred Slack,	Jas. R. Hartley,
A. G. Lloyd,	William M. Edgar,	Christian Zug,	W. G. McCartney,
John J. Muse,	Dr. L. Oldshue,	John Birmingham,	John Atwell,
W. Bagaley,	Dr. Geo. L. Mc-	John Wright,	M. I. Stewart,
T. M. Howe,	Cook,	John McDonald,	Robert B. Guthrie,

C. W. Ricketson,	Robert McElhern,	Wm. Barnhill, Jr.,	Hugh McAfee,
Joseph Kaye,	Frederick Collier,	William Owens,	Hugh Kane,
J. B. Poor,	Thos. B. Hamilton,	J. M. Brush,	Samuel Cameron,
T. S. Rowley,	Archib'd McBride,	Robert Morrow,	R. J. Grace,
James Herdman,	Andrew Fulton,	J. M. Killen,	Joseph Woodwell,
Andrew Scott,	William Simpson,	C. McGee,	John McDevitt,
S. H. Keller,	Alexander Hilands,	Col. Leopold Sahl,	James B. Murray,
David E. Bayard,	George A. Berry,	Dr. Wm. M. Sim-	James McAuley,
J. R. McClintock,	William Carr,	cox,	John Graham,
James Kelly,	James Benny, Jr.,	Alexander Speer,	Wm. Holmes,
James Salsbury,	J. B. Canfield,	Henry Hays,	Daniel Negley,
William Martin,	H. L. Bollman,	Adams Getty,	William Woods,
Wm. Robinson, Jr.	Wm. B. Holmes,	Edward Gregg,	Geo. H. Thurston,
William Bishop,	D. D. Bruce,	John Dunlap,	Edw. Campbell, Jr.
Harry Wainwright,	Will A. Lare,	John C. Dunn,	Wm. H. Smith,
Wm. H. McGee,	Robert Finney,	John Brown,	A. W. Loomis,
T. J. Gallagher,	Alex. L. Russell,	John E. Parke,	William Wade,
Thomas Steel,	N. P. Sawyer,	B. F. Jones,	J. P. Penny.
Russell Errett,	W. S. Lavelly,		

On Tuesday, the 16th, the excitement rose still higher and developed an unswerving determination to crush at once the hydra of rebellion. The greatest activity prevailed in the enlistment of volunteers. It was known on Wednesday that at least twelve companies in Pittsburg, three in Allegheny and four in the suburbs, were being rapidly formed. Those in Pittsburg were under Captains McKee, Campbell, Rowley, Rippey, Roberts, Gerard, McFarland, Conrad, Trovillo, Stewart, Leonard and a prominent fireman; those in Allegheny under Captains Vierheller, McDowell and Tyler. Besides the above companies which were already well organized there were nearly as many more being recruited. General William Robinson telegraphed from Washington that he would pay \$20 each to recruits for a company which Governor Curtin had promised to accept, to be commanded by Frank Robinson. A meeting of bank presidents tendered the Governor money for the service. War meetings were held day and night—almost continuously—in many parts of the cities and their suburbs. The hour of action had come, to the intense and unbounded relief of the public heart. Lectures delivered here at this time by Henry Ward Beecher contributed not a little to the manifestations of intense loyalty prevailing.

General Negley returned from Harrisburg on the 17th to organize the volunteers. Marching orders were given to the Duquesne Grays, under Captain Campbell; Jackson Blues, Captain McKee; Washington Infantry, Captain Rowley; Zouave Cadets, Captain Roberts; Allegheny Rifles, Captain Gang; Turner Rifles, Captain Amlung; State Guards, Lieutenant Dawson; Negley Zouaves, Captain Irvine; Pennsylvania Zouaves, Captain Gerard, and City Guards, Captain Brereton. The same evening the first troops departed by railroad for Harrisburg, consisting of the Turner Rifles, the State Guard and the Allegheny Light Guards, under Lieutenant Braun. Captain McFarland, of the Sixth Ward Artillery, was notified that artillery would not be accepted at present. A handsome sword was presented to Lieutenant Dawson of the State Guards on his departure. On the 17th a Welsh company was started, and the Fort Pitt Light Artillery was organized under Captain H. F. Rudd. An order of a New Orleans house on Phelps, Parke & Co., of Manchester, for army wagons was refused. A few secessionists who made disloyal statements here were forced to fly for their lives. The Committee of Public Safety was





fully organized on Thursday morning (the 18th) and William Wilkins was elected president. The firm of Shriver & Dilworth was called to account for having shipped 3,000 kegs of powder by river, but exonerated themselves by declaring that they had been sent to Nebraska. The return of the powder that had been shipped to Wellsville was a question of such delicacy that it was finally referred to the Secretary of War, who ordered it held there by the Mayor. Alexander Postley announced that an order on him from Nashville for two hundred barrels of gun-barrels would not be filled, which led Judge Wilkins to say: "Nothing contraband of war should go into the hands of traitors to be used against ourselves." Sub-committees on finance, home defense, relief and executive were appointed. The committee decided to organize a Home Guard of two regiments and to raise contributions for the support of the families of volunteers. William Wilkins, Thomas Bakewell and Thomas M. Howe were appointed a committee to prepare an address on the crisis to the people of Western Pennsylvania. P. R. and J. Hill tendered to the Committee of Public Safety the gratuitous use of two steam tugs and two barges. New companies were called for by Captains W. A. Charlton, William C. Gallagher, J. M. Knapp (in South Pittsburg) and others. At an immense meeting in Birmingham on the night of the 17th a committee of twenty citizens was appointed to raise funds and otherwise aid in forming military companies. Many business houses liberally contributed to the equipment of the volunteers. The captain of every company made repeated efforts, successful in the end, to have his command accepted for service. General James S. Negley was appointed a brigadier-general by Governor Curtin. On Thursday, the 18th, the Negley Zouaves under Captain Irvine, and a detachment of the Allegheny Light Guards, left for Harrisburg. Tenders of coal, provisions and other necessities were made to the committee by the leading business houses. On Friday an attempt was made to lynch an Irishman from New Orleans who had assisted in the assault on J. E. Harris in that city some time before; but after receiving rough treatment he was saved from the crowd by the police. The address on the crisis prepared by the special committee was written by Thomas Bakewell, and was an eloquent appeal to the patriotism of Western Pennsylvania. The Committee of Public Safety, "composed of the leading men of this vicinity, without regard to party," covered itself with glory by its rapid, effective and patriotic action to aid in the enlistment of men, in the care of their families and in quelling the rebellion.

Friday, the 19th, was a notably busy day. The Firemen's Legion, under Captain Stewart, was reported ready for marching orders, and enough men had enlisted in the Duquesne Grays and the Washington Infantry to form two companies each. Officers were presented with swords, and companies with flags, by the ladies. Troops from Ohio and other Western States began passing eastward through this city. The Wilkins Guard, under Captain D. H. Williams, were rapidly organizing, and it was reported that already two full regiments had been raised in this vicinity. At a largely attended meeting held in Allegheny in the evening it was decided to appoint a committee of five from each ward, whose duty should be about the same as that of the Committee of Public Safety in Pittsburg. Speeches were made by W. H. Moody, Thomas Farley, H. S. Fleming, Harvey Davis, Josiah King, Robert McKnight, Samuel Riddle and John Atwell. Mayor Simon Drum presided. Captain Hugh Fleming began to recruit a company in Allegheny. Captain J. C. Hull had just completed the organization of the Federal Guards there. The Duquesne Rifles, under Captain T. F. Wilson; the Fort Pitt Guards, under Captain Charlton; a company under Captain O. H. P. Blackman; the Iron City Guards, under Captain W. M. Gormly; the Lafayette Blues; a company under Captain Abijah

Ferguson; the West Pittsburg Guards, under Captain H. D. Whipple, and others were forming so rapidly that it was difficult, if not out of the question, to keep an account of them. Eighty-four ladies of this vicinity notified ex-Governor W. F. Johnston, chairman of the Executive Committee, of their readiness to take the field if needed, to care for the sick, make bandages, supply lint, etc.

On Saturday afternoon, April 20th, tremendous excitement was caused by the report that a large quantity of war material destined for the South was in cars at the Pennsylvania depot, in charge of Adams Express Company. The report spread like wildfire and a great crowd collected at the depot. Order having been restored by the Mayor and troops, it was determined to search the cars. Large quantities of blankets, shirts, shirting, army cloth, gloves, cap fronts, zouave cloth, "muzzle guards," etc., were found and conveyed to the Mayor's office, where they were turned over to the Safety Committee.

Orders were issued by General Negley that on Sunday, April 21st, the volunteer companies which had been accepted would start for the East. It was a bright and beautiful day, and thousands of people assembled to witness their departure. At an early hour the city was astir with columns of armed men, marching hither and thither, with colors flying and drums beating. The Pittsburg Invincibles, under Captain Trovillo; Allegheny Rifles, under Captain Gang (second detachment); Jackson Guards, from Ohio; Scott Legion, Captain Rippey; Brady Alpines, Captain Sirwell (Kittanning); Pennsylvania Zouaves, Captain Gerard (second detachment); Allegheny Light Guards, Captain Robinson (second detachment); Shield Guards, Captain Gallaher, and Aliquippa Guards, Captain Snyder (McKeesport), numbering in all between 800 and 900 men, embarked for Harrisburg. Many ladies were present to bid good-bye to their loved ones, and many affecting scenes at parting were witnessed. Many swords, revolvers and flags had been duly presented before their departure.

The Negley Zouaves became Company I of the Third Regiment; the State Guards, Company A of the Fifth; Turner Rifles, Company B of the Fifth; Aliquippa Guards, Company K of the Fifth; Scott Legion, Company A of the Seventh; Allegheny Rifles, Company B of the Seventh; Allegheny Light Guards, Company E of the Seventh; Pennsylvania Zouaves, Company F of the Seventh; Pittsburg Invincibles, Company K of the Seventh; all in the three months' service, and all mustered in from the 20th to the 22d of April. R. P. McDowell was elected colonel of the Fifth, and Oliver H. P. Rippey lieutenant-colonel, and F. P. Robinson major of the Seventh.

The offer of the Fort Pitt Iron Works to furnish the Committee on Home Defense six eight-inch columbiads and ten nine-inch Dahlgrens was accepted. An armory for home defense was projected at this time and strongly urged upon Congress. On the 22d, 1,200 stands of arms for the second regiment to leave here were obtained from the arsenal under orders from Governor Curtin and stored in the City Hall, to be distributed to the companies previous to their departure. The Committee of Public Safety, on April 23d, authorized the purchase of 3,000 stands of arms for home defense, and the banks of the city were requested to place at the disposal of the committee the sum of \$25,000 to pay for them. On the day following they agreed to make it \$30,000. Sixteen field pieces had already been presented to the committee by Knapp, Rudd & Co. On the 23d, twenty-six hogsheads of bacon, destined for Baltimore, and thirty or forty boxes of goods, destined for other Southern ports, were seized and held by the committee.

Early on the morning of the 24th of April the second regiment, consisting of eleven companies, assembled on the East Common in Allegheny, preparatory to their departure eastward, where it was greeted by a great crowd of enthusiastic citizens. From here the regiment moved through a drenching

rain to the residence of William Bagaley, where a beautiful flag was presented to the Zouave Cadets, Robert McKnight making the presentation speech on behalf of Mrs. Bagaley and other ladies of Allegheny. The companies leaving were as follows: Jackson Blues, Captain McKee; Duquesne Grays, Captain Kennedy; Washington Infantry, Captain Morris; Zouave Cadets, Captain Roberts; Firemen's Legion, Captain Stewart; Washington Invincibles, Captain McGuffin; Lawrence Guards, Captain Leasure; Washington Infantry (Company B), Captain McFarland; Fort Pitt Guards, Captain Charlton; Union Guards, Captain Tomlinson; Union Cadets, Captain Patterson; Butler Blues, Captain Purviance; and Monongahela Artillery, Captain Cooper, the last six being under the command of Major Rowley, late captain of the Washington Infantry. The City Guards, under Captain Hays, were permitted to remain until the 25th, and Company B of the Duquesne Grays until the 26th. With this large body of troops, consisting of about 1,200 men, General Negley and staff took the train for the East. The scene at the depot upon the departure of these volunteers was most affecting. Many men could not restrain their tears, while among the ladies there were few dry eyes. All realized that the brave fellows were not embarked on a fool's errand—that in a short time many would die of disease or wounds, or be killed in battle, for the preservation of the Union. "A denser mass of human beings, perhaps, never concentrated in this city. The trains moved off at 11:20, followed by the shouts of the assembled thousands, and the prayers and benedictions of many a father, mother, brother and sister. It was a scene long to be remembered by our citizens, and will only be equaled by that which we fondly hope to see—the safe return of our gallant volunteers" (n).

Thus, in eleven days, from Sunday, April 14th, to Wednesday, April 24th, inclusive, nearly two thousand volunteers of Allegheny County had been recruited, organized and sent forward ready for battle. This is a remarkable showing, and should for all time redound to the honor and glory of this community. Nor was this all, for enough companies to form at least two more regiments were either wholly formed and organized, or were in process of formation, to be used either as a home guard or as a new corps for the field. The citizens—men and women of all parties—were terribly in earnest.

The Jackson Blues became Company A; Duquesne Grays, Company B; Firemen's Legion, Company C, and Union Guards, Company D. Company I, under Captain Tanner, and Company K, under Captain Denny, were added to the regiment on the 25th. David Campbell was elected colonel of the regiment and Alexander Hay major. The companies of Captains Morris, Patterson, Charlton and McFarland became A, B, E and F of the Thirteenth Regiment, three months' service. After the departure of the second regiment and the battalion under Major Rowley, recruiting still continued with great energy. The military ardor did not seem to have abated in the slightest degree, for companies and bands continued to parade the streets. Colonel Hiram Hultz was left in charge of the recruiting service here, after the departure of General Negley with the second regiment. The Federal Guards under Captain Hull; Pennsylvania Life Guards, Captain J. L. Williams; Allegheny Rangers, Captain H. S. Fleming; First Ward Guard (Allegheny), Captain F. Hambright; Peebles Township Company, Captain J. G. Martin; Benton Guards, Captain G. W. Leonard; Fifth Ward Company (Pittsburg), Captain J. C. Negley; Friend Rifle Guards, Captain E. S. Ward; Union Guards (McKeesport), Captain J. McK. Snodgrass; Pitt Township Guards, under Captains W. H. Smith and W. M. Brown; Lawrenceville Union Guards, Cap-

(n) Gazette, April 25, 1861.

tain John D. Herron; Iron City Guards, Captain W. M. Gormly; Pennsylvania Home Guards (Allegheny), Captain W. W. Ball; Pennsylvania Rover Guards (Birmingham); Anderson Guards, Captain W. A. Anderson; City Guards (a second company), Captain C. F. Jackson; Turtle Creek Guards, Captain Kunkel; Connellsville Guards, Captain Murkel; Pennsylvania Central Guards, Captain W. W. Wills; Second Ward Rifles (Allegheny), Captain Robert Lee, and others were in various stages of formation by the 26th of April. Astonishing as it may seem, no less than twenty-six companies, representing an aggregate force of 2,000 men, reported themselves to the Committee of Public Safety on April 26th, as follows: Government Guards, Captain Robert Anderson; Fayette Guards, Captain Oliphant (Uniontown); Chartiers Valley Guards, Captain Barnes; Pittsburg Rifles, Captain Smith; Pennsylvania Rover Guards, Captain Duncan; City Guards (Company B), Captain Jackson; Lafayette Blues, Captain Wilkinson; Highland Grenadier Guard, Captain Chester; Anderson Guards, Captain W. A. Anderson; Plummer Guards, Captain A. Hay; Denny Guards, Captain Mackrell; Minute Riflemen (Pine Township), Captain Gibson; Allegheny Rangers, Captain H. S. Fleming; Independent Rangers, Captain J. T. McCombs; Anderson Cadets, Captain G. S. Hays; Pennsylvania Life Guards, Captain Williamson; Jefferson Riflemen, Captain Johnson; Pittsburg Artillery, Captain D. C. Kamnere; National Guards (Company B), Captain B. W. Leonard; Montgomery Guards, Captain M. Brennan; Anderson Infantry, Captain Scott; National Guards (Company A), Captain H. Hultz; Irish Volunteers, Captain Hull. With the exception of the Fayette Guards all of these companies were recruited in Allegheny County. These companies were not home guards, but were enlisted for the field, so it was reported. About this time orders were received to close the military bureau here for the time being, though this seems either to have been countermanded or disregarded for recruiting continued as briskly as ever, and companies of Home Guards continued to be formed. More goods destined for the South were seized as contraband of war by the committee about April 26th.

On April 27th Governor Curtin directed that a military camp be established here. The Fair Grounds were selected and named Camp Wilkins, in honor of Judge William Wilkins. After the 25th, continuing for some time, Christians of all denominations met every morning at 9 o'clock to pray for the country and the Union soldiers. The sub-committees of the Committee of Public Safety effected thorough organization in all parts of the county. Colonel P. Jarret was the first commander at Camp Wilkins, but was succeeded by Colonel John W. McLane, of Erie, about April 28th. Several ministers left to become chaplains in the army. On April 30th orders were received that only six more companies would be accepted from this county under the requisition of the Government, which created great excitement. Forty-five companies were represented in whole or in part at a public meeting held in Wilkins' Hall, where the order was discussed at length, many favoring disbandment to give remote counties of the State a chance to furnish their just proportion of troops instead of taking so many from this county. Disbandment was postponed, however, until the six companies had been accepted. The sending home of 2,500 volunteers was greatly deplored. It was proposed by some to establish an independent camp, but it was argued that the city could not stand the expense of \$5,000 per week, which this project would entail. This proposal shows how determined the volunteers were to get into service. On May 1st the "lucky six" companies, chosen from a large number already organized, were those of Captains Duncan, Hardtmeyer, Barnes, Smith, G. S. Hays and Gormly. The others were sorely disappointed, but, as they received orders not to disband, they were still hopeful, and most of their organizations were preserved, though



a few disbanded. Recruiting thus received a severe check after this county had raised not less than 4,000 volunteers in about two weeks. Had not the order been given there is no telling when the county would have stopped enlisting men. Camp Wilkins was formally opened May 2d, and seventy companies of Home Guards were reported organized, to which arms were furnished as fast as possible. In order to prevent the passage of contraband goods through this city the owners of steamers were required by the committee to furnish manifests of their cargoes. The County Reform Bill became a law and went into effect May 1st.

The unaccepted companies organized themselves into a regiment May 4th, and elected Alexander Hay colonel, and styled themselves the Cameron Guards. The captains were Leonard, Williams, Gibson, Scanlon, Braun, Ferguson, Brison, Johnston, Hay, Scott, Hull and Chester. On May 7th there were twenty companies in Camp Wilkins. A large crowd, at the head of which was the Mayor and the leading citizens, formally received Major Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, at one o'clock on the morning of May 16th, at the depot, where he delivered a short speech and exhibited himself to the cheering assemblage. On May 17th the companies in Camp Wilkins numbered twenty-six, the Erie Regiment constituting a portion. About the middle of May the independent companies here, which would not disband, were organized into two regiments, under Colonels W. F. Johnston and T. J. Brereton. The First contained the companies of Captains W. F. Johnston, Daniel Fitzsimmons, Walter Kattee, T. B. Hamilton, J. Britton, S. M. Wickersham, C. W. Moore, B. C. Sawyer and W. H. Barker; the Second those of Captains B. F. Reed, S. L. Fullwood, James L. Bennett, James Bittell, Frederick Hambright, John W. Straub, C. R. Leonhauser, F. H. Collier and James White. Under the new loan bill fifteen new regiments for State service were called for, under which eight companies were assigned as the quota of Allegheny County. The unorganized companies in Camp Wilkins were organized into two battalions of eight companies each about May 10th, with L. W. Smith colonel of one, and George S. Hays colonel of the other. About this time the Government contracted with Knapp, Wade & Co., of Pittsburg, for a large amount of rifled cannon, shot and shell.

On May 20th the unaccepted companies, to the number of thirteen (two days later, nineteen), resolved to tender their services directly to the Secretary of War; and it was further resolved at the same meeting to tender to the Government a brigade of from three to five regiments from this district. It was claimed at the time that Allegheny County had furnished more than her just proportion of volunteers under the several calls. Several hundred disappointed men from this locality went to Camp Wheeling about the middle of May, hoping to be able to get into the service there. The great "Union" gun, sixteen feet long, weighing twenty-six tons, was finished about this time by Knapp, Wade & Co. Owing to reports that the war was likely to be carried into Western Virginia, the Home Guard of this county perfected its organization late in May. The officers elected were William Wilkins, brigadier-general; W. F. Johnston, colonel; G. W. Cass, lieutenant-colonel; Dr. R. B. Simpson, major. There had been distributed here to the Home Guards by May 21st nearly 5,000 muskets and about 2,000 approved rifles. Each afternoon visitors were admitted to Camp Wilkins to see the soldiers drill. The Home Guards were divided into four regiments; the First, with companies commanded by Captains Gazzam, Volz, Sweitzer, Williams, O'Hara, Holmes, Brown, Boyd, Glass and Jones; Second—Captains Negley, McClintock, Gangwish, Felix, Hunter, Kopp, McCandless, Langdon, Neckerman and Jones; Third—Captains Cosgrove, Brown, W. H. Smith, William Smith, Miller, Baldrige, Shaw, Berringer, Hampton



and Finney; Fourth—Captains Duff, Cunningham, Dressel, Nusser, Knapp, Whipple, Harper, McCabe and Espey. Another regiment was formed later.

May 24th a committee consisting of George W. Cass, Mayor Wilson, James H. Sewell and James P. Barr left here for Washington, instructed to use all the influence in their power to have at least five additional regiments accepted from Western Pennsylvania. Two companies, under Captains Glass and Braun, were accepted by Sickles' Brigade, New York, about May 28th. Early in June Colonel Samuel W. Black, ex-Governor of Nebraska, returned to this city to reside and practice his profession. He at once became prominent in military circles. He called for a company, which was filled to overflowing in a short time. He then recruited a regiment. About May 25th General McCall arrived with orders either to change the location of Camp Wilkins or to select a site for a new camp. He chose a site at Hulton, which it was intended should be called Camp McCall, but on June 4th it was named Camp Wright, in honor of John A. Wright, an aid to Governor Curtin. By June 6th the Home Guard numbered eight regiments—two of rifles and six of heavy infantry, under Colonels Johnston, Negley, McCabe, Phillips, Brereton, Berringer, Smith and Stewart. Many columbiads and mortars manufactured at Fort Pitt Foundry were proved at the grounds near Tarentum early in June.

Much excitement was caused at the camp on June 13th by orders for the Erie Regiment to prepare to move. It was ascertained that none of the companies of that regiment could present a full muster for the three years' service, and so it was reasoned that several Pittsburg companies would be required to supply the deficiency. The report proved to be erroneous. Several clothing merchants of this city, to whom an order for army cloth, to the amount of about \$22,000, had been given by the State, were indicted for fraud by the grand jury in June, 1861. The case against them hung for many months, and resulted in the acquittal of some and the disappearance of the others. In June each of two manufacturing firms here—Phelps, Parke & Co. and Aeschelman—received orders for 500 wagons, to be furnished the Government. In the two camps here on June 18, 1861, there were thirty-nine companies, with an aggregate of about 3,000 men. By June 23d eighteen companies at Camp Wright had been sworn into the three years' service. On June 28th General McCall organized two regiments at Camp Wright—the Eighth and Ninth—the former commanded by Colonel G. S. Hays and the latter by Colonel C. F. Jackson, and on July 2d another regiment, commanded by Colonel T. F. Gallagher, was organized. The regiment under Colonel G. S. Hays became the Thirty-seventh (Eighth Reserve), and in it were three Allegheny companies, commanded by Captains R. E. Johnston (B), George S. Gallupe (C, formerly commanded by George S. Hays), E. P. Shoenberger (E, first under John W. Duncan). The regiment under Colonel Conrad F. Jackson became the Thirty-eighth (Ninth Reserve), and contained eight companies from this county: A, under Captain L. W. Smith; B, Captain Hardtmeyer; C, Captain J. T. Shannon; D, Captain Robert Galway; E, Captain Charles Barnes; G, Captain J. B. Brookbank; I, Captain William Lynch, and K, Captain H. S. Fleming. The regiment under Colonel John S. McCalmont became the Thirty-ninth (Tenth Reserve), and contained very few men from Allegheny County. The regiment under Colonel J. F. Gallagher became the Fortieth (Eleventh Reserve). It contained a few men from this county.

The Fourth of July was celebrated by a grand parade of the Home Guards, in which sixty companies participated, and in the camps by special drills of the troops. Large quantities of clothing and numbers of guns were distributed to the soldiers in Camp Wright shortly after their demonstrations, which appeared to have greatly aroused the military spirit. By July 16th Colonel Black's

regiment was full and ready for marching orders. On the same day the regiment under Colonel McCalmont was ordered to Virginia. On Saturday, the 20th, the Erie Regiment left for home, and Colonel C. F. Jackson assumed command of Camp Wright. The day following Colonel G. S. Hays' regiment left by train; Colonel Black's regiment was ordered to the front on the 24th, and Colonel C. F. Jackson's and Colonel T. R. Gallaher's left for the East. Colonel Black's regiment became the Sixty-second, and in it were seven full companies from this county: A, under Captain James C. Hull; B, Captain J. W. Patterson; F, Captain E. S. Wright; G, Captain F. C. O'Brien; H, Captain Thomas Espey; K, Captain A. W. McDowell, and L, Captain S. R. Holmes. The regimental officers were Colonel Samuel W. Black, Lieutenant-Colonel T. F. Lehman, Major J. B. Sweitzer. General John C. Fremont was given a splendid welcome upon his arrival here on July 23d, and General McClellan, who arrived the following day, was even more warmly received.

In view of the startling reports of the disaster at Bull Run, a public meeting was held at the City Hall on July 23d, in response to a call of leading citizens. S. F. Von Bonnhorst was made president. Dr. George McCook, Colonel S. W. Black, Rev. Dr. Campbell, Thomas M. Marshall, Thomas J. Bigham and others made strong speeches in favor of outfitting and putting into the field the largest possible number of men from this county. All now began to see the magnitude of the rebellion, and the news of the terrible disaster created intense excitement.

Late in July the regiments which had served in the three months' service were mustered out, but many of them reenlisted. The Seventh and Thirteenth returned, and as they marched through the streets they were followed by immense crowds and enthusiastically cheered. Many began to make arrangements at once to reenter the service. Patriotism did not falter, but grew stronger day by day. Toward the close of the month Colonel Alexander Hay was authorized to recruit a regiment, Colonel T. A. Rowley was already actively engaged in raising one, and Colonel O. H. P. Rippey was fast filling another. On the 31st the Twelfth Regiment (Colonel Campbell) arrived and was joyously received. The Scott Legion (No. 2), commanded by Colonel S. W. Black, consisting of eight companies, left for the East August 3d. General James S. Negley was authorized to raise two regiments, and began recruiting at once.

By the middle of August no less than twenty-six lawyers of Allegheny County had enlisted in the army, as follows: Colonel R. B. Roberts, Colonel Samuel W. Black, Lieutenant-Colonel O. H. P. Rippey, Lieutenant-Colonel S. D. Oliphant, Major J. B. Sweitzer, Major S. A. Purviance, Major W. B. Negley, Captain Alexander Johnston, Lieutenant Thomas Williams, Captain J. A. Lowrie, Captain C. T. Ewing, Lieutenant E. H. Ludington, Lieutenant W. H. Patterson, Lieutenant J. Herron Foster, Lieutenant R. L. Coltart, Lieutenant James McGregor, J. W. Flenniken, L. B. Duff, A. P. Morrison, William Shields, C. McC. Hays, L. Brackenridge, C. C. Taylor, C. W. McHenry, J. S. Franklin and James Sutherland.

On the 19th a peremptory order came from the Secretary of War directing that all available troops be sent to the front at once, which created intense excitement. The recruiting was hastened to the utmost limit. Colonel Rowley left on the 21st with over 500 men, together with several small detachments. At a meeting of the Home Guards it was ascertained that seventeen companies were ready to enter the service for thirty or sixty days. Governor Curtin issued a proclamation urging the three months' men to reenlist, and providing for the formation of new regiments. The Home Guards believed they would be called upon to enter Western Virginia on a short campaign, and within forty-eight hours after being called upon thirty companies were reported ready for such service. By the 22d about 300 men for Colonel Hay's regiment had

enlisted. The Fort Pitt Foundry at this time was turning out large numbers of heavy cannon and mortars for the Government. Recruiting was very brisk, the stirring fife and rattling drum being heard from early dawn till midnight. Several hundred men raised by Captains Foster, Coleman, McIlwaine, Wallace and Lewis, and nearly all the cavalry companies in Camp Wilkins, including those of Captains Patterson, Sahl, Vierheller, Herron and others, left for the East on the 26th, amidst the huzzas of immense crowds and with the well wishes of all.

In the Forty-fourth Regiment (First Cavalry) was part of a company (K) from Allegheny County, under Captain William Boyce. In the Forty-sixth Regiment were the companies (B and F) commanded by Captains W. T. Foulk and B. W. Morgan, raised in this county in August. In the Sixtieth Regiment (Third Cavalry) was the Pittsburg Company G, commanded by Captain O. G. Robinson. The regiment of Colonel O. H. P. Rippey became the Sixty-first and was organized at Camp Copeland. It first contained five companies from this county, as follows: B, Captain Lewis Redenback; C, Captain G. W. Dawson; E, Captain Alexander Hay; F, Captain Isaac Wright, and K, Captain Joseph Gerard. In February and March, 1865, three more companies were added: H (No. 2), Captain H. K. Tyler; I (No. 2), Captain Isaac Wright, and K (No. 2), Captain Henry Scriba. The regiment under Colonel Alexander Hay became the Sixty-third and was raised in August and September. The Allegheny County companies were: A, Captain J. M. C. Berringer; B, Captain W. S. Kirkwood; C, Captain J. R. Hanna; D, Captain H. O. Ormsby; E, Captain John A. Danks; part of G: H, Captain Maurice Wallace; I, Captain J. F. Ryan, and K, Captain C. W. Chapman. On September 7th several hundred men in companies not wholly completed left for the seat of war; they were commanded by Captains Foulk, Gallaher, Wright and Lowe. Two days later Captain Gerard left with a squad of recruits. Many men were being enlisted for three years, or the war, by Captains McGill, Wigham and others.

A steamboat in process of construction here, upon which \$5,000 had been spent by its owner, John Bell, of Tennessee, was confiscated by Marshal Murdoch, of the Western District of Pennsylvania, under the Confiscation Act of Congress. Large numbers of troops from the West passed through the city during August and September, en route for Washington. A lady from Louisiana, visiting in Allegheny, with a little slave girl, was waited upon by officers, and finding that she would not be permitted to take the child back South, as she had intended, unwillingly set her free. Large orders came from the Government for clothing, gun carriages, wagons, ambulances, guns, ammunition, etc. Captain Fullwood's company was fully recruited by September 15th, Captain Morgan's left for the front, and Captain Chalfant was busy recruiting another. Charles Knapp, of the Fort Pitt Works, presented a battery of four rifled guns to Colonel Geary's regiment. The arms which had been distributed to the Home Guards were ordered returned to Harrisburg.

The German regiment, under Colonel Schimmelfennig, numbering 700 men, left for Philadelphia by special train on September 19th. Headed by Young's brass band it paraded the streets just before its departure, and a large crowd gathered at the depot to see the boys off. Lieutenant Knapp of Colonel Geary's regiment began recruiting, and the company raised by Captain McGill left to join him. Colonel Hultz's regiment now numbered over 600 men. Captain Fullwood's company left for Washington, Pennsylvania, on the 23d inst.

Early in October the company raised by Captain R. H. Long was nearly full; so was another commanded by Captain Frank Van Gorder. Four companies of Colonel Hambright's regiment arrived and took up quarters at Camp Wilkins, where the remainder of the regiment was ordered to rendezvous.

General Negley's brigade also took up quarters there, and again that camp became the center of attraction. It was thought that these troops would be sent to Missouri as soon as they could be furnished with necessary supplies. A little later a regiment from Camp Orr, Kittanning, arrived and took up quarters at Camp Wilkins.

About this time the Knights of the Golden Circle began to annoy the friends of the Union in this section, and the feeling against the organization became very bitter.

A beautiful flag was presented to Negley's Brigade October 15th. On the 17th Governor Curtin, accompanied by a military staff, presented to each of the regiments of this brigade a beautiful stand of colors. The occasion was made memorable by the presence of the Governor, many prominent officers and a brigade, consisting of the regiments of Colonels Hambright, Stambough and Sirwell. The presentation took place on West Common, Allegheny. A patriotic and eloquent address was delivered by the Governor to the brigade, and the flags were duly presented. The brigade mustered about 3,000 men, fully armed and equipped, and five steamers were required to carry it down the river to join the army being organized in Kentucky. Early in November a public meeting was held, at which \$500 was subscribed toward raising an Irish company for the famous Meagher's Brigade of New York. Speeches were made by James McAuley, P. C. Shannon, Colonel Dunn and Captain P. Kane, the latter of whom was expected to become its commander. It was even thought possible to organize an Irish brigade here, but the efforts were unsuccessful. Many large guns were turned out of the Fort Pitt Works in November and December, 1861, and tested at "Bangtown."

In the Sixty-fourth Regiment (Fourth Cavalry), commanded by Colonel David Campbell, were companies B, F and G, under Captains Young, Herron and Blood respectively. In the Sixty-fifth (Fifth Cavalry) were two companies from this county, L and M, commanded by Captains Hagameister and Faith. The regiment under Colonel Alexander Von Schimmelfennig became the Seventy-fourth, and had been raised here in a few weeks under a committee of German citizens and others, at the head of which were I. I. Siebeneck, Joseph Abel, Joseph G. Siebeneck and Charles McKnight. Three companies, B under Captain Wilson, I under Captain Hamm, and K (partly) under Captain Von Mitzel, were from this county. The companies under Captains Rose, Robinson and Hambright joined Negley's Brigade; under Captain Scanlon, the Seventh Cavalry; Captain Kopp, the Eighty-second. The companies of Captains Chalfant (E) and Bowers (I), and part of A and G of the One Hundredth and First Regiment, were raised in this county late in 1861 and early in 1862. The One Hundred and Second Regiment, under Colonel Thomas A. Rowley, was raised here in August and September, 1861. In it were the Allegheny County companies under Captains J. Herron Foster (A), Thomas H. Duff (B), Andrew Large (C), W. C. Enright (D), J. W. Patterson (E), William Meliwaine (F), J. H. Coleman (G), Thomas McLaughlin (H, partly), O. M. Loomis (I), Hemlet Lowe (K), J. D. McFarland (L), and S. L. Fullwood (M). In the One Hundred and Third Regiment, under Colonel T. F. Lehman, were four companies, C, F, I and K, either wholly or partly from this county, commanded by Captains Townsend, Maxwell and Adams.

In February, 1862, Mr. Knapp, of the firm of Knapp & Wade, informed the armory committee of the lower house of Congress that their capacity was 1,000 columbiads of the largest size, and 100 Rodman twenty-inch guns, per annum. This was an agreeable surprise to the committee.

The Union victories at Roanoke Island, Elizabeth City, Edenton, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson caused great rejoicing here; so much so that on



February 17th the Mayor, B. C. Sawyer, directed that on the 22d, Washington's birthday, 100 guns should be fired to celebrate these successes. The people had not been stirred to such a pitch of excitement since the battle of Bull Run, but the fever now was of an altogether different variety. As the news spread like a wave from the heart of the city to the suburbs, the excitement grew wilder, and flags were hoisted wherever the stars and stripes were to be had. A tender of boats, physicians and nurses was made by the citizens to General Halleck for hospital services wherever needed. The celebration of the 22d was an extraordinary affair—a spontaneous outpouring of joy and thanksgiving for the glorious victories of the Union army and navy. The entire population turned out, regardless of the muddy condition of the thoroughfares, while flags floated from every building. The public schools and churches all united in the general joy. At 2 o'clock p. m. the big guns on Seminary and Boyd's hills began to voice in thunderous tones the hallelujahs of the people. In all the public halls speeches were delivered and songs sung. Washington's farewell address was read at several of the meetings with excellent effect. The best and most eloquent speakers in the two cities were called upon and were not backward in helping to kindle anew the fires of loyalty. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated, and the bells, great and small, rang out jubilantly. A shouting torchlight procession paraded the streets, adding to the intense enthusiasm while the steamboats on the rivers resembled floating palaces of color and light. Gratitude to God for victories won filled every heart.

From February 1 to April 10, 1862, a total of 155 recruits were raised in this vicinity for the various regiments then in the field. Little else of importance occurred here during that period, except the splendid achievements of the Subsistence Committee.

At a large meeting held at the St. Charles Hotel on May 26, 1862, Colonel R. P. McDowell chairman, it was announced that efforts would be made at once to enlist a new regiment in this county, to be under the command of Colonel S. M. Wickersham. It was charged that had not the Home Guards been sneered out of existence by those who never had intended to go to the war, the county would now be in excellent shape to place a full regiment in the field at once. The sad news came about June 1st that Colonel O. H. P. Rippey and Captain Gerard had been killed in Virginia. About a month later came the news of the death of Colonel Samuel W. Black, shot through the head and mortally wounded in the terrible battle of Gaines' Mills. Many other Pittsburghers in his regiment, the Sixty-second, lost their lives in the same engagement.

Under the call of the President, in July, 1862, for 300,000 men, the quota of Allegheny County was fixed at fifteen companies, and the citizens determined that volunteers should be raised, and, if possible, a draft be avoided. A mass meeting, held on West Common, July 24th, was one of the largest and most imposing demonstrations ever witnessed in Allegheny County. Governor Curtin was present, and all the leading citizens took prominent part in the proceedings. William Wilkins presided, with Thomas M. Howe as chairman of the committee of arrangements. Judge Wilkins delivered an eloquent appeal for volunteers for the preservation of the Nation's life, and was followed by Governor Curtin in a stirring address of like import. A long list of resolutions was adopted to the effect that this county must raise its quota. A bounty of \$50 to each volunteer was recommended, and a committee appointed:—Thomas M. Howe, Thomas Bakewell, James Park, Jr., George W. Cass, Isaac Jones, B. F. Jones, William K. Nimick, John Harper, Thomas S. Blair, P. C. Shannon, John H. Shoenberger and James M. Murray. Other speakers on this important



occasion were W. F. Johnston, William McCandless, Rev. Samuel J. Wilson, Judge P. C. Shannon, T. J. Bigham, Rev. James Priestly and others. A committee was appointed to secure subscriptions to a bounty fund. The crowd was so large (estimated at 15,000) that other stands with speakers had to be provided. This meeting resulted in the formation of the One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment, nine months' service, under Colonel John B. Clark, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Gast and Major Hugh Danver. Excepting a small squad of Greene County men in Company 26, the entire regiment was raised in Allegheny County. Company A was commanded by Captain C. D. Willy; B, by H. B. Murphy; C, by David E. Adams; D, by H. K. Tyler; E, by John S. Bell; F, by John Boyd; G, by Daniel Boisol; H, by Simon Drum; I, by R. D. Humes; K, by Henry Maxwell. All were mustered in August 7th, 8th and 9th.

Immediately succeeding this meeting others were held in different parts of the county and subscriptions to the bounty fund began to accumulate. A draft was strongly talked of, and the assessors were required to report lists of those liable to military duty. Many wanted the draft in order that "butternuts" could be forced into the army. At this time Companies E, F, G and H of the One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Regiment, commanded respectively by Captains David Evans, E. J. Seibert, H. W. Larimer and Samuel S. Marchand, were recruited. Thomas M. Bayne of Company H was elected colonel, and Isaac Wright of Company E lieutenant-colonel. Late in the month the One Hundred and Thirty-ninth Regiment, commanded by Colonel F. H. Collier and quartered at Camp Howe, was ordered to move without unnecessary delay to Harrisburg. The ten companies were commanded by Captains Moody, Munroe (D), Jenkins (G), Oxley (I), Sample (E), Donald (H), Marsh (F), McGregor (K), Parr and Snyder. Swords were presented to Colonel Collier, Lieutenants Harbison and Dalgleish, and Captains Munroe and Jenkins, prior to the departure of the regiment. Companies D, G, I and K were wholly from this county, and E, F and H partly. The regiment started from Camp Howe at 3 o'clock p. m., September 1st. After partaking of a sumptuous dinner in the city it marched to the depot through a drenching rain and was vociferously cheered by thousands of people, who seemed to care little for the inclement weather. So energetic were the solicitors for the bounty fund that by August 20th, \$120,444.10 was collected. The wealthy men, with few exceptions, came loyally forward with large subscriptions, and volunteers were reported in goodly numbers. Disloyalty was now manifesting itself in various parts of the county and several persons were arrested for uttering disloyal sentiments. Upon receipt of the news of the second battle of Bull Run, and in response to a telegram sent for that purpose, nineteen surgeons were dispatched to Washington on Saturday and Sunday, August 30th and 31st. They were Drs. McCook, Gallaher, Hanna, DeRolette, Arthurs, Wilson, McDonald, Childs, Jones, Dickson, W. H. Kern, Duncan, Rhodes, McCann, W. M. Kern, Thorn, Mowry, Cornman and Finley. The Irish citizens again met and resolved to make the attempt to raise a regiment in this county and vicinity. Stirring speeches were delivered by P. C. Shannon, William Linn, Lieutenant Samuel Harper and others.

On September 3d the regiment under Colonel Edward Jay Allen, Lieutenant-Colonel James Collard and Major J. H. Cain left by special train for Harrisburg. Previous to their departure the regiment was drawn up in front of the Second Ward Public School, where a fine sword was presented to Colonel Allen by James Gallaher, on behalf of his old schoolmates. This was immediately followed by the presentation of a pair of elegant pistols by John M. Kirkpatrick, on behalf of the Vice Club of 1800. The seven companies in this regiment from Allegheny County were commanded by Captains Pietsen (A),

Kerr (B), Van Gorder (E), McKee (I), Anshutz (C), Hall (D), Markle (F) and Kline (K). A large crowd witnessed their departure. It was now learned that the quota for this county since the commencement of the war, exclusive of three months' men, was 10,593. From this number were deducted all who had since volunteered from wards, boroughs and townships, and the balance, if any, were required to be furnished under the recent calls. By September 5th the bounty fund amounted to \$130,924.10.

On account of the threatening aspect of affairs, a public meeting was held in the Courthouse yard, September 11th, with ex-Governor Johnston as chairman. The news that the Army of the Potomac had fallen back upon Washington and that the rebels were advancing upon the capital was sufficient to stir this community from center to circumference. Governor Curtin, in this emergency, called the militia of the State to arms. The mass meeting passed resolutions to carry into effect at once his recommendation to organize and arm the citizens, and requested all business houses to close at 3 o'clock p. m. on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays, to afford opportunity to drill. A special committee was appointed to act in conjunction with the Executive Committee of Public Safety of Allegheny County. Much disloyalty was displayed at this meeting, causing great tumult and uproar. Other meetings similar to the above were held in other parts of the county. One was held in Allegheny September 6th, on which occasion Felix R. Brunot presided, and strong resolutions in consonance with the Governor's proclamation were adopted. The meeting was addressed by James L. Graham, John Magraw, James Park, Jr., Mr. Brunot and others.

The enrollment in the county was pushed rapidly forward, notwithstanding the fact that the enrolling officers met with considerable opposition in some districts. At this time the Corcoran Regiment, the Stanton Cavalry, the Stanton Artillery and the Corcoran Battery were rapidly filling up. The Executive Committee of Public Safety called all able-bodied men to come forward and enroll themselves. Meetings were held in all parts of the county and the companies began to fill up most encouragingly. The enrollment commissioner reported that the following number of men were liable to military duty, and that not a ward in either of the cities had furnished an excess, but seven boroughs out of fifteen, and seventeen townships out of forty had exceeded their quotas:

	Enrollment.	Quota.	Credits.	Deficiencies.
Pittsburg .....	11,187	3,277	2,016	1,261
Allegheny .....	5,709	1,609	1,354	255
Boroughs.....	6,870	1,941	1,752	189
Townships.....	13,333	3,766	3,236	530
	<hr/> 37,099	<hr/> 10,593	<hr/> 8,358	<hr/> 2,235

From this the draft was seen to be inevitable. Governor Curtin appointed James L. Graham draft commissioner and Dr. A. C. Murdoch surgeon, for Allegheny County; but the former having declined to serve, William B. Negley was appointed. It was first intended to have the draft occur on September 15th, but the date was postponed for ten days. Strong, even fiery, appeals were made in many public meetings to fill the quota and save the county from a draft. At a meeting held in the Courthouse much violent language revealed the temper and excitement under which the citizens were laboring. Motions and amendments regarding the organization of the militia under the Governor's proclamation were voted up and voted down, but it was finally determined that Acting Assistant Adjutant-General Thomas M. Howe should, by virtue of his office, have control of affairs.

The news was received from Harrisburg on the 15th that the rebels had invaded the State, and that a large force of militia must take the field immediately to repel them. James L. Graham was detailed by the Governor to hasten the organization of the local militia. Colonel Wickersham, then acting as aid to General T. M. Howe, reported that ten companies were ready to leave the same evening, only one of which, under Captain J. M. Cooper, had been raised in this county. He also reported that there were eight other companies belonging to the two cities available on short notice. Other companies arrived during the day, so that late in the evening of the 15th no less than twenty-two companies had reported, fifteen of which left the city at 8 o'clock p. m. for Harrisburg, five of which had been raised in this county. Other companies here under Captains Riddle, Gross, Holmes, Reed, Mattern, Dalton, Cooper, Buffum, Frew and Jackson were organized into a regiment under Colonel Robert Galway. The Duquesne Light Infantry, under Captain Samuel Riddle, had already left hurriedly for Harrisburg in response to the Governor's call. Employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company were permitted to assemble and drill on Tuesday and Friday afternoons. On the 13th the large cannon, weighing thirty tons, with a caliber of fifteen inches, and throwing a ball weighing nearly 500 pounds, was shipped to the Atlantic coast.

The County Executive Committee, with the assistance of George H. Thurston, ascertained, on September 15th, that the number of men from Allegheny county in the service was as follows:

5 companies 1st Regiment, Colonel Rippey.....	547
3 companies 8th Reserves, Colonel G. S. Hays.....	292
8 companies 9th Reserves, Colonel Jackson.....	754
2 squads 10th Reserves .....	50
1 company 23d Regiment, Colonel Birney.....	101
5 companies 28th Regiment, Colonel Geary.....	505
2 companies 46th Regiment, Colonel Knipe.....	193
1 squad 57th Regiment, Colonel Campbell.....	15
7 companies 62d Regiment, Colonel Black.....	710
6 companies 63d Regiment, Colonel A. Hay.....	663
4 companies 77th Regiment, Colonel Stambaugh.....	255
1 company 82d Regiment, Colonel Williams.....	97
4 companies 101st Regiment, Colonel Wilson.....	306
11 companies 102d Regiment, Colonel Rowley.....	960
3 squads 103d Regiment, Colonel Lehman.....	72
1 company 109th Regiment, Colonel Steinrook.....	40
10 companies 123d Regiment, Colonel Clark.....	1,027
4 companies 136th Regiment, Colonel Bayne.....	405
7 companies 139th Regiment, Colonel Collier.....	590
7 companies 155th Regiment, Colonel Allen.....	613
1 squad 3d Cavalry, Colonel Averill.....	43
3 companies Fourth Cavalry, Colonel Childs.....	282
2 companies 5th Cavalry, Colonel Campbell.....	190
Sixth United States Cavalry, Colonel Emory.....	300
Union Cavalry, Captain Stewart.....	105
Moorhead Cavalry, Captain Sahl.....	100
McNulty Cavalry, Captain McNulty.....	30
Davidson Cavalry, Captain Davidson.....	35
Stanton Cavalry.....	202
Hampton's Battery, Captain Hampton.....	138
Thompson's Battery, Captain Thompson.....	80

## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

Daum's Battery, Captain Daum.....	60
Braun's Battery, Captain Braun.....	50
Young's Battery.....	146
First Virginia Regiment.....	200
Second Virginia Regiment.....	345
Sickles' Brigade.....	232
Irish Brigade, Captain Kane.....	125
Sigel's Command .....	93
Regular service by Major Stokes and others.....	155
Recruits for volunteer service, Captain Foster and others....	225
Anderson's Troop (Lieutenant Ward).....	60
Recruits for old regiments.....	400
In marine service.....	110
Miscellaneous.....	763
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>12,676</b>

## RECAPITULATION.

Infantry.....	10,662
Cavalry.....	1,353
Battery .....	551
Marine .....	110
	<hr/> 12,676
County's quota.....	10,593
	<hr/>
Excess.....	2,083

These figures, however, were not the basis on which calculations were to be made for a draft, because the enrolling officers were the sole arbiters of the number of credits to which the county was entitled. On the face of the Marshal's returns, the county showed a deficiency on September 15th of 2,179 men, less the number who had enlisted since the rolls were made out. It was urged that vigorous action would almost wholly, if not quite, clear the county from a draft. About October 6th the following table was prepared by Commissioner Negley, and as it was official it became the basis upon which future credits, deficiencies, etc., were calculated, though further credits were added later:

	Pittsburg.	Allegheny.	Boroughs.	Townships.
Total enrollment ...	11,386	6,169	6,887	13,395
Exempt by law.....	1,047	377	731	1,282
Physical disability ..	731	218	233	601
In Pennsylvania reg's	2,507	1,845	2,021	3,435
In foreign regiments	190	136	120	112
Subject to draft.....	6,911	3,593	3,782	7,965
County enrollment.....				37,837
Exempt by law.. ..			3,437	
Exempt by disability.....			1,783	
			<hr/> 5,220	
Leaving.....				32,617

In service—Pennsylvania regiments.....	9,808
In service—Others.....	558
	<hr/> 10,366
Subject to draft.....	22,251
County quota.....	10,593
Credits .....	9,808
	<hr/> 785
To be drafted.....	785

A later report reduced the number required to 784. The borough of Manchester had neither an excess nor a deficiency, and Third Ward, Pittsburg, had the largest deficiency, 201—more than one-fourth of the deficiency in the entire county. The work of Examining Surgeon Murdoch under the enrollment act closed at noon on September 20th. He had labored day and night under severe pressure from a great crowd, who thought they were entitled to exemption, but was unable to get through. About the 13th of October it was determined by the authorities that no draft should take place in this county, because it was shown that there were actually in the service from this county over 13,000 men. On the 14th Commissioner Negley formally announced that there would be no draft in this county. The Executive Committee having reported the names of 4,000 volunteers to whom they had paid bounty, it was ascertained that the names of 2,094 of them did not appear upon the enrollment lists at all, and, therefore, should be added to the credits of the county. This was an extraordinary condition of affairs which has never been satisfactorily explained. The exact number of 4,000 to whom the committee claimed to have paid bounty had a suspicious look, but the figures were revised on the basis of this new credit, and the draft was avoided. The following are the figures of the Executive Committee:

In Pennsylvania regiments.....	12,600
County quota.....	10,593
	<hr/> 2,007
Excess over quota.....	2,097
In Pennsylvania regiments.....	12,600
In outside organizations.....	558
	<hr/> 13,248
Total volunteers furnished.....	13,248

Other counties did not escape, and large numbers of drafted men began to arrive at Camp Howe, so that at the end of October 2,500 of them were encamped there. Late in November the drafted men were formed into two regiments, the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth and the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth, the former under Colonel Joseph Jack and the latter under Colonel L. W. Smith. Early in December the regiments of Colonels Jack and Smith left for Washington City. Only three companies remained at Camp Howe.

The One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Regiment (Fourteenth Cavalry) was recruited here by Colonel J. N. Schoonmaker in the autumn of 1862. Probably one-third of the regiment were citizens of this county. On the morning of November 25th orders were received directing Colonel Schoonmaker to report forthwith at Hagerstown, Md., with his command, consisting of 1,100 men, but with only about 300 horses. They rapidly prepared to obey.



At 2 o'clock p. m., on the 17th of September, there occurred a terrible explosion at the United States Arsenal at Lawrenceville, by which at least seventy-four boys, girls and women employed therein lost their lives, and the building, known as the Laboratory, was totally demolished. The explosion was heard throughout the two cities, and an immense and agonized crowd was soon at the scene of the catastrophe, which presented an appalling sight. Amid the flames and intense heat of the burning building could be seen scores of bodies, blackened or being consumed. While the firemen were making heroic efforts to rescue those having left any spark of life, the friends of the missing rushed hither and thither, wild with excitement, or were overcome with grief upon recognizing the mangled or charred bodies of their children. It was a dreadful scene, one never to be forgotten. The building had been used for filling shells and making cartridges, and contained a large quantity of powder. The force of the explosion was so great that bodies were thrown several hundred feet, and many had legs, arms or heads torn off. Many were killed by the explosion of shells, and no doubt some who had been only severely injured were burned to death. As rapidly as possible the fire was extinguished, and the blackened, burned and mangled bodies of the victims were tenderly taken out and delivered to relatives or placed in charge of the coroner. At the inquest much conflicting testimony was given touching the cause of the explosion. Many witnesses were examined, and the case continued for about ten days. The jury's verdict was "that said explosion was caused by the neglect of Colonel John Symington, the officer in command at the Allegheny Arsenal, and his lieutenants, J. R. Edie and Jaspar E. Myers; and the gross neglect of Alexander McBride, superintendent of said laboratory building, and his assistant, James Thorpe." Two of the jury of six dissented from that portion of the verdict which charged Symington, Edie and Meyers with neglect. So much feeling against the arsenal officials was shown at the trial by relatives of the killed and injured that the verdict of the jury majority was regarded as too severe and did not reflect the views of the public, except that Superintendent McBride was thought guilty of neglect. The authorities of Allegheny Cemetery offered a lot free for the burial of the victims, and later a fund was raised to procure a monument. A subscription for the relief of the families of the dead and injured was started, and the money paid out in installments as fast as collected, the distribution being based on the size of the families and the extent of injuries. On September 8, 1863, there had been paid out \$5,596.96, with \$373.96 still on hand.

On September 25th four companies of volunteer militia under Captains Riddle, Phillips, Gross and Frew, which had gone East a few weeks before for State service, returned and were welcomed home by an address from General Howe. On the 30th General Milroy's Brigade, which contained four companies recruited here, arrived and was warmly welcomed. An immense concourse of people formally received Governor Morton of Indiana, October 3d, who delivered a speech which attracted wide attention and was enthusiastically praised. The great success attending the organization of the Stanton cavalry (Fourteenth Cavalry), under Colonel Schoonmaker, had induced the Secretary of War, about October 9th, to commission Colonel J. A. Stockton to raise another, to be locally known as the second regiment (Eighteenth Cavalry) of Stanton cavalry. At this time there were sixteen companies here intended for the first Stanton regiment, four of which were turned over to Colonel Stockton to be used in forming the second, and men intended for the Corcoran regiment were assigned to the second Stanton regiment. By October 27th the second had its full complement.

From January to October 24, 1862, there were built here thirty-three new steamers, and seventeen more were partly finished; several of which were pur-





chased by the Government, to be used as gunboats. It also bought five tugs, which were converted into rams and attached to the Mississippi flotilla. One Pittsburg steamer, the "Horner," participated in the naval engagement at Memphis. Little of moment occurred here during the dark and dreary winter of 1862-3. The strength of the rebellion, outspoken disloyalty in this vicinity, jealousies and incompetency in the Army of the Potomac, and want of success of the Union cause generally, rendered the outlook black and forbidding. The demands for relief from the families of volunteers taxed to the utmost the resources and loyalty of the wealthy and middle classes. Like a gleam of sunlight in that dark winter the benefactions of the Relief and Subsistence Committees shone out. Late in April, 1863, urgent appeals were received from Wheeling for troops and guns to assist in repelling a threatened attack upon that city; whereupon action was taken to put the regiment of militia under Colonel Galway in marching condition. Advices were soon received, however, that they would not be wanted. The first squad of colored men to enlist here for the war left for Massachusetts on April 26, 1863. Other colored recruits were called for, and many responded.

Early in May, 1863, the Secretary of War placed at the disposal of this community a battery, to be used in repelling possible raids by guerillas or other marauding rebel bands. In view of the many invasions of the border Union States by such bands, and the possible danger of an attack upon this community, a public meeting was held May 12th to devise means of defense, and resolutions were passed to place the regiment under Colonel Galway on a war basis as soon as possible, and to maintain, so far as practicable, the organizations of the regiments under Colonels Clark and Bayne. Captains Stewart, Patterson, Young and King were appointed to organize a battalion of cavalry, and Messrs. Dilworth, Bayne, Bonnatou, Hardtmeyer, Metcalf and Kerr to organize four companies of artillery for home defense. While the Knights of the Golden Circle had become quite troublesome by dissuading men from enlisting, no overt act of importance had been committed. The members of this order, and their sympathizers, were called "Copperheads" and "Butternuts." There were many of these in the community, but they were kept in subjection by the splendid performances of the Union League of Allegheny County, an organization which took special pains to counteract their influence.

A splendid reception was given May 16th to the One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment, Colonel John B. Clark, on its return after nine months' service. They were received at the depot by a military escort and great crowds of people. Of the arrival, one account says: "At length the train stopped, and confusion worse confounded ensued. Such running, shoving, jamming, crashing, hunting, handshaking, hugging and kissing were never before witnessed." The men were marched down to the City Hall, where they were fed by the Subsistence Committee, after which the regiment was formally received on West Common, Allegheny, in an elegant speech by Thomas M. Howe, to which Colonel Clark responded. The One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Regiment was similarly received May 29th, P. C. Shannon making the welcoming speech and Colonel O'Brien replying. The One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Regiment, Colonel T. M. Bayne, was formally received June 1st. Mayors Sawyer and Alexander, of the two cities, delivered welcoming addresses, to which Colonel Bayne responded, showing their flag riddled by shot and shell to prove that they had been actively engaged while away. The exercises were concluded by a salute from one of the batteries.

The commandant at the arsenal, acting under information from a committee of citizens, dismissed from employment in June nine persons on grounds of disloyalty. Several others there had previously instituted suits for libel against

two or three of the newspapers, which had charged them with the same offense, but they dropped the suits and disappeared about this time. Disloyalty in this community was an exotic of sickly and uncertain growth.

Early in June the word came that General Lee was on the point of invading Maryland and Pennsylvania, with a view to taking Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Washington, which created consternation. Another force in Western Virginia threatened Uniontown, and wild calls for assistance came from that quarter. At this time General W. T. H. Brooks commanded the Monongahela Department, embracing all of Pennsylvania west of Johnstown and Laurel Hill, and three counties in Ohio and three in Virginia. He was authorized to raise a corps of volunteer infantry, artillery and cavalry, which, while in actual service, was to be paid as other troops. He assumed command of the department June 9th, under orders from the Secretary of War. Owing to the importance of Pittsburg as a source of supply to the Federal Army, not only the citizens, but the Government as well, conceded the probability of an attack. Under this exciting state of affairs the enlistment of volunteers for home defense was rushed to the utmost limits. On June 15th the regiment under Colonel Galway tendered its service to General Brooks. Colonel Clark began with great energy to reorganize the One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment, as did Colonel Bayne the One Hundred and Thirty-sixth. Six batteries, under Captains Metcalf, Glass, Braun, Bonnafon, Tyler and Magraw, were rapidly filled. In addition several independent companies were formed, and several cavalry companies, fully horsed and equipped, were raised. The latter volunteered to guard and defend the approaches to the city, but General Brooks regarded this advanced step unnecessary at this stage.

From the 9th to the 16th of June an artillery company was organized and ordered into Camp Brooks, and a full company of colored men recruited and armed. The lawyers organized under Captain W. B. Negley, and were called the "Court Company." Under the call of the Governor, dated June 26th, for 60,000 militia, the quota of Allegheny County was placed at 3,600. By July 3d the regiment organized by Colonel Galway was ready for service, and Colonel Clark assigned to its command.

On June 12th Governor Curtin again announced that the invasion of the State was imminent. This caused great excitement and no little dismay, but was followed by increased efforts to place a large body of volunteers under arms. A monster meeting was held on the Diamond, Allegheny, which was addressed by the best speakers in the county. General Howe, in a fervid speech, warned the people of the impending danger to the city. He was followed by General Brooks, Colonel Clark, Thomas Williams, Colonel Dale and Judge Shannon in a similar strain. Large numbers of citizens in Harrisburg and Philadelphia packed up and pushed toward the north star, as though panic stricken. In this vicinity many were panicky at first, but under the advice of cooler heads calmed down and redoubled their efforts to welcome the invaders "with bloody hands to hospitable graves." On Sunday evening, June 14th, an immense meeting of business men was held, pursuant to a hurried call. General Brooks said that, in view of the certainty that the State would be invaded, and the possibility of the city being attacked, it was advisable to put at least 2,000 men at work on the surrounding hills by 8 o'clock on the following morning. He recommended the suspension of business and the concentration on the earth-works of all employes in the various business concerns in the city, to be retained under a proper system of relays until a complete line of forts and rifle pits was completed. Business men promptly closed their stores and shops and sent their men to the works fully equipped with picks and shovels. A committee was appointed to request President Lincoln to declare martial law in this department,



but this was not thought necessary by General Brooks, and it was not done. This action by the citizens was in accordance with the orders of Governor Curtin, in view of the reports that Lee's whole army was moving northward in the Shenandoah Valley. The State militia was called out by the Governor, which intensified the excitement. Bright and early on Monday morning, June 15th, two lines of fortifications were marked out on some of the surrounding hills by General Barnard, and large numbers of men set to work. The number reported at work on the 18th by the Committee of Public Safety was 4,654 men. About this number was kept continuously at work until July 4th, when the earthworks were completed. Mount Washington and the hills Herron, Harbison, Squirrel, Davis, Gazzam, Cemetery, Robinson, Hazlett, McKeever's, Turtle Creek and McGuire were well fortified and placed in as good condition for defense as possible. The reports of the Committee of Public Safety show that as many as 6,000 men were engaged on the earthworks at once. Late in June the *New York Times* commented on the difference in the courses taken by Harrisburg and Pittsburg in this emergency, saying that the citizens of the former city took to their heels; those of the latter to the earthworks and the guns. This wonderful show of energy and resolution, of courage and loyalty, and of determination to defend their firesides to the last extremity, was as commendable as it was characteristic of the people.

The last week in June was full of darkness for loyal hearts. The great army of Lee seemed invincible, and was marching with fire and sword into the peaceful valleys of the Keystone State. Panic seemed to seize Washington and Harrisburg and Pittsburg, and urgent and repeated calls for volunteers came from State and National headquarters. In the West Bragg threatened Cincinnati and Louisville; Grant hung like Fate in the trenches of Vicksburg. Scarcely a ray of light could be seen in the vidette line which stretched like a stream of blood across the convulsed continent. Many lost hope and confessed in anguish that the rebellion was likely to succeed. But by the end of the first week in July an extraordinary transformation had taken place. Meade had crushed Lee and driven him pell-mell from the State; the capture of Richmond seemed imminent; Grant had emerged from the trenches of Vicksburg with a glorious victory; Bragg had been checkmated by the strategy of Rosecrans. Why were the skies so bright, and why did Hope once more bathe her pinions in the mists of the silver clouds? Because the crisis of the great war had passed in triumph; because all felt that the victories meant the final success of the Federal arms.

During May and June a second enrollment by J. Herron Foster, provost-marshal, was effected, though not without much opposition in certain districts. Under the last call by the President the leading citizens had again come forward to rescue the county from the draft. The threatened invasion of Lee and others turned the attention of the recruiting officers for the time wholly to home defense; but after the 4th of July, and surgeons and nurses had been sent to the hospitals of Gettysburg, recruits for the army were again urgently called for, and the citizens began to hurry up enlistments, but they were too slow and a draft was ordered, which began the 8th of July in Allegheny, and later was extended to Pittsburg. It was quite general throughout the county, only a few districts escaping. It was estimated that over 2,000 were drafted in the county.

About this time the civil and military authorities were at odds concerning the constitutionality of the *habeas corpus* act. Judge Lowrie did not surrender his views on the unconstitutionality of suspending it until forced to do so by the proclamation of President Lincoln and the overwhelming sentiment of the North. In the fall of 1863 there were on the stocks here, building for the Government, four ironclads—*Manhattan*, *Marietta*, *Sandusky* and *Manawunk*.

Much interest was felt in the bloody battle of Chickamauga, fought September 19th and 20th, on account of the number of Pittsburgers in it, most of whom belonged to General James S. Negley's brigade. In April, 1864, a court of inquiry instituted for the purpose investigated the conduct of General Negley at this battle, and reported that on the first day, though he commanded a division, his conduct was creditable, and that on the second he exhibited great activity and zeal in the discharge of his duties, and therefore there was no ground for censure. The jealousy of rivals was responsible for this inquiry.

On October 8th General Franz Sigel was formally received with great pomp by the citizens of this vicinity. A. W. Loomis was president of the occasion. The General made a characteristic speech and was thoroughly lionized during the two or three days he remained here. In October, 1863, was cast here an immense Rodman cannon weighing about 114,000 pounds and having a length of twenty feet and a bore of twenty inches.

Under the large bounties offered by the Government in the fall of 1863 very few recruits were secured in Allegheny County. In fact, this county seems to have rested on its laurels in 1863 so far as recruits were concerned. However, late in the year a six months' cavalry regiment was organized under Colonel R. C. Dale. The provost-marshal had very little time to sleep amid the trials incident to his business. Deserters, bounty jumpers and drafted men required all his time and attention. All of the county north of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers was part of the Twenty-third District; the remainder of the county was in the Twenty-second District.

Under the call of the President in the fall of 1863 for 300,000, the quota of Allegheny County was 2,601. The day for drafting was fixed for January 5, 1864. In November the citizens began active work to fill the call, and General Howe, as the head of the county committee, took the lead. The camp at Oakland was named in his honor, and on November 15th the six months' regiment under Colonel Dale encamped there. In November, 1863, it was disclosed by the enrolling officers that nearly ten per cent. of the male population of this Congressional district were resident aliens who had never declared their intention of becoming citizens. But recruiting was difficult work, and was finally abandoned almost wholly. The people settled down to await the draft of January 5, 1864. The date was postponed to January 15th, and about December, 1863, the citizens made another effort to fill the quota. Allegheny took the lead by holding a large meeting in the new market-house December 22d, on which occasion Thomas M. Howe was chairman. The enrollment in Allegheny was 3,249 and the number to be drafted unless filled was 358. Resolutions were adopted recommending a bounty of \$300 in addition to the Government bounty of \$300, and the Allegheny Councils were asked to appropriate \$110,000 for this purpose. Grand efforts were made in January in all wards, boroughs and townships, and the county was again awake. The draft was postponed and active efforts were continued in February, 1864, and here and there districts began to clear themselves under the heavy bounty offered.

At the Fort Pitt works February 11, 1864, a Rodman gun of twenty inches bore was cast in the presence of many distinguished visitors, among whom were Major Rodman, the inventor of the principle, several officers of the navy and two military men from abroad. The gun in the rough weighed 160,000 pounds, was twenty feet three inches in length, with a maximum diameter of five feet two inches, and when finished weighed 116,406 pounds. It was said at that time to have been the largest gun in the world.

In February, 1864, an anonymous call appeared in several of the city

papers for a meeting of all citizens who were opposed to the issuance of county bonds for bounties to volunteers. A small number assembled and was called to order by Samuel Morrow. James Trunick was elected permanent chairman and Thomas Mellon vice-president. David Reed, Thomas Mellon, C. Magee, N. Ballentine and Jesse Cunningham were appointed to prepare business for the meeting. D. D. Bruce opposed the issuance of county bonds for bounty purposes, not because he disavored the prosecution of the war, but because the burden upon the county would be too heavy. Joseph Irwin said the meeting was a disgrace to Allegheny County. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that the county should have nothing to do with issuing such bonds, because the duty of filling quotas belonged solely to the districts, and that the Legislature should be petitioned not to legalize the issuance of such bonds, for by so doing it would increase county indebtedness for special purposes. John Quinn, Edmund Wilkins and Captain Ward spoke against issuing the bonds.

March 1, 1864, was set for the time to begin drafting. Every person was appointed a committee of one to secure recruits and for each one thus obtained was entitled to \$15 and \$25. In some wards in the two cities block committees were appointed to go from door to door to secure volunteers. By February 25, 1864, there were about 2,500 met at Camp Copeland, near Pittsburg, with many arriving daily and many going to the field to join the old regiments. From February 25th to 29th recruiting was prosecuted with great vigor, but at the last moment the time for the draft was extended to April 1st. Again, during the latter part of March, recruiting was revived and was pushed with great energy, and the local bounty rose from \$250 to \$255 and a little later to \$265. About 1,500 men were at Camp Copeland, some arriving and some departing daily. The draft was again postponed to April 15th. The county quota under the calls of February 1st for 500,000 men and March 15th for 200,000, was very heavy, and the citizens struggled and tugged to meet the requirement. Under the former call 2,614 were demanded of this county and under the latter 1,694; total, 4,308. From this number were to be deducted men who had paid commutation, furnished substitutes, gone to the field under the draft of July, 1863, or volunteered since. The day for drafting was postponed to April 21st, and for a few days previous to that date recruiting was again very brisk. The date was again postponed until June 2d in Allegheny and June 13th in Pittsburg.

In one week ending Saturday, May 21, 1864, Captain Knapp, who had been authorized to raise a battalion of three or four companies of artillery, sent to the field Battery A and Battery B, nearly filled Battery C and started Battery D. These four companies of artillery took the field near Washington early in July. The following was the enrolling officer's report concerning Pittsburg on June 13, 1864:

Wards.	Quota under calls. 500,000 and 200,000.	Deficiency. April 16, 1864.	Credits since April 16, 1864.	Other credits.	Deficiency, June 13.	Surplus, June 13.
First .....	213	154	3	73	78	..
Second....	212	91	4	72	15	..
Third....	398	344	39	135	170	..
Fourth....	166	33	..	46	..	13
Fifth....	401	213	38	130	30	..
Sixth....	329	137	8	112	17	..
Seventh .....	140	36	..	50	..	14
Eighth .....	239	179	5	82	92	..
Ninth .....	275	179	18	93	68	..
Totals ...	2,373	1,300	115	799	479	47

On March 7, 1864, General Grant passed through Pittsburg and was cheered by a large crowd at the depot. On the 12th he returned from the East and was formally received by the citizens, at the head of whom were General Brooks and Andrew Carnegie, and was dined at the Monongahela House. He again passed through on the 21st, bound for the Army of the Potomac. About this time over one hundred of Morgan's guerrillas were confined in the penitentiary here. Late in March the Seventy-seventh Regiment took camp at Collins' Park, East Liberty, having come home on veteran furlough. Several of the other old regiments also came home on veteran furlough.

In May, 1864, the aggressive movements of the armies of Grant and Sherman filled all with renewed hope. As General Grant continued to advance, fighting and flanking General Lee, all felt that an important epoch had arrived in the achievements and history of the grand Army of the Potomac. News of the great battles and other successes was received with breathless excitement scarcely paralleled here at any previous time during the war. Bulletins were read and re-read, and extras of the dailies were sold in large numbers. News of the death of General Alexander Hay cast a gloom over the community, but all were proud of his heroic conduct. Great masses of the people sought relief in prayer in the churches during this awful period of suspense and sorrow. Long lists of the dead and wounded published in the newspapers were anxiously and tearfully scanned; the cities sobbed for the gallant dead and cheered their glorious conduct. In the great battles there were six or seven regiments containing Allegheny County men. On May 11th General Hay was brought home and buried with great ceremony and honor. He had graduated from West Point in the class with General Grant.

Under the call of President Lincoln, early in July, 1864, for 24,000 militia to serve for one hundred days to repel a threatened invasion of Maryland and perhaps Pennsylvania, with the possibility of an attack upon Washington, the quota of Allegheny County was fixed at 1,488 men. Major G. S. Gallupe called for volunteers under this requisition, and meetings were held in various places in this vicinity to fill the call of the Governor. A meeting was held at Wilkins' Hall on July 9th, Mayor Lowry presiding, on which occasion nearly a company was enrolled, and another was called for the 11th. The Ninth Regiment (Reserves) met and passed resolutions constituting each member a committee of one to secure recruits for the one hundred days' service, and General Negley was authorized by the Recruiting Committee to offer a special bounty of \$25 for the three months' service to the extent of four companies. There was much excitement and enthusiasm here at this time. An adjourned meeting was held on July 12th, on which occasion addresses were made by Colonel Sweitzer, Rev. Dr. Pressly, Captain Negley, Colonel Foulk and others, all urging the citizens to come forward in this emergency, and an enlistment roll was started, but grew very slowly. Another meeting was held with the same object in view in Allegheny, James Park, Jr., presiding, on which occasion Thomas Williams delivered a stirring address and B. G. Childs and Colonel Clark also spoke. A special bounty of \$50 to each of one hundred or more men was offered by the Finance Committee, the chairman guaranteeing the payment.

Another war meeting held on the 13th was presided over by Henry A. Weaver. General J. K. Moorhead was the principal speaker and was followed by T. J. Bigham. At this time the company under Captain Dorrington numbered fifty-five, under Captain Negley fifty, and under Captain Montgomery twenty-five. An immense meeting was held in Birmingham to stir

up recruiting, and offices for the enrollment of volunteers were opened in nearly all the wards and boroughs. Captain Ballentine's company was full and mustered in about this time. In Allegheny the enthusiasm exceeded that in Pittsburg. By 10 o'clock on the evening of the 12th the following recruits had been raised there: Colonel Clark 83, Captain Wills 19, Captain Woodburn 11, Colonel Wright 10, Captain Tyler 35, Captain Crow 43, Captain Gast 35, Captain Lemon 11 (colored); total 147. The special Allegheny bounty fund on July 14th amounted to \$1,422.50. By the 14th Captain Ballentine's company was ready for service at Camp Reynolds; Captain Dorrington's was mustered in on the 13th; Captain White's company numbered 65, Captain Horbach's 25, Captain Patterson's about 60, Captain Beck's 28, while in Birmingham another company was almost full.

"In Allegheny things were managed differently, and the result is that they will be able to put four hundred men in the field before Saturday night. Unlike Pittsburg, the business men responded to the call of the Mayor and citizens closed their manufactories, stores and workshops during Wednesday and Thursday and went to work in good earnest. Hence they will send out more men than their quota. Had the same course been pursued in Pittsburg recruiting would not have been such an uphill business and double the men would have been enlisted" (o).

Twelve companies were at Camp Reynolds July 20th and there they organized, with J. B. Clark colonel, Mr. Ballentine lieutenant-colonel, and H. K. Tyler major. These men, in addition to Knapp's battery battalion of four companies, more than filled the county quota under the Governor's call for 1,488 men.

In the summer of 1864 a twenty-eight-inch gun for the navy was cast at the Fort Pitt works. Late in July the news of the fall of Atlanta, combined with General Sherman's splendid successes preceding that event, caused great rejoicing. About this time the community was again convulsed with excitement over the report that the State had been once more invaded and Chambersburg laid in ashes. On Monday, August 1st, business was suspended and the citizens assembled in mass meeting. General Couch, commander of the Department of the Susquehanna, who was here at the time, ordered a full enrollment of the citizens for home defense and placed all under Brigadier-General Rowley. As the enemy came no nearer, the "scare" soon vanished.

A new call came from President Lincoln for 500,000 men for one, two and three years. Under the call one hundred men for three years counted the same as three hundred men for one year. The citizens loyally set to work to fill the quota. As the draft was threatened for August, no time was to be lost. All wards, boroughs and townships offered large bounties and redoubled their efforts to clear themselves. As there was no uniformity in the bounty offered, a meeting for the whole county was held in Pittsburg on August 26th to establish a fixed sum for all districts. J. F. Jennings presided. It was resolved to pay no more than \$300 for one year, \$600 for two years and \$900 for three years. So rapidly were volunteers secured that by the 26th it seemed likely that the county would clear itself. Early in September, 1864, the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment of Artillery was organized at Camp Reynolds with G. S. Gallupe colonel, Joseph Brown lieutenant-colonel, and Martin, Baer and Irwin majors. The regiment was composed of twelve companies, commanded by Captains Hope, Flannagan, Lowman, Hawk, Zeigler, Young, Anderson, Kent, Ross, Atwood, Rhodes and one

(o) Commercial, July 15, 1864.



other. It was the Two Hundred and Fourth Regiment and started for the field September 13th.

At the time of its departure the Fifth Artillery numbered 1,600 men and a large crowd gathered to see it embark. "The trains on the Pennsylvania Central and Connellsville railroads were crowded to their utmost capacity with the wives, sisters, mothers, brothers and friends—from the gray-haired sire to the curly-headed youth—of the departing men, and such a scene of leave-taking was witnessed as has rarely been presented since the commencement of the war" (p). The officers and many of the men of this regiment had seen active service in the field. "The raising of the regiment was mainly due to the untiring exertions and deserved popularity of Colonel Gallupe, and it is but another instance of what the indomitable energy and perseverance of a single man can accomplish when he has his whole heart in a good cause.

. . . . . Colonel Barnes' regiment is ordered to leave to-day, but it is not likely it will get off, for the reason that the organization is not as yet entirely completed. Besides it, another regiment of infantry will be organized to-day." Captain R. H. Long, in August and September, raised two companies here for the regiment under Colonel Charles Barnes. From the 1st to the 10th of September, inclusive, there were mustered into service in the nine wards of Pittsburg a total of 368 volunteers; in the four wards of Allegheny 111, and in the whole of Allegheny County, including the two cities, 898. But the county was unable to fill its enormous quota, and accordingly the draft began in Pittsburg under Provost-Marshal Foster and in Allegheny under Provost-Marshal Kirkner on or about Monday, September 19, 1864.

On September 27th one hundred guns were fired from the surrounding hills in honor of General Sheridan's great victory in the Valley of the Shenandoah. In November there was wild rejoicing here over the result of the Presidential election and over the daring of General Sherman in cutting loose from his base of supplies and piercing the heart of the Confederacy with torch and gun. The gunboat *Marietta*, built by Tomlinson, Hortupie & Co., was successfully launched on November 22d. The ironclad monitor, *Manayunk*, built by Snowden & Mason, was launched from the south end of the Monongahela bridge on December 18th. It was the first vessel of the kind ever constructed here for ocean service. The *Sligo* iron of which it was composed was furnished by Lyon, Shorb & Co. The vessel was 225 feet long, over 43 feet wide, drew 12 feet of water, weighed 1,400 tons and could travel in still water twelve miles an hour. At this time the light draft monitor *Umpqua*, in the yards of Snowden & Mason, was nearly ready for launching. On March 6, 1865, the *Manayunk* was towed down the Ohio River. The night before it had broken loose from its moorings and floated three miles down the river without encountering any mishaps. It was, perhaps, like all other natives of this patriotic soil, eager to fight the rebels. In December, 1864, one hundred guns were fired in honor of the victory of General Thomas at Nashville.

Late in December, 1864, the President's call for 300,000 more men electrified the citizens and set them again at work raising recruits under heavy bounties. As all felt that the rebellion was tottering, extra efforts were made and inducements tendered. The local bounty offered varied from \$500 to \$550; Government bounty, \$100; special county bounty, \$400; wages for one year, \$192; clothing (estimated) \$150; rations, \$200. The net quota of all that portion of Allegheny County in the Twenty-third District (north of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers) was 910; of Pittsburg, 1,192; of the boroughs in the Twenty-second District, 401. Colonel William Sirwell, who had commanded the Seventy-

(p) Commercial, September 14, 1864.

eighth Regiment, called for a regiment under the new quota, and Captain H. W. Horbach called for a company. In February Captains Tyler and Wright left for the field with two full companies. By February 23d Captain Wiley had raised 78 men, Captain McCormick 65, Captain Crawford 55, Captain Boggs 95, and Captain Shaw 55. At this time Captains Scriba and George had each a small squad, and a little later Captains Gang, Graham and Trovillo reported their companies full. Captains Wright and Tyler took their men to the Sixty-first and Captain Wiley his to the Seventy-eighth. "The recruiting business on Thursday continued brisk, but owing to the great demand for men the bounty rose to \$555. A large number of men, however, arrived in the city last evening for the purpose of enlisting (seventy men coming from Butler County in one squad), which may have the effect of reducing the bounty to \$500" (q). Early in March, 1865, the following statement was furnished by the enrolling officers:

Wards.	Enrolled.	Gross Quota.	Net Quota.
First .....	388	250	99
Second.....	437	286	82
Third.....	912	597	258
Fourth.....	441	288	26
Fifth.....	872	571	183
Sixth.....	866	567	173
Seventh.....	311	203	40
Eighth.....	482	315	145
Ninth.....	544	356	140
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>5,253</b>	<b>3,433</b>	<b>1,146</b>

The 4th of March was fixed by the citizens on which to celebrate the glorious victories to the Union armies and the happy prospect of the termination of the war. Flags were everywhere thrown to the breeze, bells were rung and 100 guns were fired from the hill over Bayardstown. In all the churches special thanksgiving services were held. In the evening an immense meeting was held at Fayette Hall. Witty and eloquent speeches were delivered by James Lowry (chairman), A. W. Loomis, John M. Kirkpatrick, Rev. John Douglas and T. J. Bigham, all interspersed with the triumphant notes of National and patriotic airs from bands and glee clubs. In March, 1865, General Sherman, having captured Charleston, placed the city under the command of General Schimmelfennig.

"The gallant Dutchman Schimmelfennig  
Holds Charleston as he would a hen egg;  
He grabs the traitors by the ear,  
And brings them to their lager beer.  
We wish we had a million such men  
As this bold, rebel-hating Dutchman."

—*Boston Paper* (r).

The news of the evacuation of Richmond early in April, 1865, was received here with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. The message came a few minutes after 11 o'clock on the 3d, and it was then that the enthusiasm of the people reached its zenith. An immense crowd assembled with incredible

(q) *Commercial*, February 17, 1865.

(r) It was related that the literary sharp of the Boston paper was bantered to compose a military verse in which should appear the name Schimmelfennig and a suitable rhyme therewith; whereupon he evolved the above lines. History is silent as to his fate.

speed on Fifth Street, and assumed the form of a love feast of joy. The Courthouse bell was furiously rung—not in steady, sober strokes, but in spasmodic, tumultuous peals, now joyous almost to frenzy, and then in rapturous tones to keep pace with the bounding pulses of the shouting multitude. Prominent men were vigorously seized and forced willingly upon the steps to say something that might be used as a safety valve to the joy that was effervescing and bubbling around. H. B. Childs, Dr. McCook, Mr. Loomis, Mayor Lowry, J. W. F. White, J. M. Cooper, Rev. Mr. Gaw, Lieutenant Hurst, grand old Tom Marshall, John M. Kirkpatrick, J. I. Kuhn, Colonel J. T. Geibner and T. J. Bigham were thus seized and drafted for speeches. Under the stimulus of the occasion all delivered fiery and eloquent addresses. Mr. Bigham announced that the recruiting officer on Wood Street wanted 500 men at once to send to the front, and that all who desired to visit Richmond at the expense of Uncle Sam should report without delay. One manufacturer present volunteered \$10,000 toward paying off the National debt. This meeting was wholly informal and wholly unique.

Another held in Wilkins' Hall, at 3 o'clock p. m. of the 3d, considered the most suitable manner of celebrating the event. A resolution was adopted appointing a committee of ten to prepare resolutions and a proper program for celebration, and S. F. Von Bonnhorst, J. P. Glass, W. M. Hersh, Joseph Kaye, Thomas J. Bigham, Henry A. Weaver, John D. Bailey, John McD. Crossan, Thomas Reese, William Tomlinson and George E. Brewer were appointed such committee. Thomas Howard then addressed the meeting in brilliant style.

The people in vast numbers met as if by magic in the evening of the 3d, at the postoffice steps, and congratulated one another on the glorious results. At the evening meeting the resolutions presented by the committee previously appointed were read by John P. Glass, and adopted with overwhelming and uproarious unanimity. They recommended the total suspension of business on the 4th; announced that 100 guns would be fired by Captain Knapp on that day; gave notice that the evening would be given over to a torchlight procession; and the clergy were requested to hold special services in honor of the glorious occasion. The name of Grant was on every lip. The name of Lincoln was wildly cheered. Sherman and Sheridan were not forgotten. General J. K. Moorhead, John B. Butler and J. J. Siebeneck spoke amid enthusiastic cheering. The people gave themselves up to unrestrained rejoicing.

"Babylon is fallen! The city of abominations is captured by the armies of Freedom. The conspirators are driven from their lair, or are held in the firm grip of their captors. The old flag waves in triumph over Richmond" (s). . . . "Yesterday will take rank in history as the most joyous day since that on which was proclaimed that these United States should be forever free and independent of Great Britain. The wild enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds, and thousands of men, women and children surged through the crowded streets, each eager to catch the last gleam of news that flashed along the electric wires, carrying additional particulars of the glorious success of the invincible Union heroes" (s). . . . "During the day (3d) guns were fired from Prospect Hill, the wharf and other points in the city. Everywhere flags were flung to the breeze. The scene in the Courthouse on the receipt of the news beggars description. . . . When the judge quietly but firmly announced that the court stood adjourned until 9 o'clock this morning, the shouts that went up from judges, lawyers, jurors, witnesses and

(s) Commercial, April 4, 1865.

spectators may be imagined, but no words can paint them upon paper. In less time than it takes to tell it there was not a man, from the president judge down to the humblest tipstaff, within the walls of the Courthouse. All had rushed forth to catch the news" (s).

On Tuesday, the day set apart for public rejoicing, the enthusiasm suffered little or no abatement. Many gathered to see the great cannon fired. All day long the people gave themselves up to the luxury of patriotism and loyalty, and at night the firemen paraded, rockets were sent aloft and shouts of delight rent the air. All the leading buildings were ablaze with banners and light.

"Our city continued jolly all day yesterday and last night, and is so yet. In fact, it is a growing complaint. The thing refuses to stop and is becoming decidedly chronic. The rolling-mills, the factories, the foundries and workshops stopped all of a sudden and refuse to start again. The entire city has taken to the street and refuses to go in, rain or shine. The men are jolly—the women are jolly—the children are jolly—everybody is jolly, and there is no knowing where the thing will stop" (t). . . . "The city was thrown into the wildest excitement yesterday by reports from Philadelphia, followed by others said to have been received from Washington, that Lee had been captured" (u).

The news of the surrender of Lee's army, received here on April 7, 1865, gave an unexpected stimulus to recruiting, Captain Kirker succeeding in enlisting fifteen men, who no doubt had two objects in view: To get the large bounty and be in at the closing scenes of the tragedy of war. On Sunday, April 9th, thanksgiving services were held in all the churches to express the sentiments of the community of gratitude to God for the splendid victory of General Grant and the prospect of the dawn of peace upon a Union saved and regenerated. "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice"—"Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory"—"Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power; thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy," were the texts chosen by Revs. Douglas, Howard and Davidson, respectively.

The official news of the surrender of General Lee to General Grant was received here on Sunday evening, April 9, 1865, at 9:30 o'clock p. m. and was promptly bulletined. At that hour the rain was pouring in torrents but in an incredibly short space of time crowds were thronging the streets, bonfires sprang into flame in scores of places in spite of rain, illuminations usurped the domain of darkness, rockets soared heavenward and shouts of delight flew echoing to the neighboring hills. Impromptu speeches from the postoffice steps were delivered by W. W. Alexander and James L. Graham. The crowd, led by a city band, marched to the Monongahela House, where John M. Kirkpatrick voiced the general gratitude in a speech of great eloquence and patriotism. As he concluded, he moved that the meeting adjourn to meet everywhere; and stated that, if placed in command, he would march them all over Pittsburg and Allegheny and wake every man, woman and child in the two cities. The jubilant crowd took him at his word, placed him in command, assisted by James L. Graham, and up and down, back and forth, through the dripping streets, the happy people moved to the music of the band and the triumphant tones of the city bells. They stopped at the house of Mrs. Hutchinson, mother-in-law of Secretary Stanton, to cheer both her and him, she having been the first to illuminate her house; thence proceeded, gathering strength and enthusiasm, to the home of ex-Governor Johnston, where a happy and eloquent speech from him evoked repeated applause. He proposed three cheers

(s) Commercial, April 7, 1865.

(t) Commercial, April 5, 1865.

(u) Commercial, April 8, 1865.

for Abraham Lincoln, which were given with all the strength of the assemblage. James L. Graham delivered here another address also, and at its conclusion, it being Sunday, the doxology was sung in "the drenching rain in the open street in grand style." Mrs. Kirkpatrick was cheered at her home, and Colonel Kirkpatrick delivered another speech. The crowd then crossed the river to Allegheny, called out Rev. Dr. Howard, who delivered an impressive speech and a fervent prayer; thence marched to the home of Thomas M. Howe, where another speech of unusual power and eloquence awaited them; then to Mayor Morrison's, thence to Colonel J. B. Clark's, at both of which places they were gladdened with strong and patriotic speeches. Everywhere the crowd moved, windows were thrown up, flags and handkerchiefs waved and happy voices shouted praises to God. John W. Pittock was specially active in promoting the success of this spontaneous demonstration.

Upon receipt of the official news of General Lee's surrender, Major Joseph Knapp fired thirteen guns, when his powder was exhausted; but, having secured more, he continued the salutes of triumph until morning. During the night the fire-bells were rung continuously and volleys of musketry interfered seriously with the sleep of the sluggards and the local secessionists. No others cared to sleep.

On Saturday evening April 8th, the people of Allegheny celebrated the successes of the Union armies with a grand public demonstration. They opened with a magnificent display of fireworks in front of City Hall, and with a brilliant illumination of Federal and Ohio streets. Brilliant speeches were delivered by Thomas M. Howe, James L. Graham, Robert McKnight and H. C. Mackrell. Smith's brass band and Slack's glee club rendered National or patriotic airs. This is said to have been the first public celebration ever given by Allegheny without the aid of Pittsburg. It was the proper time for that city to burst into melody.

On April 10th several of the wards of the two cities suspended for the time being the payment of bounties to volunteers; in other places, however, recruiting continued, Captain Foster mustering in ten men on that date. At this time Allegheny was still behind her quota by 150 men, the Fourth Ward only having met all calls. Manchester, Duquesne, Sharpsburg and Sewickley boroughs and Ross, Franklin, Marshall, Pine, Richland, Tarentum, Sewickley, West Deer and Fawn townships had filled their quotas. On the 12th the wards in Pittsburg ceased paying bounties to volunteers, while the Second Ward, Allegheny, was at this time still paying, though the local bounty had fallen to \$400. On the 13th the War Department ordered discontinued all drafting and recruiting in the loyal States.

Late in 1862 Allegheny County was credited with having furnished 13,248 men for the war. The county quota under the special call for militia in June, 1863, was 3,600; under the call of October, 1863, for six months' men, was 2,601; under the calls of February and March, 1864, was 4,308; under the call of July, 1864, for 100-day men, was 1,488; under the call of July, 1864, for one, two and three years' men, was (estimated) 3,000; under the call of December, 1864, was (estimated) 2,000; total, 30,245 men. As the county was behind its quota several hundred men at the time recruiting was ordered stopped, the exact number of men furnished cannot be given. It is safe to say that this county furnished a grand total of not less than 30,000 men for the Federal army. It should be borne in mind, however, that in this estimate each man has been counted as often as he enlisted, which, in some cases, was three times. Owing to the fact that Pittsburg was a central point and an official rendezvous for troops, this county may have received in the early stages of the war credits of men from other places—men who were anxious to enter



the service. But this number was small. It was estimated at the close of the war, and so engraved on the soldiers' monument erected on Seminary Hill, that 4,000 men from Allegheny County lost their lives in the rebellion.

The awful news of the assassination of President Lincoln reached Pittsburg about 3 o'clock on the morning of April 14, 1865. The cities were soon aroused by the cries of the newsboys, from the sleep of victory and contentment to the bitterest grief they had ever experienced from a public source. The revulsion in public feeling was sickening. It could scarcely be believed, so deep was the wound and intense the shock. Many wept without any wish to conceal or control their sorrow. Others were fierce and indignant. All were sad and terribly depressed by the awful calamity. The newspaper and telegraph offices became crowded with citizens eager for details of the paralyzing affair. Many ladies came with their husbands and wept over the harrowing details. It was scarcely daylight before the cities and suburbs were draped in mourning. No one spoke of anything but the great loss; a solemn sadness fell upon all classes and pursuits. Flags throughout the cities and on the steamers were displayed at half-mast; the emblems and tokens of death took possession of the community. All public buildings were arrayed in crape, and during the whole of that sad and memorable Saturday the funeral bells tolled in token of the Nation's loss. Rich and poor alike united in the universal grief, and the entire day was made holy and sacred at the shrine of sorrow. In all the churches sad congregations listened to praise of the great character and magnanimity of the martyred President. The pulpits and facades of all were appropriately draped. As one gentleman said to another, the news here was "the saddest since the crucifixion of the Savior." Likenesses of the dead President, draped in black and robed in the National flag, were displayed in hundreds of windows. On Saturday night one firm which attempted to do business was required to close instantaneously. A few of secession proclivities, having expressed their pleasure for the assassination, were summarily dealt with. The courts met and adjourned, after a formal announcement of the assassination and the appointment of a committee to prepare suitable resolutions to express the general grief. Mayor Lowry called a meeting of the citizens at Wilkins' Hall at 11 o'clock on Saturday, and committees were appointed to make arrangements for a meeting to be held on Monday, April 17th.

At 2 o'clock on Monday an immense multitude assembled at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Smithfield Street, around a stand which had been erected over the postoffice steps. Prayer was offered by Dr. Allison, editor of the *Presbyterian Banner*. Dr. George McCook was called out and delivered a patriotic and touching eulogy. Ex-Governor Johnston then took the stand and read an elaborate and beautiful address, reviewing the great cause and results of the war, and apotheosizing the life, private character, public acts and martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln. He was followed by Thomas Williams, General T. N. Hyde of Kentucky, Colonel Hawkins of East Tennessee, General J. K. Moorhead and Thomas J. Bigham. The assemblage then adjourned, to meet in the evening at Wilkins' Hall. The evening meeting was largely attended; hundreds were unable to gain admittance. Mayor Lowry officiated as chairman. Speeches were made by General Hyde, Colonel Hawkins and others.

At 10 o'clock on Monday the members of the bench and bar assembled in the District Court room, pursuant to adjournment on Saturday. Judge Hampton was called upon to preside. Suitable resolutions were reported by the committee and unanimously adopted. Short, earnest, patriotic and eloquent speeches were delivered by A. W. Loomis, Judge McCandless, Marshall Swartzwelder, Judge Lowry, S. A. Purviance, W. M. Shinn and Thomas M. Marshall. The presiding officer, Judge Hampton, closed the affecting memorial

services by reading a beautiful response to the resolutions, all of which were ordered spread upon the court records.

The people did not recover from this sorrow in one or two days, but kept up and increased the outward expressions of their grief for many days. Even the bed at the Monongahela House upon which Mr. Lincoln had slept (the same which had been previously occupied by the Prince of Wales) was draped with the somber trappings of death. The city councils, many societies and religious bodies passed resolutions of sorrow at the great loss. At the hour when the obsequies of President Lincoln were held in Washington, the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny, pursuant to the proclamations of the mayors, suspended business and met in the churches for memorial services, while the solemn bells poured out their floods of sound and sorrow. In accordance with the proclamation of Governor Curtin, business here was suspended during the passage through Pennsylvania of the funeral cortege of Mr. Lincoln.

A meeting to take preliminary action in regard to the erection of a monument to the memory of Mr. Lincoln was held in the Common Council Chamber of Allegheny on the evening of the 18th. A committee was appointed to confer with a similar committee from Pittsburg. About the 1st of May, 1865, Major Moorhead, mustering officer at this post, received orders from the War Department to muster out of the United States service all drafted men and substitutes then at Camp Reynolds. About the middle of May came the news of the capture of Jeff Davis; whereupon the following advertisement appeared in the *Commercial* of the 15th: "Wanted!—A sound, substantial, sour apple tree, for immediate use. For particulars apply to Mr. Stanton, in the War Department."

At the Union County Convention held in the Courthouse, June 6, 1865, George Burns of Findley Township offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "*Resolved*, That the chairman of the convention appoint an executive committee of nine persons to procure a suitable place, and also procure sufficient means to erect a monument to the memory of Allegheny County's noble sons who have laid down their lives for their country; and also that there be a committee of two persons in each ward, borough and township, to aid the committee in procuring means to accomplish this noble work." In accordance with the first part of this resolution the following executive committee were appointed: George Burns, Colonel James M. Cooper, W. O. Davis, Alexander Gordon, Samuel Riddle, W. A. Herron, Captain James Miller, M. W. Watson and John W. Chalfant. On July 31st, at an adjourned meeting, a complete organization was effected, and General J. S. Negley was elected permanent chairman. An association of soldiers was first formed, but failed in its object to secure the necessary means. They were offered a free lot in the Allegheny Cemetery, which corporation further agreed to build a suitable foundation. The soldiers succeeded in raising \$1,500, but seemed unable to increase the amount. Several years passed away, and finally the ladies accepted the responsibility, and within a few months secured subscriptions to the amount of \$25,000. Among these ladies were the following: Mrs. Samuel McKee, Mrs. John Watt, Mrs. R. Robinson, Mrs. A. L. Pearson, Mrs. B. Preston, Mrs. R. E. Sellers, Mrs. R. D. Thompson, Mrs. Alexander Chambers, Mrs. John Barton, Mrs. H. H. Mann, Mrs. M. Cote, Mrs. L. S. Johns, Mrs. Q. A. Scott, Mrs. C. C. Scaife, Mrs. Annie Stewart, Miss Sue McCord, Miss Mary Howard, Miss Linne Prestley, Miss M. Galway and Miss Mattie Fowler. Mrs. Samuel McKee was elected president, and proposals for the location of the monument was thereupon called for. Several sites were offered. The Allegheny Cemetery Association tendered a lot free. The Allegheny park commissioners agreed to furnish a site for the monument free of cost; to bear

the expense of erecting the foundation; to guarantee at least \$5,000 toward the fund; and to maintain the monument for all time to come. The ladies finally accepted the offer of the Cemetery Association, but this course met with great opposition, particularly from Allegheny, and generally throughout the county. The association was incorporated in the spring of 1869, and General A. L. Pearson, Captain W. B. Cook, John Chislett and Clarence S. Johns were appointed a building committee. The design of the monument, prepared by Mr. Morganroth, to cost \$26,000, was accepted. The question of location was finally submitted to a vote of the people of the county, which resulted as follows:

	For Pittsburg.	For Allegheny.
Pittsburg.....	2,495	1,101
Allegheny.....	12	5,972
Boroughs.....	267	1,156
Townships.....	530	4,026
Totals.....	3,304	12,315
Majority for Allegheny.....		9,011

A fair held by the ladies was the means of increasing the monument fund to \$26,600, which sum was promptly put out at interest. The foundation of the monument was commenced on or about April 1, 1870, and on Decoration Day of the same year the cornerstone was laid with imposing ceremonies. The total fund at this time amounted to \$28,000, raised by the ladies' committee, \$5,000 presented by the park commissioners, and \$5,000 donated by the county commissioners. The monument was erected during 1870 and 1871, and on Decoration Day of the last-named year the structure was appropriately dedicated by an immense concourse of citizens. The monument was built of Massillon (Ohio) sandstone. Its principal features were the four monuments on either side, representing artillery, cavalry, infantry and navy. Surmounting all was a colossal statue representing Fame. General George G. Meade and Governor John W. Geary were present and delivered brief addresses. John M. Kirkpatrick, orator of the day, delivered an eloquent oration, extolling the martyrdom of the 4,000 soldiers of Allegheny County who had sacrificed their lives on the altars of secession.

The first steps to furnish relief to the families of volunteers were taken by the Committee of Public Safety, which appointed a subcommittee of relief, with branches in every ward, two days after the large meeting of Monday, April 15, 1861. On April 23d the Allegheny Council appropriated \$5,000 for the relief fund, and about the same time Pittsburg doubled the amount. So many volunteers left during April, May and June, 1861, that the committee was stimulated into vigorous and effective action to provide necessaries for their families. Previous to May 6th the committee received in cash and in orders for fuel and provisions \$11,374.25, of which amount seven banks gave \$3,000, and \$10,005.75 was cash. On May 8th the ladies, to the number of about fifty, met to take action, in response to the request of Miss Dorothea L. Dix of Washington, to furnish shirts, socks, etc., for the volunteers. The ladies began active and organized work at once. Calls from the Allegheny County companies already in the field came for similar supplies. The ladies furnished large quantities to the companies in Camp Wickers. Section 10 of the Three Million Loan Bill, passed by the Legislature early in May, constituted the associate judges and the county commissioners of each county a Board of Relief, whose duty was to furnish the families of volunteers with necessary assistance; and section 17 of the same bill authorized county and cities

to levy a tax not exceeding two and a half mills on each dollar for the relief of volunteers or their families. By May 21, 1861, a little more than one month from the time of commencing, they had collected and paid out \$18,483.38; and by June 4th were providing regularly 502 families with the necessities of life, such as flour, meat, coffee, sugar, clothing, etc. By October 20, 1861, the county had so many volunteers in the field that the number of families requiring relief was as follows: Pittsburg 687, Allegheny 366, boroughs 508, townships 471; total, 2,032. At this time \$4,500 was paid out each week for relief. It was apparent to the committee that unless the county tax of two mills—which raised about \$50,000—was increased or renewed in some way within eight or ten weeks, the families of volunteers would be cut off entirely from this source of livelihood. On November 1st the Relief Board made the following report:

Districts.	Number of Applicants.	Amount Paid Out.
Pittsburg .....	772	\$6,600.50
Allegheny .....	402	3,564.00
Boroughs .....	599	5,712.54
Townships .....	529	5,100.00
	<hr/> 2,302	<hr/> \$20,977.04

On June 25th the Committee of Public Safety requested the County Commissioners to levy a tax of at least two mills on the dollar for the year 1861 for the purpose of creating a fund for the support of the families of volunteers. The Commissioners conditionally promised to do so on July 25th. Agreeably to promise, the county levied the required tax but no provision was made for its speedy collection, and hence the Relief Board of the Committee of Public Safety was left to furnish the necessary assistance, and nobly met the emergency. Late in November, 1861, the fund for the relief of soldiers' families became exhausted and a large crowd of women assembled at the Commissioners' office and demanded bread or the means to buy it. They were sent to the Treasurer's office, where they were informed that that functionary had not collected the tax because the Commissioners had not turned over the tax duplicates until two days after the time for giving legal notice had expired, so that he had never had legal possession of the books; that the Commissioners had either failed or neglected to collect the tax through collectors, and that if the Commissioners would do their duty under the two-mill act, the Treasurer would negotiate a loan in one hour of \$30,000. Prior to December 28, 1861, there was paid out by the county to the families of volunteers the sum of about \$38,000, of which \$28,000 was county fund and \$10,000 was borrowed from the banks. It was the design to appropriate the \$28,000 from the county treasury, so that the full two-mill tax of about \$50,000, less the \$10,000 borrowed from the banks, could be used as soon as collected, for further relief. Earnest calls upon the Commissioners for help during the winter of 1861-2 were made by many families whose support was in the army. During the year 1861 the State spent in Pittsburg and Allegheny for clothing, meat, bread, lumber, drugs, shoes, stoves, hardware, coal, chairs, mattresses, etc., for the army, the sum of \$73,995.04, as shown by the report of the Auditor of State. Large quantities of hospital supplies of every description were collected from all parts of the county and sent to the regiments and companies in the field in November and December, 1861. Owing to mismanagement in collecting funds for the relief of soldiers' families, much suffering was experienced by them in the spring of 1862; so much so in fact that on one occasion in April a







number of the wives of volunteers presented themselves at the houses of prominent citizens and imperatively demanded relief, representing that they and their children were starving. A large meeting or convention was held on April 30th, on which occasion the County Commissioners were asked to negotiate a loan sufficient to meet the present exigency of the county relief fund. A number of the boroughs appropriated money for the same purpose. Plans of all kinds were instituted to raise funds: lectures, aid societies, performances, suppers, contributions, festivals, etc.

In October, 1861, Jacob Glosser was appointed Government agent here for the collection of blankets, quilts, pillows, socks, etc., for the army. He at once appointed in every ward, borough and township committees of ladies, who were authorized to form societies to carry out the wishes of the Government societies. This was the first installation here of the great Sanitary Commission that was destined to confer so much comfort upon the soldiers in the field and the hospitals. Contributions were placed with Postmasters S. F. Von Bonnhorst of Pittsburg, and Samuel Riddle of Allegheny. On January 22, 1862, a public meeting held here, of which S. F. Von Bonnhorst was chairman, considered the most efficient means to assist the United States Sanitary Commission in providing necessary supplies for sick and wounded soldiers. Committees were appointed and other steps taken to meet this important requirement. Early in April, 1862, when the news of the great battle of Shiloh (or Pittsburg Landing, as it was then called) was received, the Board of Trade wired to Secretary Stanton and to General Halleck: "We will send one or two of our best steamboats, with surgeons and nurses, to Pittsburg, Tenn., to return with wounded soldiers, to be taken care of in this city;" and further appropriated \$1,000 for the furtherance of that object. Two boats were hired, many nurses—men and women—and surgeons, and large quantities of supplies, were loaded thereon and dispatched down the river on the 11th. The expedition was placed in charge of Felix R. Brunot, who went in advance to the scene of the battle by rail and stage. About the 23d of April a telegram was received from him to the effect that the two boats, Hailman and Marengo, would soon reach Pittsburg on their return, having on board about seventy wounded soldiers. A large meeting of the citizens was called on the 24th to make preparations to receive them. The boats took on board at Pittsburg Landing about 240 sick and wounded, but left all except about seventy at other points along the river. Upon the arrival of the boats on the 26th and 27th all the wounded, except seventeen, were placed in the Marine Hospital; the others were provided for at Passavant Infirmary and Mercy Hospital.

On June 17, 1862, the Pittsburg Commission sent twenty-six delegates to the hospitals of the Army of the Potomac. Six were left at Fortress Monroe and the others reached Savage's Station on the 23d, and at once had all they could do in caring for the wounded brought from the bloody fields before Richmond. When the army fell back, eleven of the delegates, among whom was Felix R. Brunot, fell into the hands of the enemy, but were permitted to continue their labors until July 8th, when they were sent to Richmond and confined in Libby Prison until duly exchanged. This was but one of many similar efforts made to care for the wounded and sick in the field. Scarcely a battle was fought during the war, in which Allegheny County men participated, that was not followed either by the sending of delegates, surgeons and supplies to the field, or by bringing the sick and wounded home to be cared for. The United States General Hospital in the Ninth Ward rendered great assistance. Almost every church had its special committee to secure cash and supplies. The same was true of the cities, boroughs and townships. The Committee on Quartering Troops and Furnishing Provisions,

consisting of Samuel McKelvey, John W. Riddle, William Robinson, Jr., R. Patterson, T. J. Gallaher, Joshua Rhodes, Alexander Speer, William Holmes and W. Howard, made arrangements in April, 1861, to care temporarily for volunteers here, preparatory to their departure to the field.

On Sunday morning, July 25, 1861, the ladies of the Subsistence Committee, a branch of the Committee of Public Safety, commenced operations by furnishing the Twenty-fourth Ohio Regiment with coffee and ham sandwiches while waiting at the depot to take the train for the East. The lunch was handed to the soldiers as they stood in the street. At this time the committee had no room or building; but the next week the old Leech warehouse was secured and opened and used until October, 1861, when they moved into the old City Hall, pursuant to an order of the City Councils. The first work of the committee was informal, but a regular organization was effected August 3, 1861. From July 25, 1861, to April 1, 1862, they fed over 43,000 men passing through the city to the seat of war. In the meantime, but after January 15, 1862, they sent to the fields and hospitals immense quantities of socks, comforts, towels, dressing-gowns, pillows, blankets, mittens, neckscarfs, sheets, drawers, finger-stalls, handkerchiefs, books, slippers, bandages, canned and dried fruits, etc.—a total of 7,031 articles. In January, 1862, when they began sending hospital stores to the field, they opened a depot for the reception of such supplies, and continued to receive and forward immense quantities until April, 1863, when the United States Christian Commission, having established a branch in Pittsburg, was given possession of the storeroom and stores, and thereafter such field relief was furnished by that organization. From January, 1862, to April, 1863, the local Subsistence Committee received and forwarded to the field \$65,000 worth of hospital stores. These stores were not procured with the ease that plums are obtained from a tree by shaking, but cost the members of the committee persistent labor in all localities where supplies were likely to be furnished. The men and women composing the committee cannot be given too much credit for their heroic efforts, self-denials and sacrifices to afford comfort to the sick and wounded soldiers of both great armies.

Before turning the stores and the management of that department of relief over to the Christian Commission, the Subsistence Committee, on January 18, 1863, established a Home for sick and wounded soldiers who could not otherwise be properly cared for. At first a small room was opened at 34 Liberty Street, and on the first day forty-five soldiers, ten of whom were on crutches, and twenty-one had no means to obtain a meal, were received and provided for. At first the committee had only a miniature cookstove upon which but one article could be cooked at a time. By July 23, 1862, it had furnished meals to over 50,000 troops passing through here, of whom about 350 were sick or wounded and were furnished with medical attendance. A grand total of 24,271 articles had been contributed by this and surrounding counties and sent to the field. Cash to the amount of \$1,207.71 had been collected and judiciously expended. On the night of September 28th and morning of September 29, 1862, the Pittsburg Subsistence Committee fed 4,340 troops passing through this city. Previous to the night of the 28th and of the midday of the 24th they fed 3,671, a total of 8,011 men in four days. This was but one of many such splendid accomplishments by this grand Subsistence Committee during the bloody four years of war.

When the news of the battle of Stone River, the last of December, 1862, reached Pittsburg, immediate preparations were made to dispatch a large quantity of supplies to the hospitals of that sanguinary field. Negley's Brigade had lost heavily in that struggle. In one day \$12,000 in money and supplies was

brought to the committee. One merchant furnished 300 pairs of woolen socks. An old woman insisted that the committee must take her last fifty-cent piece. Scores of such instances occurred. During the year ending January 15, 1863, the committee collected in round numbers \$50,000 in cash and hospital stores. During the year 1862 they sent to the field the following articles: 818 comforts, 2,310 pillows, 2,382 pillow-cases, 1,950 sheets, 5,434 towels, 2,543 pads and rings, 17,579 bundles of lint, 9,483 rolls of bandages, 2,240 bundles of muslin, 174 blankets, 2,536 drawers, 6,290 muslin sheets, 1,350 flannel shirts, 232 bedticks, 442 neckbands, 279 dressing-gowns, 3,001 pairs socks, 223 pairs mittens, 567 pairs slippers, 6,885 handkerchiefs, 4,696 cans fruit, 2,419 pounds crackers, 1,345 quarts of wine, 1,148 pounds of butter, 2,118 dozen eggs, 13,307 books, 212 pounds of soap, 6,135 pounds dried fruits, 1,876 packages corn starch, farina and tobacco. "You can say unhesitatingly to the donors at Pittsburg that by this one shipment (175 barrels of onions and potatoes), setting aside all questions of humanity, they have done more to increase the efficient fighting strength of the army than they would have done by securing a full regiment of new recruits" (v). After the Soldiers' Home had once been started, it grew in usefulness very rapidly; the wonder was how they had managed to get along so many months without it. In October, 1863, a sleeping-room was added. On May 5, 1864, a new Home was opened with due ceremony, comprising the second, third and fourth stories of the building at 34 Liberty Street, opposite the Central Depot, all fitted with dining-room, kitchen, sitting-rooms, sleeping apartments; in fact, a home in the truest sense of the word. It was said of the ladies of the committee:

"Stitch, stitch, stitch!  
From morning until night!  
Stitch, stitch, stitch!  
While the weather is warm and bright!  
Oh, but to breathe the breath  
Of approval would be most sweet,  
And not take the snarl of a fault-finding set  
And be worked nearly off their feet.

"Work, work, work!  
Their labor, it must not flag;  
And what are its wages? the growls of those  
Who have not given a rag.  
Oh, ladies, ladies, work on;  
Do not take respite brief,  
You will have leisure for love and hope  
And not any cause for grief."

When the Soldiers' Home of the Pittsburg Subsistence Committee was opened in May, 1864, several ladies here signed the pledge agreeing not to purchase articles of foreign manufacture during the war. They formed a society and elected Mrs. F. A. Brunot president, Mrs. F. Volz vice-president, and Miss M. M. Maitland secretary. The wording of the first pledge was considered too strict, so, in October, 1864, it was amended to read, "We will not purchase any article of foreign manufacture for which American can be substituted, and will not purchase any imported articles of luxury, such as silks, velvets, laces, embroideries, etc." By March 1, 1865, they had received \$61,580.60, and had disbursed \$54,334.40.

(v) Extract from a letter of M. C. Read, Sanitary Agent at Murfreesboro, Tenn.

Previous to May 9, 1863, the committee fed 102,460 soldiers, and on that date had under their care in the hospital here nearly 200 sick and wounded. Previous to May 1, 1864, they fed 206,457. At this time W. P. Weyman, Joseph Albree and H. M. Atwood were the executive board of the Subsistence Committee. During the months of January and February, 1864, the committee furnished meals for 14,346 soldiers, the most of whom were veterans home on furloughs. By December 31, 1864, they had fed 325,248 men; by March 1, 1865, over 350,000, and by July 1, 1865, 420,107. They fed a grand total of not less than 460,000 men.

The Pittsburg branch of the United States Christian Commission, as before stated, was organized April 6, 1863. Previous to January 1, 1864, its labors are shown by the following figures:

Cash contributions.....	\$21,348.81
Value of stores donated.....	45,708.79
Value of stores sent to armies.....	54,079.01
Value of reading matter.....	4,635.29
Total.....	\$125,771.90

The branch here, called the "Army Committee of Western Pennsylvania," ranked fourth in the United States in point of usefulness. It had sent to the armies previous to January 1, 1864, seventy-two earnest men, who devoted their time to the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers. It received great assistance from the Pittsburg Subsistence Committee. Money was received by Joseph Albree and stores by W. P. Weyman. During the year ending April 1, 1864, the Army Committee sent to the armies, and distributed at home, hospital stores and reading-matter to the value of \$80,910, of which three-fourths went to the Army of the Cumberland, which was placed under the special care of the Pittsburg branch. In the fall of 1863 a station was established by them at Camp Howe, and early in March, 1864, another at Camp Copeland. Every week they visited and supplied the United States General Hospital here. The ladies of the Subsistence Committee continued to give them great assistance. By April, 1864, the Army Committee had sent to the field 130 delegates, and on April 13th there were yet with the armies thirty of these earnest workers.

The first annual meeting of the Pittsburg branch of the Christian Commission was held in the First Presbyterian Church, on Wood Street, the evening of Sunday, May 8, 1864, and a great assemblage of earnest men and women workers gathered. George H. Stewart of Philadelphia, president of the National organization, was present. Rev. Herrick Johnson, president of the Pittsburg branch, presided. These two gentlemen and Rev. Dr. Priestly delivered elaborate and eloquent appeals for assistance, which met with instant response from the great assemblage. In subscriptions and cash there was secured \$21,145. William Frew, who had previously agreed to give \$1,000, arose to his feet under his own splendid patriotism and generosity and the electrical effect of the addresses and raised the amount to \$5,000. T. S. Clarke subscribed \$2,000, and James O'Hara, Charles Lockhart and William Thaw \$1,000 each. This was a wonderful meeting and did incalculable good. The sum subscribed that night was the nucleus for continued donations during the remainder of the war. By May 11, 1864, it amounted to \$28,500, and on that date \$10,000 was sent to the National Commission. By July 2d the amount reached \$80,308.82; December 6, 1864, \$104,482.87; March 1, 1865, \$139,945.35; April 1, 1865, \$142,636.66; July 1, 1865, \$159,301.70, and probably three times that



amount in supplies. On June 10, 1865, a new Soldiers' Home on Liberty Street was opened and occupied, and a short time afterward contained forty-one orphans. Later, the care of soldiers' orphans was transferred to the State.

On March 5, 1864, it was decided at a public meeting of the citizens to hold a Sanitary Fair, to commence not later than June 1st. Later, another meeting was held and a thorough organization and complete arrangements were made. The Executive Committee appointed consisted of Felix R. Brunot, chairman, Thomas M. Howe, John H. Shoenberger, J. I. Bennett, John W. Chalfant, Charles W. Batchelor, B. F. Jones, James O'Connor, James Park, Jr., Mark W. Watson, James Watt and W. S. Haven. The Ladies' Committee consisted of Miss Rachel W. McFadden, chairman, Mesdames F. R. Brunot, Tiernan, Paxton, Price, William Bakewell, Kaye, John Watt, Brady Wilkins, Algernon Bell, and Misses Susan Sellers and Mary Moorhead. Calls were promptly issued to Western Pennsylvania particularly, and the whole North generally, for anything that could be "eaten, worn, sold or was curious to look at." Ten carloads of lumber for the building were received in one lot in April. After much discussion it was decided to hold the Fair on the West Common in Allegheny, and soon Floral Hall, Ladies' Bazaar, Refectory, Exhibition Hall, Monitor Hall, Mechanics' Hall and other buildings began to show their forms and proportions under the free labor of carpenters. The Art Gallery and Old Curiosity Shop were established in the City Council Chambers. The Sanitary Fair Fund was started at the commencement, and by May 26th amounted to \$46,711.35. Under an urgent call from J. K. Moorhead, from Washington, early in May, \$2,000 of the fund was sent to the battlefields of the Army of the Potomac; and a total of \$40,000 was anticipated and pledged from the same fund if needed. When the Fair opened on June 1, 1864, Nathaniel Holmes, the treasurer, had on hand \$84,059.37; and at this time enough more was promised to raise the amount to \$101,029.77, of which the iron firms gave \$15,750 and the banks \$12,350. It was decided at the outset that ten per cent. of the net proceeds of the Fair should be used in building a Soldiers' Home for the Subsistence Committee, and that twenty-five per cent. should be donated to a house for disabled soldiers and their orphans, unless the same should be needed for the sick and wounded during the progress of the war.

The opening day was a grand affair, though the ceremonies occurred late in the afternoon. An immense procession, led by General Negley, chief marshal, and composed of Governor Curtin and his staff, officials of the two cities and the boroughs, all the fire engines and crews, the members of many societies and unions, and a large number of citizens, started from the Monongahela House at 4 o'clock p. m. and marched through Smithfield, Fifth, Market, St. Clair and Federal streets, over the suspension bridge to the Fair Grounds in Allegheny, where the opening speech was made by Governor Curtin. It was estimated that 5,000 people were present. The first day of the Fair was June 2d, and the receipts amounted to \$14,454.23. Great success attended every effort of the management. Contests for flags to regiments and steamers, pistols to General Herron, a fine chair to Mrs. General Hay, gowns to Generals Grant and McClellan, a sword of Pittsburg steel to General Sheridan, and an immense fruit-cake to President Lincoln were settled by votes, and large sums realized. The big 20-inch cannon was exhibited by Mr. Knapp and \$753.50 realized, that gentleman giving half. A grand total of \$54,973.67 was realized from the Ladies' Bazaar, and over \$8,250 from Floral Hall. The great event closed on June 18, 1864. The Sanitary Fair realized from all sources \$363,570.09, or net proceeds of \$3.47 for every man, woman and child in the two cities and all the adjacent boroughs. Of the cash receipts Venango County contributed \$18,555.70; Lawrence County, \$8,144.16; all other counties of Western Pennsylvania

\$13,761.14; places outside of Western Pennsylvania, \$4,719. In cash and goods Chicago contributed about \$6,000. The Pittsburg Sanitary Commission, on August 9, 1864, passed a resolution setting aside the sum of \$80,000 of the proceeds of the Fair for the future establishment, should the fund not be needed by the exigencies of war, of a Soldiers' Home. On April 6, 1865, the sum of \$100,000, including the aforesaid \$80,000, was appropriated for the establishment of a home for maimed, disabled and aged discharged soldiers of the Union Army from Western Pennsylvania. A committee, consisting of F. R. Brunot, C. W. Batchelor, M. W. Watson, James O'Connor and Joshua Hanna was appointed to carry these measures into effect. At the final closing of the accounts of the Fair the following farewell was issued by the Executive Committee:

"In closing our official duty in connection with the Pittsburg Sanitary Fair, the members of the Executive Committee desire to express their obligations to the many generous hearts and busy hands which have coöperated with them, and especially to the ladies, without whom there could have been no such magnificent results. For ourselves, and in behalf of the thousands of our country's defenders who have reaped, and are continuing to reap, the benefits of their generous labors, we offer them all our most grateful thanks.

Felix R. Brunot,	B. F. Jones,	M. W. Watson,	W. S. Haven.
Chairman.	J. I. Bennett,	John Watt,	Thomas M. Howe,
James Park, Jr.,	James O'Connor,	John H. Shoenber-	
John W. Chalfant,	Chas. W. Batchelor	ger.	

"Pittsburg, April 10, 1865.

Executive Committee."

During the summer and fall of 1865 formal receptions were given the various regiments upon their arrival home. They usually paraded the streets, exhibiting their soiled uniforms and tattered flags, and were welcomed by an oration from some prominent citizen, to which the commanding officer responded. A substantial meal, furnished by the Subsistence Committee, ended their reception. Since the war the observance of Decoration Day, and the proceedings of the Grand Army of the Republic, with an occasional reunion of some company or regiment, furnish the only mementos of the horrors of the Great Rebellion.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION—FIRST PHYSICIANS—THEIR METHODS OF PRACTICE—OBSTACLES THEY WERE FORCED TO OVERCOME—THE DOCTORS' APPRENTICES—PRIVATE AND PUBLIC CHARACTERS OF THE LEADING PRACTITIONERS—ROSTER OF PHYSICIANS—PERSONAL INCIDENTS OF INTEREST—HOMEOPATHY—MERCY HOSPITAL—WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL—INSANE ASYLUM—ST. FRANCIS HOSPITAL—PASSAVANT'S HOSPITAL—HOMEOPATHIC HOSPITAL—PITTSBURG HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN—ALLEGHENY GENERAL HOSPITAL—ROSELIA FOUNDLING ASYLUM—SOUTH SIDE HOSPITAL—ST. JOHN'S GENERAL HOSPITAL—EYE AND EAR HOSPITAL—PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL—ALLEGHENY COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY—HOMEOPATHIC MEDICAL SOCIETY—PITTSBURG ACADEMY OF MEDICINE—WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA MEDICAL COLLEGE—OTHER ORGANIZATIONS—EPIDEMICS AND INCIDENTS.

The hardy pioneers who, in the last half of the eighteenth century, gathered near the fort built at the forks of the Ohio for the protection of the military post, and who laid the foundations of what is now a great city, depended when ill upon the homely skill of their neighbors, and doubtless these domestic ministrations were usually sufficient for their rugged constitutions. Upon extraordinary occasions such of those as were able could procure the services of the surgeon, who always formed one of the military party at the fort. One of these gentlemen is the first recorded physician of Pittsburg. Shortly after 1770 Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, surgeon in the British Army, resigned his commission and took up his permanent residence in the town, being attracted by the wonderful beauty of the place before the iron hand of Industry had stripped the verdure from the hills, seamed and scarred the lovely bosom of the earth, defiled the sparkling waters and spread a sooty pall across the sky.

Dr. Bedford was a man of polished manners, thoroughly educated in his profession, as his commission in the British Army attested, and of scholarly habits. His success was rapid and complete and he accumulated a modest fortune in the form of several tracts of land on the south side of the Monongahela, now within the city limits. Shortly after the beginning of the present century he retired from practice. In the city directory of 1815 his name appears as "Nathaniel Bedford, gentleman, Birmingham." He never married, and after his death the Freemasons, of which fraternity he was a prominent member, erected a monument to his memory in the form of an iron urn, which still stands, or did until recently, on the hillside immediately under the track of the South Twelfth Street Inclined Railway. During Dr. Bedford's active professional life a second medical pioneer appeared in the person of Dr. George Stevenson.

Dr. Stevenson was born in York, Pennsylvania, in 1759. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was a student in the Carlisle Academy. With some of his teachers, and many of his fellow students, he joined the patriot army. He served with credit and distinction, and was conspicuous for his gallantry at the battle of Brandywine, and for his patient endurance at Valley Forge. Sometime during the war he completed his medical studies and reenlisted as a surgeon. At the close of the war he returned to Carlisle and took up the practice of his profession. When the Whisky Insurrection threatened the integrity











physician in the twenties, always busy, and conspicuous by his handsome person and the spirited gray horse he always rode. Dr. Charles Armstrong was a type of the quiet, unassuming family doctor. He lived to extreme old age, dying in retirement on the property he owned in the lower part of Allegheny. William F. Irwin was for many years physician to the Western Penitentiary. John H. Irwin practiced on the South Side. There was another Dr. John Irwin, known from his somewhat erratic habits, and to distinguish him from the other, as "Devil" John. He was a skillful practitioner in spite of his demoniacal sobriquet.

Dr. William Addison was a son of Judge Addison, and he had an unusual advantage in those primitive days—two years' study in Paris. He was a brother-in-law of Dr. Peter Mowry and in 1824 became associated with him in practice. Dr. Addison was somewhat short in temper and abrupt in manner, but withal a scholarly and skillful physician. He was a naturalist of no little repute. I had in my possession recently an Ornithological Dictionary, with copious marginal notes by the hand of Dr. Addison, which showed his keen powers of observation, as well as his independence of thought. Dr. H. D. Sellers was known as an excellent physician, a dignified gentleman and a strict observer of the ethics of his profession.

Dr. James R. Speer was born in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1796, and came to Pittsburg in 1825. For many years he was prominent in professional, social and civic life. He was especially skillful as a surgeon, and before the days of specialism he operated for cataract over 600 times. He died September 7, 1891, aged 95 years. Dr. Jeremiah Brooks was born on February 24, 1797, in New Jersey, and located in Pittsburg in 1830. He enjoyed a large practice and the esteem of all who knew him. He was active in the organization of Passavant's Hospital, and was connected with it as long as he lived. He died August 27, 1865. Dr. Thomas F. Dale was a successful practitioner in Allegheny for many years. He died in 1871. Dr. Edward Gazzam, a brother of Joseph P. Gazzam, exchanged the profession of medicine for that of law, with the evident approval of the people, for they chose him to represent them in the Senate of Pennsylvania. Dr. A. N. McDowell was born in Chambersburg in 1801 and came to Pittsburg in 1826, and until his death, May 12, 1849, was an active and successful physician.

Dr. John Roseburg was born in 1803, and died of Asiatic cholera in Poland, Ohio, in 1833. During his short life of thirty years he had achieved distinction as a physician, an orator and a poet of no mean order. He was president of the City Councils and one of the originators of that famous old military organization, the Duquesne Grays.

A figure conspicuous by his grace of manner, pleasing address and professional and public popularity, was Dr. Jonas R. McClintock. He was born January 9, 1808, and died November 27, 1879. While quite a young man he served the city as mayor. A list of physicians practicing in Pittsburg in 1853, furnished by Dr. A. M. Speer, contains the following names in addition to some of those mentioned: Fahnestock, Shepley Holmes, Edrington, Robert Simpson, Walter, Murdoch, Snyder, Dorsey, Backus, Wilson, McCook, Sr., McCook, Jr., Morgan, King, Cahill, Brackenridge, Hazlett, Reynolds, Gross, Sr., Gross, Jr., Dilworth, Trevor, Irish, Toner, Gallaher, Mackey, Hallock, Shaw, Tindle, Pollock, Speer, Bruce, Hammersley, McCracken; and in Allegheny, J. B. Herron, William Herron, John Dickson, Thomas Dickson and Reed. Of these there are now living but three: Dr. James B. Herron, Dr. Thomas W. Shaw and Dr. Alexander M. Speer.

In the limits of this sketch it is only possible to mention a few of those whose names appear in this honored list, and even then but briefly. Dr. James







later spent two years in the hospitals and medical schools of Edinburg and Paris. While in Europe he gave special attention to the heart and lungs and was an acknowledged authority on the diseases of those organs. As a practitioner he was preëminently successful and is gratefully remembered by many of our older citizens.

Dr. John Dickson was for many years a leader among the physicians of his time. He was born in Cecil County, Maryland, May 24, 1812, and graduated in medicine at the University of New York in 1830. His ability as a surgeon during those trying times before the discovery of anæsthesia was promptly recognized and he speedily achieved distinction. He rendered invaluable service as a volunteer surgeon during the war. He died January 9, 1888. Dr. Thomas Dickson, a younger brother of the above, fell a sacrifice for his country in 1862. He contracted pernicious malaria while with the Army of the Potomac in the Peninsular campaign, and reached home only to die. Dr. John S. Dickson and Dr. Joseph N. Dickson, sons of Dr. John Dickson, upheld the medical traditions of the family name. John S. was born April 11, 1844. He received his degree at Jefferson Medical College in 1868 and then studied abroad for two years. He was a surgeon of marked ability and a successful physician. He died of pneumonia, September 14, 1892. Joseph N. was born April 8, 1848. He also was a graduate of Jefferson (1869), and like his brother spent two years in London and Paris. "Dr. Joe," as he was familiarly called, inherited a full measure of his father's surgical tastes and abilities. He was a popular physician, a keen sportsman, an ardent lover of nature, and a genial and kindly man.

A name and a personality that will be recalled with pleasure is that of Dr. Samuel Dilworth. Dr. Dilworth was born on Mount Washington, Pittsburg, in 1823. He read medicine with Dr. Reynolds and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1844. He died in 1862.

Dr. Robert B. Mowry was one of the ties recently severed that bound us to the olden time. He was born in Pittsburg, December 23, 1813. He read medicine with his uncle, Dr. Peter Mowry, who had been apprenticed to Dr. Bedford, the first physician in Western Pennsylvania. Dr. R. B. Mowry graduated from Jefferson Medical College in 1836, and from that date to his death, a period of nearly sixty years, he actively, conscientiously and successfully practiced his profession. The esteem in which he was held led to his election to the presidency of the State Medical Society in 1876. Among the visible monuments of his labors is the Allegheny General Hospital, the founding of which is largely due to his efforts. He died on March 14, 1895.

Dr. Thomas Mabon was for many years one of the foremost physicians of Western Pennsylvania. He was born in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, in 1821. He was graduated from Jefferson Medical College in 1852, and afterward studied in the University of Glasgow. He came to Allegheny in 1864 and was soon engaged in an active and exacting practice. He died on November 23, 1890, leaving a name that will be honored and cherished as long as memory lasts among those who knew him.

The medical history of Pittsburg presents no more striking figure than Dr. James McCann. He was born in Allegheny County in 1836 and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1864. No medical man of his generation in Western Pennsylvania was more widely known or more highly esteemed than Dr. McCann. As a young man he was energetic and progressive, taking an active interest and part in everything that touched his professional work. As a mature man (for, unhappily, he did not reach old age) he was an author, a counsellor and a teacher, and preserved his youthful



He was one of the founders of the American Institute of Homeopathic Medicine. Removed to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1847, on the advice of his brother-in-law, J. Heron Foster, founder of the *Pittsburg Dispatch*. He was the first American Homeopath in Pittsburg, Dr. Reichhelm, who had recently come from Germany, preceding him. The two were for a time in partnership. His youngest brother, Dr. J. P. Dake, and his second brother, Dr. C. M. Dake, practiced medicine in Pittsburg between 1850 and 1860. He was called in the '50s to the chair of materia medica in the Hahnemann College, Philadelphia, which professorship he declined. Later his brother, Dr. J. P. Dake, filled the position for several years. He always took a deep interest in the work of advancing Homeopathy, working to that end on the lecture platform and in the journals of that period. In 1859, in a report on "Mechanical Aids to Medication," and delivered in Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., he first suggested the use of concave pads in certain forms of hernia—now in general use. His only son, Dr. Charles R. Dake, resides in Belleville, Illinois. He retired from practice in 1864, removing to and residing for a few years in Brooklyn, New York. Later he resided in San Francisco, California. In 1885 he removed to De Funiak Springs, Florida, where he spent eight or ten months of each year until his death, from heart disease, March 17, 1891.

Dr. J. P. Dake was born in Johnstown, New York, April 22, 1827. He graduated from Union College, Schenectady, in 1849, and from the Homeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania (now the Hahnemann), at Philadelphia, in 1851. Dr. Dake was the pupil, the partner and the successor of Dr. Reichhelm. Early in his professional career he attracted the notice of the homeopathic world and in 1855 he was called to the chair of materia medica at the Hahnemann College, which place he filled satisfactorily for two years. In 1869 he moved to Nashville, Tennessee, in which city he died October 28, 1894. During his whole lifetime Dr. Dake was a conspicuous figure in homeopathic medicine. His admiring confrères heaped many honors upon him, and by his teachings, his writings and his active interest in medical societies he was well known to the followers of Hahnemann both at home and abroad.

The oldest hospital in Pittsburg or Western Pennsylvania is the Mercy, which was founded in the first half of the century by the Sisters of Mercy, with the active aid of Bishop O'Conner and the help of charitable citizens. It opened its doors for the reception of the sick January, 1847, in a building called old Concert Hall, on Penn Avenue, near Sixth Street, rented for the purpose. The permanent building on Stevenson Street was occupied in May, 1848. This had a capacity of sixty beds, though for some time, owing to lack of funds, only twenty-five beds were furnished. The first staff was Drs. William Addison, Joseph P. Gazzam, Daniel McMeal and George D. Bruce. The first resident physician, or interne, was Dr. Thomas W. Shaw. Since its foundation the Mercy Hospital has had an uninterrupted career in growth and good works, and at present its capacity is three hundred, with a staff of twelve and five resident physicians.

The first meeting of the promoters of the Western Pennsylvania Hospital was held on March 10, 1847. During the following years much work was done and many difficulties surmounted, and the hospital was open for the reception of patients in 1853. At the time the hospital was founded party spirit was very bitter, and religious and sectarian topics were harshly discussed, as indicated by the Know-nothing riots. It is pleasant, therefore, to note, in this day of toleration, the following extract from its articles of association, adopted April 20, 1847: "There shall be no discrimination as to

religious denominations, and clergymen shall have access to patients of their persuasion, subject to the general rules in reference to the admission of patients."

In 1856 the establishment of a separate hospital for the insane became necessary, and the cornerstone of Dixmont, the Western Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane (so called in honor of Miss Dorothea L. Dix), was laid on July 19, 1859, and in 1862 the buildings were ready for the reception of patients. The present capacity of the medical and surgical department is two hundred and fifty beds, with a staff of twelve physicians and six internes. The Department for the Insane cares for nearly eight hundred patients, with a medical superintendent, four assistant physicians, and a large force of nurses and attendants. A successful training school for nurses is an important adjunct to the Medical and Surgical Department.

St. Francis Hospital was organized October 30, 1865, by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, who came to Pittsburg from Buffalo, and was incorporated June 20, 1868. The first patient was received in a small frame building on Thirty-seventh Street, which was rented for the purpose. In 1866 a property was purchased, the building upon it put in order and opened for the reception of patients on June 18th of that year. This building accommodated fifty patients. In 1871, by funds contributed by Roman Catholic churches, a brick building 125 by 60 feet and three stories high was erected. About 1885 insane female patients were received. In 1891 a new building for the insane was completed and male insane began to be received. It accommodated one hundred patients. During 1896 an additional story was added to the hospital building, an operating room of modern equipment was provided, and a number of private rooms added. At the same time an annex for the accommodation of the Sisters was built, leaving the entire hospital building for the use of the patients. The first staff was Drs. J. W. Stevenson, John Perchment, P. D. Perchment, and Jacob Ahl. Its present capacity is: Insane Department 150, Medical and Surgical Department 150. The hospital has a staff of twelve and two internes.

The Pittsburg Infirmary (now Passavant's Hospital) is the oldest Protestant hospital in this country. In 1849 Dr. W. A. Passavant, with the aid of Sisters of the Institution of the Protestant Deaconesses, opened a church hospital on Fleming Street, Allegheny. The citizens of Allegheny having threatened to burn the building and mob Dr. Passavant and the Sisters, at the request of the Mayor and Council the hospital was removed to Pittsburg, to a property purchased for the purpose on the corner of Roberts and Reed streets. In September, 1851, the present building was completed and the patients moved from the old house into the new one. The hospital is in charge of the Protestant Deaconesses, aided by an advisory board of managers. The present capacity is forty beds. The hospital staff numbers ten. A movement is now on foot, which promises early success, to build a large addition to the present house as a memorial to Rev. W. A. Passavant, to whom this community more than any other owes so much.

The Homeopathic Hospital is the result of the desire of that school of practitioners to have a building of their own in which to treat their patients. In 1865 Drs. Marcellin Cote, J. C. Burgher and H. Hoffman secured the site on Second Avenue where the building now stands. With the help of sympathizing citizens sufficient funds to justify a beginning were promptly secured, and on August 1, 1866, the hospital was ready to receive patients. It had at that time a capacity of thirty-eight beds and its first staff were Drs. H. Hoffman, F. Taudte, L. M. Rosseau, J. E. Barnaby, J. C. Burgher, L. H. Willard, D. Cowley, J. H. McClelland, J. F. Cooper, and one resident physician. Since its foundation the Homeopathic Hospital has been the special pet of









The necessity of a hospital in the neighborhood of the "mill district" in lower Allegheny led to the opening of St. John's General Hospital, McClure Avenue. The moving spirit in the enterprise was Dr. W. J. Langfitt, and he was ably seconded by the representatives of St. John's Lutheran Home and other charitably disposed citizens. Work was begun on the buildings July 18, 1895, and pushed rapidly to completion. The hospital is in charge of the Protestant Deaconesses, though it is by no means a sectarian institution. The staff comprises ten physicians and one interne and the hospital accommodates seventy patients.

The Eye and Ear Hospital of Pittsburg was organized May 20, 1895, and chartered the following month. A building, No. 945 Penn Avenue, was rented and remodeled and the hospital opened for the reception of patients. The staff is composed of six physicians and the building can accommodate twenty patients.

The Presbyterian Hospital, Sherman Avenue, Allegheny, opened for the reception of patients early in 1896. Its present capacity is twenty beds and it has a medical and surgical staff of eight physicians. The growing importance of this hospital and the loyalty and generosity of its friends insure its speedy enlargement.

Brevity forbids anything more than mention of the Charity Hospital, recently opened in the East End by the Sisters of that order; St. Margaret's, almost completed, splendidly endowed by the late John H. Shoenberger as a memorial to his wife; the Protestant Home for Incurables, amply provided for by the late Miss Jane Holmes; the Rheineman Maternity Hospital, indebted for its existence to Mr. Adam Rheineman, and the Woman's Hospital, an organization but recently incorporated, and the sole legatee of the late Mrs. Thomas N. Miller.

Among the foremost of the charitable organizations of Pittsburg is the Pittsburg Free Dispensary. It was organized and incorporated in 1873 by the members of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church. After various vicissitudes of fortune it was enabled, largely by the munificence of the late Miss Jane Holmes, about 1886, to occupy its present complete building. It is equipped with a large and earnest staff of physicians and has, since its organization, treated nearly 300,000 patients. The Dispensary Building, being larger than its own necessities require, shelters many of the charitable organizations of the city, the most prominent being the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, and the Western Pennsylvania Humane Society.

Of the medical organizations of Western Pennsylvania the first in age and in importance is the Allegheny County Medical Society. It was founded in 1848 and has ever since steadily grown in numbers and influence. Its membership at present exceeds three hundred and it is recognized throughout the United States as one of the strongest and best societies of its kind. The public at large is indebted for many sanitary reforms to the efforts of the Allegheny County Medical Society.

The Homeopathic Medical Society of Allegheny County was organized December 9, 1864, its first president being Dr. J. C. Burgher. Its growth has been uniform and its present membership, about sixty, includes almost every Homeopathic physician in the county.

The Pittsburg Academy of Medicine is of recent birth, but its activity, progressiveness and true scientific spirit have placed it in the foremost rank of medical societies. It was organized in 1888 and at present has about sixty members. In 1896 it absorbed the Pittsburg Medical Library Association and now maintains a medical library of nearly 3,000 volumes. The Academy has always taken a keen interest in everything pertaining to the



The *Gazette* of July 23, 1802, published a communication from a correspondent from which the following extract is taken: "That the increase of diseases in this place has of late been greater in proportion than the increase of population, is a truth not to be disputed. From the opinion of a gentleman of the medical profession it is believed that many of the diseases which appear in this once healthy spot are produced from a vitiated state of the air, arising from causes obvious to the senses, narrow streets and alleys (to which too little attention has been paid by the officers of the police), filthy gutters, putrid vegetables and animal matter, the stench from foul slaughter-houses, and exhalations from ponds of stagnant water. Considering the activity, industry, sense of propriety and public spirit which the inhabitants of Pittsburg generally possess, it is matter of astonishment that nuisances so flagrant are suffered to exist. It is to be hoped that those whose duty it is will immediately take measures the most effectual to remove the evil complained of, and that if proper authority is wanting the same may be promptly obtained by a town meeting assembled for the purpose. Let the ponds be drained or filled up, the slaughter-houses removed to places more remote, the gutters leading from pumps paved, the streets and alleys inspected and cleansed weekly, and fines rigidly exacted for every violation of the ordinances against the accumulation of filth within the limits of the borough. To the reflecting part of the community these observations are addressed. Apprised of the danger that exists and hourly increases, neglect not that which is of the utmost importance—the health of the people. The experience and labor will not be lost if by your exertions the life of but one citizen should be saved from a premature death."

The first medical society in Pittsburg was organized in June, 1821, but unfortunately, owing to the disappearance of the old newspaper files of that date, the details and the names of the first officers cannot be given. The *Pittsburg Recorder* of June, 1826, says that on June 24, 1826, the fifth annual meeting of the Pittsburg Medical Society was held, upon which occasion the following officers were elected: William Church president, W. H. Denny vice-president, Felix Brunot chairman, John S. Irwin corresponding secretary, Henry Hannen recording secretary, William F. Irwin treasurer, James R. Speer librarian, and R. Wray, Denny and Speer curators.

Dr. L. Callahan arrived here early in the decade of the '20s, but after practicing for a short time returned to Europe, where for three years he continued his studies. Upon coming here for the second time he was profoundly learned in his profession, being a "licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons and a member of the Faculty of Medicine of Glasgow." He joined the Pittsburg Medical Society and proved a useful member. In September, 1827, he read a paper before the society and contended that those kinds of fever usually denominated contagious had their origin in the places where they broke out instead of being imported. "In the first place, I would ask the medical philosopher whether or not he has ever seen pure typhus fever prevail as an epidemic where the exciting and predisposing causes were not present on the spot, either in the surrounding atmosphere, the habitudes of the people, their regimen, or the privations to which they were exposed? I confidently expect the answer must be 'No.'" At a subsequent meeting he read an article on "The Use of Hydriodate of Potash in the Treatment of Goitre." "Observations on Inoculation and Vaccination." During the winter of 1829-30 he delivered a course of lectures, by special invitation, on the subject of Anatomy before one of the literary societies. His practice, as announced, was "Physic, Surgery and Midwifery."

Dr. James R. Speer rose to great prominence in the '20s. In 1827 he





had occurred. The epidemic seemed to have gained a strong foothold by this time, as it was stated in the newspapers of July 5th that twenty-three residents and five outsiders had died. Dr. J. R. Speer was very active and prominent as the hospital physician at this time. Trouble arose between the practicing physicians and the Sanitary Board. In the autumn of 1832 the latter accused the former of neglecting or refusing to report the cases of cholera which they encountered in their practice, and repeated the accusation in 1833. On July 3d J. P. Gazzam, M. D., and E. D. Gazzam, M. D., said: "Since the recent reappearance of the disease in Pittsburg thirty-six cases of fully developed cholera have occurred in our practice. Of these, six cases are now remaining, five of which are convalescing and one doubtful. . . . So far as our observation and experience extend, the disease as yet is more manageable and more easy of cure than it was last fall."

The Board of Health pursued a course which was condemned by the reputable physicians. In the autumn of 1832 the Gazzams reported a case of cholera and recommended that the patient be placed in the hospital. The Sanitary Board refused to believe in the judgment of the physicians, using unnecessary and unjust harshness in their observations, and sent the health physician to examine the case and report thereon. The latter stated that it was a case of "common cholera" (*morbus*), whereupon, although five other reputable physicians corroborated the Gazzams, admission to the hospital was refused. This act roused the physicians, and thereafter they refused to report the cases of cholera coming under their practice. They were sharply criticised by the Board of Health, whereupon the Gazzams replied as follows:

"We are not and never have been indisposed to give to the public every information in our power in relation to the epidemic, but we cannot consent to modify, change or pervert our deliberate opinions respecting its true nature to gratify popular prejudice or to suit the crude and varying notions of those who have no knowledge of the subject; nor can we consent again to submit our medical opinions or reports to the judgment and supervision of such tribunals" (b).

In June, 1833, the churches observed a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer," that God would end the plague or pass it by Pittsburg. Hydrants in all parts of the city were permitted to run one hour each day to cleanse the walks, gutters and streets. The building of the temporary hospital this year cost \$400. Thomas O'Neil was superintendent of the hospital, Drs. Armstrong and Bruce were hospital physicians, and Dr. McClintock health physician. "Wheeling, Maysville and Lexington, with a population, we believe, not exceeding 18,000, lost more persons in a single day than Pittsburg and vicinity have lost by the same disease (cholera) in two years and two separate visits of the scourge. The board of consulting physicians express the opinion that the use of stone coal operates as a strong counteracting influence to the spread of the cholera. An experienced physician assures us that he has never seen a single genuine indigenous case of that loathsome disease, the itch, since he came here, and that cholera infantum does not prevail to one-tenth part of the extent in other towns East and West" (c).

"By the report of the Health Physician it appears that forty-four deaths by malignant cholera have occurred in this city and neighboring boroughs and villages since the end of May" (d).

It is impossible to give the exact number of cases of cholera or the exact number of deaths, because the newspapers deliberately suppressed the

(b) Letter of Doctors Gazzam in Gazette, July 5, 1833.

(c) Gazette, July 12, 1833.

(d) Gazette, August 18, 1834.

extent of the scourge and no other record is known to exist. Business was seriously interfered with; in fact, was almost at a complete standstill while the epidemic lasted. Probably a total of over one hundred cases appeared and seventy-five deaths occurred in 1833.

In February, 1835, James R. Speer, M. D., opened an "Eye Infirmary" in this city, and stated that a careful and laborious course of preparation and the results of sixteen years of practice in that branch of the profession, in observation and experience, were the pledges he offered for faithful and skillful treatment of such cases as might be intrusted to his care. His references were Francis Herron, D. D., L. Halsey, D. D., M. Brown, D. D., Rev. J. W. Nevin, Rev. T. D. Baird, A. Hays, M. D., W. Addison, M. D., W. H. Denny, M. D., and H. D. Sellers, M. D.

Dr. Joseph Trevor practiced in Allegheny in 1833. Dr. Hewitson, a licentiate of the Royal College of Edinburgh, commenced the practice of "physic and surgery" in July of this year. Dr. John R. Roseburg died in August, 1834. Dr. W. A. Ward commenced using the "atmospheric pressure principle" in dentistry in 1835. Dr. E. Hale practiced dental surgery the same time, as did also Benjamin Norris. Dr. William M. Wright was the leading dentist of that period. He was a student of the sciences and later took the first daguerreotype ever produced in Pittsburgh. Dr. David Hunt was also an active "surgeon dentist," as dentists were then called. William Biddle practiced dentistry about this time. The *Post*, in December, 1846, said that a servant girl went to a Pittsburgh dentist to have two teeth plugged. The dentist extracted the teeth, plugged them and then drove them in again. The name of the dentist (?) was not given, but it may be safely concluded that he was not one of the men mentioned above.

During the winter of 1845-6 many cases of smallpox appeared here. Part of the old water-works building was fitted up for the reception of poor patients by the Directors of the Poor. The building was originally used as a coal shed and was walled up into one room, in which were placed eight or nine beds, and in one corner stood a stove, table, utensils, etc. The surroundings were poor, but the room was cheerful and comfortable. Aside from the rude temporary hospital of 1833, this was Pittsburgh's first structure for the care of indigent sick. It was closed during the summer of 1846, but was opened again in the fall for the reception of patients. The following notice appeared in the *Commercial Journal* of December 9, 1846:

"To Professor W. Beach:—The undersigned citizens of Pittsburgh and vicinity, having heard your introductory lecture on the science of medicine, as taught in the Reformed Medical Academy of the United States, in contrast with the old school system, take great pleasure in saying that we were highly gratified, and they would respectfully ask you to repeat the lecture at the same place, on Tuesday evening, the 8th inst.: Henry Yeagley, E. D. Strong, Marcus Beares, S. B. Cooper, Joseph Kiser, James Gilchrist, J. B. Wright, A. C. Henderson, Jacob Folger, William J. Troth, Hugh Wightman, H. Irwin, A. B. West, James Johnson, Robert Pitcairn, William Chapman, J. P. Shipton, R. Snowden, C. S. Pearson, Charles Wood, Thomas D. McMaster, A. C. Duncan, William Clendinings, Daniel Youngson, J. Henderson, Joseph Eggert, A. A. Anderson, J. Fullerton, R. Fwey, R. Algeo, J. S. Long, James Coop, John Spencer, James Clarkson, Edward Spencer."

In October, 1846, the newspapers spoke of the establishment here of a medical school and seemed to think one was urgently needed, and would contribute to the growing importance of the city as an educational center. In January, 1848, Dr. William M. Wright announced that he had twice employed chloroform by inhalation from a sponge in the extraction of teeth

with excellent results, and was prepared thereafter to administer it to all desiring its wonderful benefits. An important surgical operation was performed by Dr. A. W. Walter, assisted by Drs. J. P. Gazzam and A. Black, in August, 1846, and consisted in the successful removal of a large tumor from the face of a lady, together with one-half of the lower jaw.

Pursuant to call several of the physicians of Pittsburg and Allegheny met in Philo Hall on August 17, 1848, to consider the propriety of forming a County Medical Society as a branch of the State Medical Society. Dr. Dilworth was made chairman and Dr. Pollock secretary. On motion of Dr. Dorsey a committee consisting of Drs. Dilworth, Reed, Gray, Dorsey and Pollock was appointed to arrange for a general meeting of the physicians of the county to organize such a society. Drs. Irwin, Pollock and Bruce were appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws.

In the year 1849 the cholera again visited Pittsburg. As before, the newspapers suppressed the extent of the scourge. Business was wholly suspended and not a countryman could be seen on the streets. The *Commercial Journal* declared that little attempt had been made to clean the gutters and alleys. Dr. W. McK. Morgan was appointed physician to the Sanitary Board. After from thirty to fifty people had died in Pittsburg the scourge suddenly broke out in Birmingham with such virulence that from August 11th to August 13th inclusive eighteen deaths resulted and the people became terror stricken. Many temporarily retired to the rural districts. Later Allegheny was visited, and in one day ending at 6 o'clock on the evening of August 27th ten persons died. In a short time the deaths in Allegheny numbered from forty to fifty. It first appeared in Pittsburg, then in Birmingham, then in Allegheny, then on the hills in Hayti, and then in Temperanceville, Tinkersville, South Pittsburg and other portions of this community. It is probable that from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons died of the epidemic in 1849. In 1851 it again appeared, but was confined, and not so many deaths resulted. Dr. T. W. Shaw succeeded Dr. McKennan as port physician in 1851. About this time Dr. J. J. Myers was appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury hospital physician of the Marine Hospital. In 1854 this community was again visited by cholera and the dreadful scenes of former visitations were reenacted with much greater mortality. Again the newspapers, through business motives, suppressed the extent and the details of that memorable summer and fall. How many died cannot be learned, but the number approximated 1,000.

"The Allegheny Medical Society held its regular quarterly meeting in Arthur's Hall on Tuesday last, January 3, 1854, where the annual election of officers took place, when the following gentlemen were chosen for the ensuing year: President, Dr. C. L. Armstrong; vice-presidents, Drs. J. P. Gazzam and John McCracken; corresponding secretary, Dr. A. M. Pollock; recording secretaries, Drs. Thomas J. Gallaher and E. G. Edrington; treasurer, Dr. A. M. Pollock; censors, Drs. R. B. Mowry, E. G. Edrington, G. D. Bruce; examiners, Drs. J. P. Gazzam, A. M. Pollock, D. McMeal; delegates to the National Medical Convention, Drs. J. P. Gazzam, Thomas J. Gallaher, George D. Bruce, A. M. Pollock, George McCook; delegates to the State Medical Convention, Drs. D. McMeal, W. Draine, J. Carothers, J. McCracken, E. F. Williams, J. H. Wilson, T. W. Shaw, N. McDonald, J. H. O'Brien. The following is a list of members of the society: C. L. Armstrong, William Addison, G. D. Bruce, H. R. Bell, Alexander Black, H. H. Brackenridge, James Carothers, John Dickson, Thomas Dickson, W. Draine, Samuel Dilworth, E. G. Edrington, William M. Gray, Joseph P. Gazzam, J. W. Gustine, Thomas J. Gallaher, James B. Herron, William M. Herron, John S. Irwin,











been assigned to lead a night force to attack the huts or fires outside of the fort, and after speedily doing as much damage as possible was directed to fall back upon the encampment on Grant's Hill, where it was expected the French and Indians would follow. Major Grant was to remain on the hill to cover the retreat, and by means of the drums direct in the darkness the course to be pursued by the retreating forces. Accordingly, about 2 o'clock in the morning, or later, Major Lewis with a force of 100 Americans, 200 Highlanders, supported by 100 Virginians, moved down the hill toward the fort. This movement was performed in a cowardly manner and wholly miscarried, and no doubt greatly disconcerted Major Grant and obliged him to change the plans which had been determined on at Loyal Hanna. In about half an hour Major Lewis returned to the hill and reported to Major Grant that great confusion existed in his command: that he could do nothing with them owing to the darkness, to the logs which crossed the paths, to fences, and to the impossibility under the circumstances of carrying his orders into effect. The truth is, the command under him refused in the most cowardly manner to obey his orders and attack the huts. A moment later it was learned that the soldiers ordered on this attack had followed Major Lewis back to the hill, or nearly so, without orders, in the most craven manner. All these movements consumed considerable time, and day was now fast approaching. Major Grant interviewed Lieutenant McKenzie and Mr. Fisher, and learned to his dismay that the troops thus ordered to attack were in the greatest confusion, so that it was impossible to form them for an advance, and reinforcements were too far removed to be gotten up in time for an assault before daybreak. The disgraceful failure of this movement, it is evident, greatly disconcerted Major Grant and disarranged his plans almost at the moment when the battle was to begin. However, he coolly did the best he could and kept in view the original design of attacking the huts outside of the fort in which many Indians were supposed to sleep, and of having the attacking party fall back to the hill to lead the enemy into an ambushade. Accordingly, in order to correct as far as possible the grievous error already made, Lieutenants Robinson and McDonald, with about fifty men, were sent to attack two or three of the fires near the fort, which they did with dispatch, but finding no Indians, set fire to the house. Day began to break before this party could return. Major Grant, in his report, declared emphatically that a greater number than fifty men could not be sent on this attack, owing to the confusion existing in his entire force. Thus again the original plans ordered to be executed by Colonel Bouquet were disarranged. In his report he blamed Major Lewis for not being able to carry into effect the attack on the huts, as had been designed, but this blame was undeserved, as the cowardice of the troops alone was responsible for the failure. At daybreak he sent the Americans and the Virginians, under the command of Major Lewis (whose services he now thought to be useless), back to reinforce Captain Bullet, who had been left with a guard of fifty men in charge of the horses and provisions two miles from the fort, directly on the road back to the first encampment. Why this force was thus sent away at this critical time is not altogether clear, unless it was the design of Major Grant to get rid of those who had failed to carry into effect his orders and to establish a different and farther removed rallying point in case of disaster to the remaining forces on the coming day. It could not have been because of his wish to humiliate Major Lewis by removing him to the rear, because subsequent events proved that he relied upon the forces under Major Lewis, after they had recovered themselves, to assist him in subsequent stages of the attack.

About 7 o'clock on the morning of the 14th the fog dispersed and the day became clear. Everything indicates that Major Grant underestimated the strength, method and ferocity of the enemy and that he expected a comparatively easy victory. Inasmuch as the fort and its immediate surroundings could not be seen from the hill, a force of 100 men was sent for closer inspection and directed to take a plan of the place. Thus far no serious error had been committed, but Colonel Bouquet, in his report to General Amhurst, states that at this time Major Grant committed a mistake in not retiring and forming an ambuscade at the encampment several miles distant. It was thought that the force of the enemy was nearly as strong as that of Major Grant. The whole importance of the expedition centered upon the plan of drawing the enemy into an ambuscade and not of bringing on a general engagement in open daylight. The lateness of the arrival on Grant's Hill, the failure of the preliminary movements, and the confusion even to the extent of insubordination and cowardice existing among many of the companies, threw Major Grant upon his own resources, and obliged him to meet new and unexpected emergencies. His greatest mistake (an excusable one) was in underestimating the strength, method of attack and ferocity of the enemy. Upon the break of day, which occurred while confusion still reigned, several Indians discovered a part of Major Grant's forces, whereupon, as stated by that officer, "in order to put on a good countenance and to convince our men that they had no reason to be afraid, I gave directions to our drums to beat the reveille. The troops were in an advantageous post, and, I must own, I thought we had nothing to fear." This was the turning point in the success of the expedition. Major Grant's judgment was only at fault concerning the fighting qualities of his troops and the desperate resistance, or attack, which was to be offered by the enemy. He seems to have thought that the enemy would fear to risk a sortie, and to make it appear that his forces were very large he ordered the reveille beat at several different places. After the departure of Major Lewis to the two-mile camp there remained here under Major Grant 100 Royal Americans, 150 Virginians, 200 Highlanders, 100 Marylanders and 100 Pennsylvanians. Major Grant, in this emergency, knowing that as they had been discovered a distant ambuscade would be out of the question, ordered Captain McDonald with 100 Highlanders to advance down the hill to attack the fort or the enemy should a sortie be made. Within a few minutes after the reveille had been sounded a force of about 300 French and Indians poured out of the fort and fell upon the 100 Highlanders at the brow of the hill, but were pierced by the latter. The enemy accordingly scattered and surrounded this small force. Captain McDonald was killed early in the encounter. Captains Monroe and McKenzie were ordered down the hill by Major Grant to the assistance of the 100 Highlanders. More of the French and Indians poured from the fort to reinforce their comrades, and soon the engagement was general. It would seem that either the proper support was not given to the Highlanders under Captain McDonald, or else the latter should have retreated back to the hill on the reserves under Major Grant. At any event there is nothing to show that the Highlanders under Captain McDonald did not fight valiantly until absolutely overcome and crushed by numbers. His force was well-nigh annihilated and many were killed, and many others chased into a small swamp at what is now Smithfield Street and Fifth Avenue, where they were followed and tomahawked by the savages. Major Lewis, from the two-mile encampment, hearing the fire, came to the assistance of Major Grant, although he arrived too late to be of material service. The 100 Pennsylvanians, who were stationed on the right and were farthest removed from the enemy, left the field without orders and without





date of the commencement of the workmen to erect Fort Pitt. General Stanwix commanded the English troops and workmen.

Fort Pitt, thus built, was rightly considered a fortification of great strength. The garrison and the inhabitants felt that they were safe from Indian depredations when near the fort. It was not until 1761 that the earthworks on the river sides of the fort were completed. James Kenney, under date of November 19th of that year, wrote in his diary that the fort banks were nearly raised. The front next the inhabitants was of brick, with corners of hewn stone. The fort was four-sided, with a row of barracks on each side, three of which were frame and one of brick. Three wells were dug inside of the fort, and an open space of about two acres lay in the center, and on the southeast bastion was a pole from which, on Sundays and holidays, a flag was flung. At the back of each row of barracks were vaults, magazines and dungeons in which prisoners were confined.

At the treaty held at Fort Pitt in July, 1759, between the English and the chiefs and warriors of many Indian tribes, there were present George Croghan, deputy of Sir William Johnson, agent and superintendent; Colonel Hugh Mercer, commandant at Pittsburg; Captains Trent, McKee, Waggoner, Woodward, Prentice, Morgan, Smallman, Clayton and Ward; Lieutenants Matthews, Hydler, Biddle, Conrad, Kennedy, Sumner, Anderson, Kitchens, Dangerfield and Wright; Ensigns Crawford (1), Crawford (2), Morgan, McVicar, Armsby, Allen, Gibson and Lightfoot, and Henry Montour, interpreter. At a treaty held here in April, 1768, there were present George Croghan, deputy agent; John Allen and John Shippen, Pennsylvania commissioners; Alexander McKee, Indian commissioner; Colonel John Reed, commandant; Captains Charles Edmonstone and Pownall; Lieutenants Thomas Ford, Alexander McClellan, Jesse Wright, Samuel Steel, William Wood, Thomas Ball; Ensigns Thomas Hutchins, Robert Hamilton, James Savage, Godfrey Tracy, and Henry Montour, interpreter.

In 1760 a party of boatbuilders was sent by the Government to Fort Pitt to construct bateaux for the navigation of the Ohio and its tributaries. The party consisted of Jehu Eyre, John Midwinter, Isaac Middleton, Samuel Duen-shear, William Flood, Daniel Delaney, Nathaniel Goforth, George Careless, Henry Bragg, Friend Streton, Thomas Smith, John Barter, Daniel Rambo, David Row, James Tull, William McAllister, and George, the sawyer. They reached Fort Pitt June 30th and the next day began to build bateaux. On July 10th they began the construction of the bomb-proof magazine in the fort. They cut timber in the adjoining woods, hewed puncheons, built and caulked bateaux, built scows, cut logs for other storehouses, etc. (g).

The English determined to make no further mistake in establishing themselves permanently at the "Point." The sum of £60,000 was spent upon the fort, and it was well known in the Eastern cities, whence the workmen came, that after the new fort had been erected, settlers would receive ample protection from both the French and the Indians. Accordingly, it is not improbable that a few permanent settlers arrived with the English army in August, 1759. All the settlers and traders here during the French occupation had vanished with the retreating French forces. If any permanent settlers came with the English army in 1759 they must have been few, but the following year saw a large advent of residents, independent of, and in no way connected with, the soldiers except to obtain from them, for goods or services, the money which they received as their pay. That many came in 1760 who intended to remain permanently, and who in no way, except as stated, were connected

(g) Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. III.





with the soldiers, there can be no doubt. Consequently, if the permanent settlement of the "Point" is declared not to have been made in 1754, it cannot be said not to have been made at least as early as 1760. The mere laying out of a few blocks of lots has nothing to do with the question, not even with the municipal growth, because that act was performed only to secure claims to land which had been already established. The demand for the laying out and recording in permanent form of lots arose only because rival claimants for the same tract of ground appeared. The very fact that there was a demand for the plotting of a town proves not only the existence of prior and conflicting claims, but also the permanent intentions of the previous claimants. This fact would alone establish the date of permanency at 1760, when the first large influx of settlers appeared, and not in 1764, when the first four blocks were laid out by Colonel John Campbell. However, if these facts were not sufficient, the long list of residents who had come here for permanent settlement, and who were independent of the garrison, and even of the workmen, would alone fix the date at 1760. In July, 1760, there were located here, independent of the garrison, a total of 88 men, 29 women, 14 male children and 18 female children, and were then standing 146 completed houses, 19 unfinished houses and 36 "hutts." This list was prepared, apparently, by the officer in charge of the garrison and seems to have been obtained from records yet on file in the British Museum. The list of names and the caption thereto read as follows, and particular attention is called to the fact that the inhabitants were said *not* to have belonged to the army.

"A LIST OF THE NUMBER OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN NOT BELONGING TO THE ARMY; ALSO THE NUMBER OF HOUSES AND HUTTS AT FORT PITT, 22d JULY, 1760:

"Men's Names.—John Langdale, John Barklit, Hugh McSwine, James Braden, Philip Boyle, John Greenfield, Edward Graham, Lewis Bernard, Samuel Heyden, William Splane, Robert Hook, John Pierce, William McAllister, James St. Clair, Erasmus Bokias, John Everlow, George Carr, Edward Cook, William Bryan, James Harris (imperfect), William Work, William Downey, James Milligan, John Lindsay, Alex. Ewing, Andrew Biarly, Isaac Hall, Lazarus Lowry, Uriah Hill, Edward Ward, William Trent, John Finley, Hugh Crawford, Joseph Spear, John McCluer, Thomas Welsh, James Cahoon, Patrick Cunningham, Samuel Heyden, James Reed, John Daily, Charles Boyle, William Jacobs, Robert Paris, William Fowler, John Judy, Thomas Small, Cornelius Atkinson, Robert Reed, Neil McCullom, John Work, George Tomb, George Sly, Patrick McCarty, Chris. Millar, William Heath, William Winsor, John Graham, John Robinson, John Duncastle, France Ferdinanders Harnider, Nicholas Phillips, Conrad Crone, (imperfect)—alesky, (imperfect)—dor, (imperfect)—, (imperfect) Sinnott, Jacob Sinnott, John Coleman, Abraham Lingenfelder, Charles Hays, James Sampson, Matthias Doherick, Peter Mumaw, John Snyder, Windle Creamer, Peter Smith, Henry Wumbock, Adam Overwinter, Paul Sharp, Tineas Smith, Philip Byarly, Anthony Baker, Chris. Rorabunek, Thomas Bretton, Joseph George and Ephraim Blane—total men 88. Women's Names—Susannah McSwine, Mary Wallen, Mary Atkinson, Martha Reed, Elizabeth Randal, Phebe Byarly, Judah Crawford, Mary Reed, Anna Thomas, Sarah Daily, Hencritta Price, Elizabeth Boyle, Elizabeth Jacobs, Mary Judy, Mary Reed, Marget Pomry, Chris'm McCullom, Agnus Tomb, Marget Sly, Lydia McCarty, Lenora Rogers, Elenor Millar, Bridget Winsor, Marget Crone, Susannah Sinnott, Mary Hays, Marget Sampson, Cate Creamer, Chris. Smith—total women 29. Male Children—George McSwine, Jacob Byarly, John Reed, Robert Atkinson, George



Reed, Thomas McCullom, John Work, Godfrey Christian, Henry Millar, Chris. Phillips, John Sinnott, Philip Sinnott, Patrick Feagan, George Creamer—total 14. Female Children—Mary McSwine, Elizabeth Otter, Marget Coghnan, Nelly Thomas, Susan Daily, Rebekah Boyle, Marget Boyle, Marget Jacobs, Mary Judy, Elizabeth Judy, Elizabeth Pomry, Elizabeth Work, Elizabeth Sly, Susanna Sly, Rachel Sly, Nancy Ba—(imperfect), Mary Sim—(imperfect), Marget Cro—(imperfect)—total 18. Houses 146, number of hutts 36, number of unfinished houses 19—total 201."

If these people lived here, and if these buildings were standing on July 22, 1760, of course the people must have come and the houses must have been erected previously, so that in the year 1760, previous to July 22d, all this had been accomplished or else a portion had been done in 1759. There is nothing improbable with the latter supposition. During the summer of 1759 the soldiers and the workmen had spent several months in the East getting ready—gathering material together and preparing themselves generally for remaining here a considerable length of time, and for constructing an immense fortification, all of which would entail upon the British Government a cost of £60,000. The inhabitants of Lancaster, and of other towns to the eastward, well knew of the projected improvement here, and required no other argument to convince them that a large settlement was sure to spring up at the "Point" under the protection of the new fort. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that with the army a number of settlers came here in the summer or fall of 1759 for permanent residence. Another thing is clear, if no permanent settlers came in 1759, and none of the houses or "hutts" mentioned above was built during that year, the settlers, when they came in the spring of 1760, must have been exceedingly energetic, unless they were assisted by the soldiers, to have built the town outside of the fort on so large a scale by July 22d. They could not have crossed the mountains during the winter of 1759-60; in fact, could not have left their Eastern homes before April of 1760. It has been claimed by some authorities that the permanent settlement of Pittsburg should date from 1764, when the first four blocks were laid out, and not from 1760, when several hundred inhabitants arrived, because all were connected with, and their stay here based upon, the troops and workmen engaged in constructing the fortification. This position, surely, is inadmissible. Neither will the fact that the settlement was interrupted for a short time in 1763 by Pontiac's war serve as a pretext to change the date of permanent settlement from 1760 to 1764. It is well known that persons who arrived here in 1761, if not in 1760, continued here with perhaps slight interruptions for many years, and it cannot be disputed that many who came in 1760 were in no manner connected with the workmen, nor dependent upon the troops except for protection and for a division of their pay. Unquestionably many came here, as settlers always did in those days to wild locations in the West, because they expected to better their condition, and intended to remain so long as they were prosperous and safe.

This somewhat elaborate analysis of motives and facts is given owing to the fact that some writers have contended that the permanent settlement should date from 1764. The latter view seems to be so faulty and so unjust to the brave men, women and children who came here in 1760 that it must be considered untenable. The permanent settlement must date from 1760, if not from an earlier date. A critical examination of the archives in Canada might fix the permanent settlement at 1754. The Pennsylvania Magazine, Volume II, page 303, says: "It is, therefore, evident that the documents we print (the list of inhabitants and houses of July 22, 1760) relate to a time within a year of the permanent establishment of the present city of Pittsburg." From this statement it must be inferred that the Pennsylvania Historical Society, under

whose auspices the magazine was issued, considered the date of the permanent establishment of Pittsburg as 1759. For the same volume of the Magazine, Mr. Craig, about fifty years ago, furnished valuable corrections and suggestions concerning the list of settlers of 1760. Among his annotations were the following: John Langdale was an Indian trader; John Barklit was probably John Barkley, an Indian trader as late as 1772; Philip Boyle may have been Philip Bayle, a soldier afterward employed by Colonel Croghan in the Indian trade; John Pierce subsequently quartermaster-general of Pennsylvania militia; William McAllister lived in Washington County during the whisky insurrection; Edward Cook a man of great ability and usefulness, afterward prominent in public affairs; James Harris, William Work and James Milligan also prominent; Alexander Ewing an Indian trader as late as 1772; Lazarus Lowry and his brother were Indian traders as early as 1744, and the commandant at Detroit offered a reward for their scalps, owing to their great influence over the Indians; John Finley an Indian trader licensed in 1774; Hugh Crawford an Indian trader; Joseph Spear an Indian trader as late as 1775, when he resided near John Ormsby's home; John McClure an uncle of Major Ebenezer Denny; Samuel Hayden, captain in the King's Rangers during the Revolution; James Reed was doubtless Read of Reading; Robert Paris may have been Richard Paris, an influential Indian trader; George Tomb was probably George Tomp, a militiaman and spy during the Revolution; William Heath was probably William Heth afterward lieutenant-colonel in the Revolution; John Graham an Indian trader as late as 1772; Ephraim Blane was commissary-general during the Revolution, and greatgrandfather of James G. Blaine, the well-known American statesman. But this is not all the material in existence to fix an earlier date than 1764 for the permanent settlement of Pittsburg. The following list contains the returns of the number of houses, the names of the owners, and the number of men, women and children in each house at Fort Pitt, April 14, 1761. It was furnished to the Pennsylvania Magazine by Mr. G. J. Scull, of Oxford, England, and transcribed from manuscripts in the British Museum (h).

## LOWER TOWN.

Residents.	Houses.	Men.	Women.	Children
John Hudess (soldier).....	1	1	1	..
Ellena Clark.....	1	..	1	..
Richard Rodgery (soldier).....	1	1	1	2
William Marshall (soldier).....	1	1	1	..
Joseph Woods (soldier).....	1	1	1	1
Battoe men (soldier).....	1	3	..	..
John Hadley (artificer).....	1	1	..	..
William Davis (soldier).....	1	1	1	..
Frederick Dart (soldier).....	1	1	1	1
James Rodgers (soldier).....	1	1	1	..
John Carter.....	1	1	1	1
Thomas Camp (soldier).....	1	1	1	1
Ship carpenters.....	1	3	..	..
John Langdale.....	1	3	..	..
John Campbell.....	2	5	..	..
Christopher Groves (soldier).....	1	1	1	1
John Welch.....	1	2	..	..
James Kalhoun.....	1	1	..	..
Thomas Mitchell.....	1	4	..	..
Ephraim Blane.....	1	2	..	..

(h) Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. VI, page 344.











the houses, which would furnish them shelter and a safe refuge from the bullets of the soldiers. The women were detailed to carry water to the men on duty, and all men off duty were required to sleep in their clothes, with their arms by their sides. On the 2d of June the principal houses on Grant's Hill were burned, and at night the Indians finished the work of destruction. On the 3d Thompson's house, about half a mile from the fort, was burned. During this time the entire garrison were kept under arms and at work on the fort, rendering it as nearly impregnable as possible, while the inhabitants secured their cattle and horses, gathered provisions from the fields and gardens and otherwise prepared for what appeared would be a siege. No one was permitted to go outside without orders from the commander, and all were furnished with rations. The quartermaster was instructed to visit all parts of the fort daily in order to prevent the accumulation of filth; and the women and children were ordered to keep within doors, except those who were detailed to carry water to the men. The dogs were ordered tied up, and the cattle were watered once a day and fed twice, at 10 a. m. and 4 p. m., on German wheat or spelts, the women being required to go outside under the protection of a covering party of about twenty-five armed men to cut the spelts. Any person refusing to obey orders was placed under arrest and confined in the guardroom. By June 7th the dogs had become so troublesome that a detail of men was chosen to drown them. There were five bastions to the fort, although the inclosure was four-sided, to wit: Monongahela, Ohio, Flag, Grenadier and Music. The 330 soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen were organized into squads for special service and into relays to guard the ramparts day and night. Captain Ecuyer, with a squad, commanded the Monongahela bastion; Captain Gordon, Flag bastion; Captain Cochran, Music bastion; the Grenadiers, Grenadier bastion, and the general company, Ohio bastion. Sentinels were posted day and night at the bridge gate and at the sally ports. Women were forbidden to appear on the ramparts.

On the 9th a great smoke up the Allegheny told of the destruction of the house of George Croghan. On the 10th several men engaged in repairing fence about one thousand yards from the fort were fired upon. On the 11th, at daybreak, several Indians were discovered among the ruins of the upper town, and at 10 o'clock at night set fire to a house still remaining there, but were scattered by a shell from the fort. Still later in the same night several Indians were detected prowling among the ruins of the lower town. On the 12th the Indians and whites exchanged shots from a safe distance. On the 15th a party of four men, under Sergeant Miller, went out to cut spelts, and, against orders, advanced to Grant's Hill, where they were attacked by the savages, and Miller was shot dead, his companions preventing his being scalped. An express, or messenger, from Bedford was fired on near the fort.

On the 16th four Shawnees appeared on the opposite side of the Ohio, as the Allegheny was then designated, and, calling for McKee, requested him to cross the river, as they desired to talk with him. They had nothing of importance to communicate, but were apparently anxious to secure the peaceable surrender of the fort, or were endeavoring to gain some advantage of the garrison. On the 17th the same Indians called again for Mr. McKee, who refused to cross the river. They thereupon crossed and informed him that all the Indian nations had taken up the hatchet, and that the Indians here would furnish protection to the inhabitants, providing they would surrender, or rather join the Indians who were then there. They said a large force was on the way to attack Fort Pitt, and was sure to succeed. On the 18th two Indians crept along the bank of the Monongahela and endeavored to shoot the sentinel posted there. A few horses that had escaped from their owners

were stolen by the savages. On the 21st, about 11 o'clock at night, Indians on the opposite side of the Monongahela repeated the sentinel's cry of "All's well." On the 22d James Thompson, who went outside in search of a horse, was killed and scalped within sight of the fort. This act seemed thoroughly to arouse the bloody instincts of the savages, for they appeared in considerable numbers along each river and on Grant's Hill and began to shoot stray cattle and horses. A shell was thrown and burst in a squad of them, and several were wounded and perhaps killed. It was on this day that a shot fired from the opposite side of the Ohio (Allegheny) wounded a soldier on the Monongahela bastion. On the same day Mr. McKee and two other inhabitants fired at three Indians on the Monongahela bank at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, and succeeded in killing one of them. The weather was extremely warm, and, to add to the distress, the smallpox broke out, necessitating the building of a hospital under the bridge, placed above high water mark. The fort was supplied with sixteen pieces of cannon, mounted on platforms. On the 23d, at midnight, two Delawares called to the sentinels and stated that they desired to talk with Mr. McKee the next morning. On the 24th Turtle Heart and Mamautler came near the fort, whereupon Mr. McKee went out to see what proposition they had to offer. They stated that a large force of Indians was on the way to Fort Pitt, and that the Indians here, who had often been befriended by the inhabitants, desired to save them and requested all to leave at once. Captain Ecuyer thanked the two chiefs and informed them that he had sufficient force to hold the fort against any odds. "Out of our regard to them we gave them two blankets and an handkerchief out of the smallpox hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect" (j). On the 25th the Shawnee Indians told Mr. McKee that two days previously they had seen a large body of Indians on their way to Fort Pitt. On the 26th and 27th the disaster at Fort Le Boeuf was made known to Fort Pitt. On the night of the 28th many Indians were seen close to the walls of the fort.

On the 3d of July several men who had gone outside to the gardens for greens were fired upon by an Indian who had hidden within thirty yards of the fort. On this day Adam Terrence wounded an Indian. On this day, also, two guns were heard on the opposite side of the Allegheny, and four naked and painted savages came down to the bank singing, as was their custom, when announcing their friendly intentions. They carried two small English flags, and informed Mr. McKee that they had a letter from the commandant at Detroit, and desired to come over to deliver it. They crossed the river and Mr. McKee went out to meet them. They had no such letter from Detroit, but presented several wampum belts, and while the conversation was in progress it was noticed by the whites who looked from the fort that the Indians on Grant's Hill were very uneasy, and, a moment later, came running down toward the fort, and five appeared on the bank across the Allegheny. This state of affairs seemed so threatening that the riflemen within the fort fired upon the few who had run down from Grant's Hill, and the shots were returned by the Indians. On this day six Ottawas, in a conversation with Mr. McKee, professed the sincerest friendship, but during the same night many Indians were detected in the ditch which surrounded the fort, doubtless endeavoring to gain some advantage, and were fired upon by the soldiers. The entire garrison was called out, and remained on their arms until daylight. This was the most threatening day thus far experienced. Evidently the large force of Indians had arrived and was endeavoring in some manner to outwit the whites and catch them at a disadvantage. On the 4th of July ten

(j) Letter of Captain Ecuyer, May, 1763.

Ottawas appeared on the opposite side of the Allegheny and requested to be brought over. They were told by Mr. McKee to cross in a canoe which they had borrowed the day before. To this they demurred, declaring that no harm was intended; whereupon two soldiers were sent across the river, but immediately upon reaching the bank were attacked and both severely wounded. A sharp fire of small arms and cannon loaded with grape was opened upon the Indians from the fort, which compelled them to scatter, and permitted the wounded soldiers to escape in a boat and safely reach the fort. Another band of savages on Grant's Hill were scattered by grapeshot during the day. On July 5th many shots were fired by the Indians from both sides of the river and from Grant's Hill. The situation was now fully unmasked and the siege had begun in earnest. The garrison, the inhabitants and many domestic animals were huddled together in the fort, while the rifles of the soldiers and settlers kept the savages from destroying the valuable gardens and from approaching too near.

From the 6th to the 10th the Indians remained very quiet, and were, undoubtedly hatching some deviltry. Despite the proximity of danger, the inhabitants, on the 10th, went all over the gardens and the surrounding fields of grain as if no danger was lurking near. From the 11th to the 13th the ominous quiet still prevailed. On the 14th a militiaman, who had gone out 200 yards after cattle, was shot in three places, and on the 17th died. On the 18th of July, the grain being ripe and in need of reaping, a party of men went out to cut it, and, as had been customary, they were protected by a force of riflemen, which had gone out previously and found that no Indians were in the immediate vicinity. While this scouting party was on Grant's Hill an Indian was discovered and shot and scalped by Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Fleming had command of the scouting party of which Mr. Calhoun was a member. No sooner was the Indian killed than many others appeared across the Monongahela near the mouth of Sawmill Run, which fact, upon being announced, brought the covering and working parties to the fort in a hurry. John Willson, an Indian of notorious reputation, came boldly down to the fort unarmed, and for a considerable time talked with Mr. McKee and others, apparently with the intention of gaining some advantage if possible. He proposed a treaty, but this was refused until the arrival of Colonel Bouquet.

During this period the white inhabitants continued to carry on their gardening and harvesting, so far as was possible, under the protection of armed and resolute covering parties. It was necessary to protect the bullock pens, and this was successfully done before a general attack was made, although, doubtless, numbers of cattle were killed. On the 20th large numbers of men, women and children (Indians) were seen passing back and forth across the Allegheny some distance above the fort. On the 21st three Shawnees waded across the Allegheny to the fort and said that the Indian chiefs were then holding a general council. On the 22d the well-known chiefs, Gray Eyes, Wingenum, Turtle Heart and Mamautler, came across and announced that a general council was being held. On this day many horses loaded with corn, and with leather, from Anthony Thompson's tanyard probably, were seen going back and forth across the Allegheny. The Indians were forbidden, upon pain of being fired upon, from passing up and down the rivers in canoes. On the 24th Custaloga, for whom the Indians had delayed the council, arrived. On the 25th four Indians in a canoe, while passing up the Monongahela against the commands of the white commander, were fired upon from the fort from a six-pounder loaded with grape. Neither was hurt, but they scattered and left their canoe and equipments, which were captured by soldiers, sent across, and proved the hostile designs of the savages. Captain Ecuyer, in writing









Kyle, John Worf, Robert Patterson, Reuben Powell, Peter Coe, William Elliott, John Emerson, Adam McClintock, James Neely, Leaven Cooper, Nathaniel Field, Aldrich Allen, David Watson, John Cleghorn, Stephen Lowry, Silas Miller, John Carnahan, William Stuart, Clarence Findley, John Findley, Andrew Findley, Robert Thompson, Samuel McGomery, Thomas Carroll, James Patterson, Arthur St. Clair, James Pollock, David Sample, Michael Huffnagle, Samuel Shannon, Samuel Smith, James Dugan, George Hutcheson, George McDowell, Nathan Young, Michael Coffman, William Piper, George Glenn, David McCann, Alexander Johnston, John Cavanaugh, Robert Mickey, David Mickey, Alexander McDowell, Robert Nox (Knox?), James McDowell, Thomas Bleack, David Thompson, Jacob Meens, John Smith, John McNaghar, Hugh Lorrimer (Larimer?), Benjamin Sitten (Sutton?), Thomas Sutton, H. Slatten, David Loveger, James McCurdy, Abel Fisher, Robert Porter, John Livingston, Robert Laughlin, Charles Kille, Dudley Daugherty, Hugh Hamill, Richard Shannon, John Weesnor (Wisnor?), John Shannon, Joseph Gaskins, Robert McDowell, John Jordan, John Smith, Thomas Galbraith, Samuel Evans, Henry Fitzgerald, Edmund Mullaly, James Thompson and William McKenzie.

Little noteworthy transpired during the Revolution to change the character of Pittsburg as a town. Previous to the Revolution the fort remained in possession of Captain Edward Ward, one of the purchasers, and later passed to the control of Captain John Neville, acting under orders of the Governor of Virginia; but soon after the Declaration of Independence the Colonial forces took possession and assumed military control, and so continued until the end of the nearly eight years of war. The families located here were supported by money which they received from the soldiers and from the Indians, in exchange for goods or services. The town was wild, and little or no attempt at orderly government was to be seen except such as was exercised by the officer in charge of the garrison. The population remained about the same—from 150 to 200. Little occurred to arouse any display of military force or kindle the indignation or lethargy of the few settlers. As the news was received of the various successes or reverses to the Colonial arms, joy or grief was displayed. Nothing transpired to disturb the monotony—not even an attack upon the fort by the Indians; although many murders were committed and the Tories endeavored to capture the fort, and late in the war, after a pretentious display, Colonel Brodhead, at the head of a body of troops, sallied forth on a visionary chase up the Allegheny River after a few Indians.

As soon as the news was received of the outbreak of the Revolution the inhabitants of Pittsburg assembled and passed resolutions favoring the cause of the colonists. It is noteworthy to remark that this action was taken by the Virginians residing here, and that, with but two or three exceptions, all the participants had been associated with Dr. Connolly in the attempt to place this colony under the control of the government of Virginia. When the war with the mother country became a certainty the Continental authorities immediately placed a small but adequate force in charge of Fort Pitt. All the residents, knowing the nature of the savages, feared a general Indian war. The leading residents, accordingly, urged upon Congress the importance of gaining the good will and friendship of the Western tribes; whereupon a treaty of friendship was held in July, 1776, in Pittsburg, with representatives of the Six Nations, on which occasion Guyasutha, head chief of the Senecas, announced in an eloquent address that the Indians desired to remain neutral during the war, and declared that armed forces of either side would not be permitted to march through their country. In April, 1776, Colonel George Morgan was appointed Indian agent, with headquarters in Pittsburg. In September, 1776, war with the Western Indians seemed certain, but for the time was averted.

In February, 1777, there arrived here from Philadelphia boat carpenters sent out by the Government to build bateaux for use on the Western waters. They established a boatyard on the Monongahela a number of miles above Pittsburg. The year 1777 passed with many Indian alarms and much privation from the want of the necessary supplies. In January, 1778, flour in Pittsburg was \$16 per barrel, and other things equally high.

In the spring of 1779 the Western country was in a continuous state of alarm from the threats of the British to come down from Canada, and from many bloody incursions of predatory Indian bands. Colonel Brodhead's letters to the authorities in the East were filled with complaints. His troops had little to eat and less to wear, and the inhabitants, who depended upon the soldiers for subsistence, suffered intensely. He praised Captains Findley and Stokely, and also spoke of Captains Dawson and Carnahan. He said: "You will readily conceive that the command of the department, left in great confusion, will naturally involve me in much trouble to extricate it and put things in a regular train for the necessary operations of a campaign." He stated that the murders committed in the Western country by the Indians were so numerous that it was supposed they had formed a camp on the waste lands of the inhabitants. He said: "We have not even three days' meat to subsist the troops of the garrison, to enable us to attack some of their towns." At this time 100 of his men were at Fort Laurens, 25 at Wheeling, the same number at Holliday's Cove, and squads were detailed to assist the boatmen, wagoners, etc. From his letters it would seem that Brodhead intended to conduct a most destructive campaign against the Indians. His principal complaint was against his predecessor of whom he said, "Had he taken the necessary steps we might now be ready to check the caitiffs who kept the inhabitants in one continual alarm." In May, 1779, he asked the authorities at Bedford to send him a big net with which to catch fish, so that his troops could be provided with fresh meat. He said at this time: "The cursed spirit of monopoly and speculation is too prevalent, and accordingly injures the soldiery and indeed the service generally. The high wages given these boatbuilders has greatly raised the wages of other artificers, but the poor soldiers are kept to the old rates without a murmur." At this time he was apprehensive of an attack from the British and Indians, who were known to be in force on the Sandusky and the Coshocking. It was learned that the enemy expected to strike the settlement "when the strawberries were ripe."

In June, 1779, a large quantity of provisions, carried on the backs of 864 horses, came from Carlisle, to be used in supplying the Western forts with much needed assistance. Colonel Brodhead said at this time that he had ready forty large canoes and that seven bateaux were nearly finished. In July, 1779, he said: "Whilst I am writing I am tormented by at least a dozen drunken Indians, and I shall be obliged to remove my headquarters from hence on account of a cursed, villainous set of inhabitants, who, in spite of every exertion, continue to rob the soldiers and cheat them and the Indians out of everything they are possessed of." In August, 1779, he said: "I have until very lately been tied to a defensive plan by repeated instructions, but as I am now at liberty to act offensively against the Senecas, I shall set out on an expedition against their towns within a few days." At this time he also wrote: "Destruction of public stores for this department is not confined to Fort Pitt. I believe much of them were destroyed here, too, for want of regularity in the issues and want of virtue in the inhabitants, who did not hesitate to purchase and secrete public stores from the hands of the private soldiers. I have one under guard for such villainy now and hope to make an example of him." In August nearly sixty boats were ready for use. He said "that the depreciation of

money is lamentable." At this time Brodhead talked boldly of attacking the Senecas, and in a letter to Washington said, "If I lick the Senecas I want you to permit me to reduce Detroit." Colonel Brodhead was a much better fighter on paper than in the field. He constantly complained, yet vauntingly boasted of his intention to crush the Indians and British under General Butler. He said, also: "At this time the inhabitants are so intent on going to Kentucky and the Falls of the Ohio that I fear I shall have but few volunteers." About the 11th of August his expedition, consisting of 605 men rank and file, with one month's provisions, started out to chastise the Indians. Nothing of importance resulted from this expedition. In October Colonel Brodhead wrote to General Washington that he was in possession of a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist a thousand men for three months, and should he not be permitted to march against Detroit he could promise almost any number of volunteers from Virginia and elsewhere to march against the Indian towns. In February, 1780, he wrote: "Such a deep snow and such ice have not been known at this place in the memory of the oldest native. Deer and turkeys die by thousands for want of food; the snow on the Alleghany and Laurel hills is four feet deep."

With the spring of 1780 came numerous reports that the Mingoes (English for Six Nations; called Iroquois by the French) had taken the war path and had attacked the white settlers, who were fleeing in terror to the Eastern settlements for protection. It was at this time that the combined British and Indians meditated an attack on Fort Pitt; and in this extremity, owing to the smallness of the force at his disposal, he armed the inhabitants and made other preparations to give the enemy a warm reception.

In October, 1779, so great was the fluctuation in the prices of all commodities and so great was the depreciation in Continental and State scrip, the army officers at Pittsburg held a formal meeting and passed resolutions to adopt a price list. A committee was appointed to carry the resolutions into effect. Captains Tannehill and Findley of the committee were appointed to visit the traders and inform them that the sale of their goods was forbidden "until the regulations could be formed with accuracy and transmitted them, under pain and penalty of being held up as inimical to their country, as well as forfeiting the countenance, protection and trade of the army." The resolutions asserted that at the existing enormous prices, unless dire and absolute necessity demanded, to buy would be considered as criminal as to sell; and the traders were requested to sell and the inhabitants to buy at prices agreed on by the committee. The traders were required to exhibit their invoices, which they accordingly did, but it was learned from them that, in order to make any profit, the merchants would be forced to sell their goods at such a high price as to place them beyond the reach of the inhabitants. The committee, therefore, refused to permit the sale of any part of the merchandise specified in the invoices at any post or garrison west of the Alleghany Mountains. The committee also ordained that traders who should forestall the markets and secure a monopoly of the grain, and thereafter enhance the price, should be punished. Guards were placed over the stores and the traders were not permitted to sell under any circumstances. This embargo, it was stated, would remain in force until the committee had issued their lists regulating the prices. The language used by the committee against speculators was as follows: "All those of different complexions, whatever appellations they may choose to assume, whether monopolizers, forestallers, engrossers or speculators, are hereby cautioned and advised not to cross the Alleghany Mountains, as this committee cannot answer for the conduct of an insulted public nor for the resentment of the army."







In November, 1779, the Delaware chiefs called upon him, stated that they were in a condition of great destitution and requested to be furnished with supplies. Colonel Brodhead wrote to the authorities: "My different staff departments here are out of money and out of credit, and if they are not suddenly supplied I shall dread the consequences." He argued that the Indians should be placated with supplies of all kinds and thus made the friends and allies of the Americans. He deplored the fact that the Board of War had not sent him more and better shoes and hats. In December he wrote: "I meet with little perplexity in the common course of my duties, but the want of many of the necessary articles for the troops and Indians, the want of money in every department, with the difficulty of getting the ordinary supplies and the trouble with the Indians, who, for political reasons, I am obliged to tempt, drunk or sober; these, with the undetermined state of the rights of the garrison and a rascally set of inhabitants at this place, is sufficient to destroy the patience of Job."

Several companies of rangers were organized in the spring of 1780 in Westmoreland County, to be employed in checking the inroads of the savages. In January, 1780, Colonel Brodhead placed the Maryland corps, consisting of twenty men and officers, in the large house situated forty yards from one of the bastions of Fort Pitt, and owned by Ward and Smallman, against the protests of the latter. Later the owners, who were justices of the peace of Yohogania County, applied for damages for this act of the commander. Still later they commenced suit against Colonel Brodhead for £5,000 damages.

About this time Brodhead evidently had in view the acquirement of valuable real estate holdings in the Western country. He wrote in February, 1780: "Should our State determine to extend its settlements over the Allegheny River I should be happy to have an early hint of it, because it will be in my power to serve several of my friends. I have sometimes thought of proposing to the Executive Council and Assembly the purchase of the late proprietor's manor at this place, but it might perhaps be as well for me to be concerned with some gentlemen of my acquaintance in the purchase. I conceive it will, within a few years after peace is established, be one of the first places of business of any inland town in America. Should your excellency be of opinion with me, and inclined to take in a few gentlemen into partnership in such a purchase, I shall be happy in the connection." President Reed, to whom this proposition was made, declined to enter into such an engagement.

In March, 1780, Colonel Brodhead notified Joseph Reed, president of the Executive Council, that the savages had begun hostilities by killing five men and taking captive six children, at a sugar camp on Raccoon Creek. President Reed notified Colonel Brodhead that the Assembly had voted four companies to be raised for the defense of the frontier, but that the low condition of the State finances had prevented placing them in the field. Rev. John Heckewelder wrote to Colonel Brodhead from Coshocking that five or six bands of Delawares, Wyandots, Muncies and Shawnees had departed from that locality to strike the settlements in Western Pennsylvania, and that the Wabash Indians were reported likewise to have taken the war path.

In April, 1780, George Washington, in a letter to President Reed, said that it was his opinion that under the act of Congress of February, 1780, Fort Pitt was entitled to 24,000 barrels of flour, 7,000 gallons rum, 150 hundredweight of hay, 7,500 bushels of corn and a considerable quantity of salt. In all the supplies sent in those days the item of rum or whisky was invariably present in large figures. By the 27th of April Brodhead reported that over forty or fifty of the inhabitants living in the counties of Yohogania, Monongalia and Ohio had been murdered by the Indians. "It will give me great pleasure to







1784, and likewise erected a sawmill on the Allegheny and established saltworks on the Big Beaver. This was one of the first and most noted of the business ventures at this time. Previously, few, if any, stores here had been kept by others than traders, but this was a new departure, which gave immediate prominence to Pittsburg as a business point, and unquestionably attracted many other residents. Perhaps the next most important events connected with Pittsburg were the location here of several blacksmiths, who began the manufacture of nails, and the establishment of the *Pittsburg Gazette* by Messrs. Scull and Hall, in July, 1786. Mr. Brackenridge, who had come in 1781, was intent upon the growth of Pittsburg, and no doubt had much to do in securing the location here of early residents and early business houses. He recommended the establishment of the *Gazette*, and continued a liberal contributor to that paper until he passed into disfavor with it, about 1798, owing to his espousal of the cause of the Anti-Federalists. Pittsburg became the center of attraction and the basis of supplies for all the Western country; and the most noteworthy fact connected with its early career is that within a few years an immense demand from the settlers of Ohio and Kentucky for all varieties of ironmongery and store goods poured in so fast that the stores multiplied rapidly, and by 1792 from ten to twelve establishments for the manufacture of nails or the sale of merchandise were enjoying great prosperity. The several excursions made against the Indians from this point by United States troops served still further to attract settlers to this point. The whisky insurrection of 1794 created such a demand here for all manner of supplies that prices arose to double and triple their former figure, and merchants, in a few months, doubled their capital and greatly increased their stocks. Even the farmers for miles around shared immensely in the general prosperity. Thousands of soldiers, required thousands of dollars' worth of food, clothing and equipment, and the United States footed the bill, while the inhabitants of Pittsburg received the greatest benefit accruing to them up to this time. During the same year, 1794, the town was incorporated as a borough, which likewise attracted attention, as it promised good order and safer individual and business methods. In 1797 the glassworks of General James O'Hara were projected, one of the most important ventures ever made in Pittsburg. Nothing but the persistency, prominence and capital of General O'Hara could have made it successful at that time. It must be conceded that Pittsburg then possessed immense possibilities. It required no prophet to predict that this town could, if it so desired, gain a large portion of the trade of the Western country. Even as early as 1792 the supplies of nails and other forms of iron could not meet the demand. The result was the multiplication of nail and other iron factories, and a large increase in the capital expended in these establishments.

It was in 1788 that one of the most important events of early times occurred to Pittsburg, namely, its establishment as the county seat of the new county of Allegheny. It is true that the act creating the county directed that the courthouse should be built across the river, on the reserved tract, or in what is now Allegheny; but soon afterward this clause was changed so that the first county buildings were erected in Pittsburg. In March, 1787, at a public meeting held for the purpose, Hugh Ross, Stephen Bayard and Rev. Samuel Barr were appointed a committee to prepare plans for a market-house. The meeting was held on the Diamond. The editor of the *Gazette* said: "It may, indeed, be for the benefit of those who have cash, as it would save them some trouble and industry in order to get what articles they might want, but as for the inhabitants of this place in general to enter into an association to buy no provisions but in that market (on market days) is truly absurd, for many of us, at least he knows it to be his case, don't get as much in a week as would pur-







directed a manor to be run out, including their said improvements, and they, therefore, prayed that they might receive legal titles to those lands on the same terms granted to inhabitants of the State for located or patented lands under authority of the Commonwealth. This petition was sent to the Legislature, and was ordered to lie upon the table.

Another of the early land companies was named the Pennsylvania Population Company, which secured 804 tracts of land under act of the Assembly, April 3, 1792, northwest of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers and Conewango Creek. General John Gibson was agent of this company in Pittsburg. James Sample, a man of some property, held a large number of donation and depreciation land claims in various districts, which he advertised for sale. The Population Company advertised to sell their land on Lake Erie, French Creek, and other navigable waters to actual settlers at moderate prices and extensive credit. Josiah Colt and Ennion Williams were general agents for the company. The Pennsylvania Land Company was another organization that acquired large and valuable tracts in Western Pennsylvania and elsewhere. The North American Land Company and Pennsylvania Property Company likewise owned immense tracts in which the capitalists of Pittsburg became interested. As shown in the columns of the old *Gazette*, *Mercury* and *Commonwealth*, many of the business men of the town were agents for these companies, and at times several offered as high as 50,000 acres for sale. Messrs. O'Hara, Craig, Brackenridge, Gibson, Christy, Irwin, Pentland, Ormsby, Tannehill, Collins, Evans, Wilkins, Bedford, Bayard, Roberts and others offered large tracts for sale. The large sums of money which accumulated in the Branch banks were derived from the sale of Government lands either to the land companies directly or to individuals who transferred them to such companies.

In October, 1787, John Ormsby offered for sale, about two miles east of Pittsburg, 300 acres, of which 200 were bottom land, extending for a mile along the Monongahela. He announced that if the land was not sold during October about 100 acres would be laid out into five-acre tracts to accommodate the people of Pittsburg who desired pasturage. The whole tract was covered with heavy timber. This land was on the south side of the Monongahela, and comprised much of what is now Birmingham.

A company of forty men, under the command of Colonel William Butler, was hastily formed in Pittsburg, October 23, 1787, to pursue a band of Chipewas warriors, which, it was reported, was encamped at a place called "Kushkushky," about sixty miles westward, and had four scalps in their possession. The company failed to catch them. Pittsburg had a billiard-hall as early as January, 1787, at which time old Guvasutha, king of the Senecas, took special pleasure in viewing the game. The old chief was given the privilege of the town and provided with three gallons of whisky and twenty pounds of flour.

Under the act of 1788, which created Allegheny County, the Courthouse was directed to be built in what is now Allegheny, but by the act of April 13, 1791, George Wallace, Devereaux Smith, William Elliot, Jacob Hausman and John Wilkins were authorized to purchase a tract of ground in Pittsburg, and to erect thereon a courthouse and prison. "I doubt there will be very dull sale for marriage licenses in this county, as no application has ever been made to us for any. If you think proper to send half a dozen of them I will dispose of them if there should be any demand" (1).

"Pittsburg, May 17, 1791.

"We, the subscribers, encouraged by a large subscription, do promise to pay one hundred dollars for every hostile Indian's scalp with both ears to it, taken

(1) James Brison to Secretary Biddle, October 19, 1786.









he had recently served, and that Inspector Neville should deliver his commission and resign his office. The latter refused to comply, whereupon it was intimated that the insurgents would destroy Pittsburg and take the writs and commission by force. The position taken by the insurgents at this time was determined, they insisting that it was even better that the United States marshal should die than that hundreds of citizens should lose their plantations. So threatening became indications it was deemed best for the marshal and the inspector to temporarily leave the town, which they did, going down the Ohio River in a boat.

Negotiations were opened between the insurgents and the inhabitants, looking to a termination of the differences and the establishment of peace. The insurgents requested the attendance upon one of their meetings of a delegation from Pittsburg, and, accordingly, H. H. Brackenridge, George Robinson (chief burgess), Colonel William Semple, Peter Audrain, Josiah Tannehill and William H. Beaumont met the insurgents late in July at the Mingo meeting-house. They found them in a state of intense excitement and anger, and at this time they made frequent use of the language and methods of the Jacobins of France. They considered themselves the victims of aristocrats, and many threats were made against the wealthy classes. At this meeting speeches were delivered by Benjamin Parkinson, Mr. Marshall and David Bradford, the latter of whom, in an inflammatory speech, sustained the action of the insurgents. Mr. Brackenridge spoke on behalf of the citizens of Pittsburg, and took a middle ground, offering no violent opposition to the course of the insurrection, nor distinctly favoring their methods or objects. The meeting terminated without the settlement of the vexed question. A few days later, under the orders of Mr. Bradford, United States mail bags from Pittsburg to Washington and Greensburg were intercepted, opened and read by the insurgent leaders. This mail contained strong letters against the course of the insurgents from prominent residents of Pittsburg, directed to high officials in the East, with the object of having the reign of terror in the West terminated, and of having the leaders brought to punishment. The objectionable letters were from Colonel Neville to General Morgan, General Gibson to the Governor of Pennsylvania, James Brison, prothonotary, to the Governor, Edward Day to the Secretary of the Treasury, and Major Butler, in charge of the Arsenal, to the Secretary of War. No sooner had the contents of these communications become known to the insurgents than the leaders took steps to stir up all of Western Pennsylvania in opposition to the Excise Law, and to have banished from Pittsburg the writers of the objectionable letters. The insurgent leaders called out militia, and whole regiments responded, fearing to oppose the popular will. The insurrection at this stage grew with great rapidity. The leaders called for a meeting to be held July 28th at Braddock's Field, and it was understood that measures would be put into effect to seize Pittsburg, the Arsenal, and to arrest and imprison the writers of the objectionable letters. At this meeting James Ross, in a speech of two hours in length, opposed the progress of the insurrection, but was unable to stem the torrent that had set in. The leaders of the insurrection were now powerless, had they been so disposed, to oppose its progress. It was declared that Pittsburg must burn like Sodom, and that opposition to the objects of the insurgents must be punished.

Pittsburg at this time was almost paralyzed with fear. A town meeting was hastily called, of which General Gibson was chairman and Mathew Ernest secretary, to consider friendly messages which had arrived from Washington concerning the proposed or probable action of the mob. A committee was appointed to confer with the leaders. The messengers stated that the insurgents

would not be content unless the writers of the objectionable letters were banished from Pittsburg, and that unless it was done the town was likely to be burned, in which case many lives would probably be lost. The meeting unanimously resolved that the writers of the letters should submit in the interests of security and leave Pittsburg temporarily, whereupon those individuals made preparations to accede to the public demand. Resolutions were passed also as follows:

*Whereas*, It is a part of the message from the gentlemen of Washington that a great body of the people of the country will meet to-morrow at Braddock's Field in order to carry into effect measures that may seem to them advisable with respect to the Excise Law, and the advocates of it; *Resolved*, That the above committee shall at an early hour wait upon the people on the ground and assure them that the above resolution with respect to the proscribed persons has been carried into effect. *Resolved, also*, That the inhabitants of the town shall march out and join the people on Braddock's Field, as brethren, to carry into effect with them any measure that may seem to them advisable for the common cause. *Resolved also*, That we shall be watchful among ourselves of all characters that by word or act may be unfriendly to the common cause; and when discovered will not suffer them to live amongst us, but they shall instantly depart the town."

Thus the whole town, except Colonel Butler and his garrison, unanimously surrendered to the insurgents. In this emergency twenty-one citizens were chosen by the meeting to do whatever seemed best for the safety of the town and its inhabitants. This committee consisted of the following men: George Robinson, H. H. Brackenridge, Peter Audrain, John Scull, John McMasters, John Wilkins, Sr., Andrew McIntyre, George Wallace, John Irwin (merchant), Andrew Watson, George Adams, David Evans, Josiah Tannehill, Mathew Ernest, William Earl, Alexander McNickel, Colonel John Irwin, James Clow, William Gormly and Nathaniel Irish. Messrs. Brison and Day were particularly obnoxious, owing, doubtless, to the severe terms in which they had couched their letters, and Major Kirkpatrick to the same extent, as he was held responsible for the death of McFarlane at the time of the attack on the Neville residence. As a matter of fact, the citizens in mass meeting assembled unanimously banished these citizens temporarily from the town as a measure to conciliate the insurgents.

On the 1st of August the committee of twenty-one, on horseback, unarmed, followed by the town militia to the number of about 250, under the command of General Wilkins, started out to join the "enemy" on Braddock's Field. This was an extraordinary spectacle, and one, it is to be hoped, the citizens will never again be called upon to witness. Its wisdom at the time cannot be questioned. Seven thousand men, all armed, were drawn up on Braddock's Field, and all were inflamed with passion and all resolute with their intention concerning the Excise Law and the banishment of the objectionable letter-writers. Many to this day maintain that the town should have resisted; that the garrison under Major Butler and the town militia of nearly 300 men, under capable officers, should have resisted to every extremity the demands of the insurgents. It is not probable, owing to the determination and anger of the mob at this stage of the insurrection, that the defense of Pittsburg would have been sufficient to insure the safety of the people and their property. Unquestionably, in this doubtful state of affairs, discretion was the better part of valor, and the town was justified in yielding temporarily to the demands of the insurgents, just as an inferior force on the field of battle often finds it wiser to surrender to a superior force rather than be slaughtered. The course pursued by individuals has little to do with the general problem presented for solution. The succeeding discussions as to the guilt or innocence of individuals, often con-







terious articles, similar to the whitecap notices of the present day, became a prominent figure; in fact, to such an extent that even the *Pittsburg Gazette* dared not refuse to publish his notices. Liberty poles were erected throughout the Western country, signifying independence of and hostility to the Excise Law. Within a few days after the capitulation of Pittsburg Major Kirkpatrick and others who had been banished returned to town, but such course was disapproved as a breach of faith with the insurgents by the committee of twenty-one. It was argued that, should their return become known to the insurgents, as must inevitably be the case, the latter would misconstrue the act as having been approved generally by the citizens who had entered into articles of capitulation with the insurgent leaders.

Soon after this it became known that the Government of the United States was on the point of taking action to suppress the insurrection and prepare the way for the enforcement of the Excise Law, whereupon a large meeting was held at Parkinson's Ferry by delegates, representing the insurgents, from all portions of Western Pennsylvania, and at this meeting forty-three delegates from Allegheny County attended. Colonel Edward Cook was chairman and Albert Gallatin secretary. On this occasion, for almost the first time, a general opposition to the course of the insurgents was developed. Messrs. Gallatin, Brackenridge, Findley, Ross and others, in different ways, deprecated the course pursued by the mob. It began to dawn upon the insurgents that they might be called upon to answer for their lawless proceedings to an army sent against them by the United States Government. Those who opposed the insurrection, therefore, found it an easier matter to outwit the mob by the employment of diplomacy and finesse. Later it became known that a committee from President Washington was on its way to hold a conference with the insurgents, whereupon the 20th of August was designated, and Pittsburg the place, for such a meeting. The conference committee of the insurgents consisted of twelve members, of whom Thomas Morton, John B. C. Lucas and H. H. Brackenridge represented Allegheny County. By this time the insurgents had been brought to the conclusion that the Government meant to enforce the law, whereupon it was conceded the most important questions for them to consider were: First, amnesty; second, the repeal of the law. Bradford still favored, or declared that he favored, preparation for war against the Government, and the collection of an army, military supplies and thorough military organization. Messrs. Ross, Brackenridge, Gallatin and others outwitted him and secured from the insurgents a promise of submission upon the procurement of amnesty and the repeal of the law. President Washington's proclamation for the dispersion of the insurgents was issued August 7, 1794. At the same time he issued a requisition upon the adjoining States for 15,000 militia to quell the insurrection by force, should peaceable measures fail. The proposition of the commissioners of the Government offering conditional amnesty was discussed with great fervor by the insurgents at a large meeting held in Brownsville. Upon the question of accepting the proposition of the commissioners the vote stood 34 yeas and 23 nays. The insurgents were not yet conquered. The commissioners were not satisfied that twenty-three delegates out of fifty-seven should still oppose the laws of the United States, whereupon further requirements were demanded. The insurgents began to exhibit a defiant mood, and even went so far as to erect a liberty pole in front of the lodgings of James Ross, J. Yates and William Bradford, United States commissioners, in Pittsburg. The reign of terror was shown not to have terminated by the prevalence of acts of outrage in various parts of Western Pennsylvania. However, Judge Addison opened court in Pittsburg, and bills of indictment were issued on the charge of riot against those who had erected the liberty pole in front of the



lodging-house of the commissioners. It now became known that a large army under the command of General Lee, of Virginia, was moving toward the Western country for the purpose of quelling the insurrection by force, if necessary. Delegations were sent to President Washington, having in view the stoppage of this military force, but they all resulted in failure. The army began to pour through the passes of the Alleghanies on November 1, 1794, and in a short time took possession, so to speak, of all of Western Pennsylvania, without meeting with any opposition. The citizens of Pittsburg who had been exiled were brought back in triumph by General Morgan and a body of troops, and given a public ovation. All made haste now to make peace with the army, and disavow any unlawful connection with the insurgents. As might have been expected, hundreds were arrested, and in many instances severe hardships were suffered by those who were suspected of having had intimate connection with the insurrection. The result was complete submission to the Government authorities and to the legally constituted local officials. A portion of the army remained in Western Pennsylvania during the succeeding winter in anticipation of a recurrence of the outbreak, but their services were scarcely needed. The display of force by the Government authorities was wholly successful, and the Whisky Insurrection was at an end.

An impartial and general view of the insurrection discloses an unexpected condition of affairs. With many things to excuse a violation of the Excise Law, the insurgents were guilty of no act more serious than to tar and feather a few officers, compel them to resign their commissions, return the shots from the Neville residence, burn the building after their leader had been wantonly shot, frighten the marshal in Miller's field by a bullet over his head, threaten to destroy Pittsburg unless the letter-writers were banished and the town should join their cause, and open a mail bag or two to learn the intention of their opposers. When Marshal Lennox was "fired upon" in the harvest field of Mr. Miller, does anyone suppose that the shot could not have been made fatal had the rifleman so desired? The riflemen of that day did not miss so big a target. The shot was fired as a warning for the marshal to return the writs and resign his office. The abuse offered to Government officers cannot be said to have been the acts of the insurgents as a whole. Individual acts of vandalism in the riots of to-day are not visited upon the heads of the leaders of the general movements for relief. At the time of the first visit of the insurgents to the Neville residence they merely demanded the return of the writs and the resignation of the inspectors, and met with a volley from the house, attended with fatal results. At the second visit they made the same demand and received the same answer, and fifteen minutes later, during a truce, their leader, McFarlane, was shot dead. They then destroyed the house and barns, but did not harm an individual. Does not this show that instead of being a reckless and irresponsible mob they were well controlled and comparatively cool? It was reported that they threatened to burn Pittsburg, but even this vague threat was conditioned upon the failure of the town to banish the offending letter-writers. Does anyone suppose that the restrictions contained in the letters on the acts of the insurgents and the merits of their cause were sufficient to fix and fire the determination of the leaders to destroy Pittsburg? Improbable. Every act of the insurgents, even when infuriated by the indefensible shooting of McFarlane, was consistently directed toward the one great object of securing a repeal of the Excise Law. The shooting over the head of Marshal Lennox was done to scare him out of the neighborhood. Both visits to the house of General Neville were made for the purpose of securing the resignation of the inspector and the surrender of the writs. They were fired upon first in both instances, several wounded, their leader killed, and yet, strange to



relate, they did nothing worse than to burn the property. Was this an irresponsible and lawless mob? Improbable. The threat to burn Pittsburg, though sufficient to frighten the inhabitants into hysterics, was made to secure the banishment of the letter-writers who had thus revealed their deadly hostility to the cause of the insurrection, and to obtain the resignation of the excise officers. The opening of the mail bags was effected for the purpose of learning the secrets of the officers, and was not due to any treasonable designs of the insurgents. Every assault had the same general object in view—the nullification of the Excise Law. The many wild rumors sprang from the fears of the timorous or the threats of ubiquitous fanatics in no way connected with the general movements and objects of the insurrection. With 7,000 men under arms, with several wounded and their leader shot dead, with the advice of fanatics and outlaws ringing in their ears, with the knowledge before them that the letter-writers in Pittsburg were endeavoring to crush them with an army from the East, the insurgents, strange to tell, did not shed a drop of blood, took nothing from the mail except the objectionable letters, and only destroyed the Neville property under intense and galling provocation. There is scarcely a strike of the present day that is not accompanied by a greater degree of outlawry. A modicum of prudence and diplomacy, such as was exhibited by Mr. Brackenridge in his intercourse with the insurgents, or by the inhabitants of Pittsburg in their temporary surrender, would have averted serious results at the Neville house, would never have witnessed one-quarter of 7,000 men under arms and would in all probability have rendered it unnecessary to send a large army to Western Pennsylvania.

## CHAPTER XXV.

PITTSBURG CONTINUED—INCORPORATION OF THE BOROUGH, 1794—PUBLIC LOTTERY—BOROUGH FINANCES—ORDINANCES OF 1800-1—EARLY OFFICERS—INCIDENTS—CHARTER OF 1804—CUMING'S REMINISCENCES—STATISTICS—THE ARSENAL SITE—CHARTER OF 1816—SUPPLEMENT THERETO—CITY OFFICERS—EAST WARD AND WEST WARD—NORTHERN LIBERTIES—THE BATTURE CASE—BIRMINGHAM—PROPOSALS TO FURNISH WATER—LAWRENCEVILLE—BRIDGES—FINANCIAL STATEMENTS—EXPANSION OF THE CITY EASTWARD—MARKET-HOUSES—CITY BILLS OR CERTIFICATES—THE WATER LOANS OF 1826-7—STATISTICS OF GROWTH—THE WATER-WORKS—ALLEGHENY MADE A BOROUGH—FIRST GAS COMPANY—ITS SUBSEQUENT CAREER—TWO WARDS CHANGED TO FOUR—MAYOR'S DUTY RESTRICTED—ALLEGHENY COMMON—MARKET-HOUSE OF 1832—SANITARY MEASURES—SALT WATER FOUND—POLICE OPERATIONS—THE JAIL—BOARD OF TRADE—CITY PRINTING—CRIME PREVALENT—THE TRACT ON THE EAST—DUQUESNE WAY—SHINPLASTERS—NEW WATER-WORKS—FIFTH WARD—REORGANIZATION OF THE GAS COMPANY—FIRST GAS LIGHTS—FINANCIAL STATISTICS—ALLEGHENY MADE A CITY—IMPORTANCE OF THE DECADE OF THE THIRTIES—WARD AND BOROUGH LAW OF 1845—CONSOLIDATION—SHOCK OF THE GREAT FIRE—WATER-WORKS OF 1847-9—WARD MEMBERSHIP—LOANS AND INDEBTEDNESS—VALUE OF CITY PROPERTY—ASSESSMENTS—RAILWAY BONDS ISSUED—ALLEGHENY'S STREETS—INCREASE OF CRIME—STATISTICS OF 1850-2—DEPRECIATION OF CITY BONDS—GAS IN ALLEGHENY—MANY IMPORTANT STEPS REQUIRED—THE ENORMOUS DEBT—CONSOLIDATION AGAIN CONSIDERED—REPUDIATION OF RAILWAY BONDS—FIRST STREET RAILWAYS—FLOODS—POPULATION.

The act incorporating the borough, passed on April 22, 1794, provided that the "freeholders and other inhabitants, housekeepers," should meet on the third Monday in May of each year to elect two fit persons to be burgesses, the one having the highest number of votes to be chief burgess, and to elect other persons as assistants, "for advising, aiding and assisting the said burgess;" and to elect a high constable and town clerk; and it was further provided that no person should be permitted to vote at the borough elections nor be eligible to any of the borough offices who had not resided one year within the borough previous to the date of election. The burgesses, freeholders and inhabitants were made a body politic and corporate, under the name of "the burgesses, freeholders and inhabitants of the borough of Pittsburgh, in the county of Allegheny." The act further provided that two markets should be held weekly, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and that there should be chosen a clerk of the market, "who shall have the assize of bread, wine, beer, wood, coals, hay, corn and other provisions." It was provided that the inhabitants should have in all respects the same powers, privileges, etc., which had been granted to the borough of Reading by the act of 1783, except that Pittsburgh was not constituted a separate election district.

The original act limited the water boundary to the beach of the two rivers, while the act of 1816, incorporating the borough as a city, extended the frontage to the middle of the streams. The act of 1794 remained substantially intact until

March 5, 1804, when it was repealed by the act of that date. The citizens of the borough in 1804 petitioned for a change in the act of 1794, on the grounds that the law was "insufficient to promote conveniency, good order and public utility." The boundary under the act of 1804 was the same as under the act of 1794, except as to the river frontage. The law of 1804 fixed the officers as follows: One burgess, thirteen members of the Council and one high constable. In addition to these it was provided that the Council should appoint a street commissioner, treasurer, clerk, collector and constable. It was provided that five of the Council should be chosen by lot to form a court of appeal, that three of them should constitute a quorum, with power to determine the justness of the apportionment of tax and to secure a redress of grievances; that owners of land along the rivers could build wharves thereon; and that all persons complaining under municipal judgments should have the right of appeal to the Court of Quarter Sessions.

In November, 1798, \$400 in money was raised and sent to the relief of the yellow fever sufferers in Philadelphia. At this time the supervisors of the borough requested all persons delinquent in borough tax to come forward at once and settle. In 1798, under authority of the Legislature, a lottery was established for the purpose of "raising the sum of \$12,000, to be applied in erecting piers to defend the banks of the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, within the borough of Pittsburg." The first prize consisted of \$1,000; the second of \$800; two of \$500 each; three of \$400 each; five of \$300 each; ten of \$200 each; fifteen of \$100 each, with a prize of \$2,000 for the last drawn ticket; \$1,000 for the second last drawn ticket; and \$500 for the third last drawn ticket. There were 2,210 prizes and 3,790 blanks, making a total of 6,000 tickets at \$5 each. The announcement that tickets were for sale was made in July, 1798, and it was hoped that all would be sold by October. "To those acquainted with the situation, and who feel themselves interested in the improvement and prosperity of the town of Pittsburg, nothing need be said touching the utility of the object to which the product of this lottery is to be applied. To others it might be suggested how very important are its prosperity and advancement, not only to those adjacent, but to the inhabitants of the neighboring counties, and even of the towns on the Atlantic. Situated as it is on a point of land at the confluence of two majestic rivers, which, joining, flow through an immense territory to the ocean, it must, of necessity, be in a considerable degree the emporium of that territory, if it be not abandoned to the impetuous current of the Allegheny, which is making yearly, nay, daily, encroachments on the land, and which will, at no very distant day, take possession of the delightful spot on which the town stands, should its ravages not be checked by the erection of piers, or some other efficient means." This advertisement was signed by the following managers: Presley Neville, George Stevenson, John Scull, Isaac Craig, Nathaniel Bedford, James Brison, George Shiras, Jeremiah Barker and Nathaniel Irish. The tickets evidently did not sell as readily as anticipated, for a few months later a reduction of fifteen per cent. was announced in the value of the prizes.

In 1799 the island on the Allegheny River, two miles above Pittsburg, consisting of nearly 34 acres, was advertised to be sold on an execution against William Wilson, deceased, on the suit of Meeker and Cochran, by Ephraim Jones, sheriff.

The tax levy in Pittsburg for the year 1790 was \$640.44, and the amount collected by January 31, 1800, was in round numbers \$300. During the year 1799 the county paid for wolves' scalps \$640.30. During that year also the county bought of Samuel McCord 947 bushels of coal for use in the jail, for which he was paid \$40.06. The borough tax of the year 1800 was \$604.88.

Samuel McCord, collector, turned over to the treasury by January 1, 1801, \$512.

Under the borough charter it was customary for the citizens, as well as the burgesses, to assemble in general meeting for the purpose of enacting ordinances. The few regulations adopted in 1794, and amended at a few subsequent dates, were greatly improved in 1800 and 1801. Among other provisions contained in the ordinances of these dates were the following: That market should be held during daylight on Wednesdays and Saturdays, varying somewhat from winter to summer; no slaughtering was permitted in the market, under a penalty of \$5; no liquor was retailed there under penalty of from \$2 to \$5; shambles and stalls adjoining were allowed to be used any other than market hours; the clerk was directed to remain at the market and prevent the sale of bad food; see that all bread and butter were up to weight; see that the scales were correct; enforce the payment of all penalties; decide disputes as to weights, measures, and examine all persons suspected of being hucksters; collect rents of stalls, prevent any persons except butchers and country people from bringing their produce to market for sale, or from selling any goods, wares or merchandise except in the market; to clean out the market twice per week, and many other similar regulations. These ordinances, as a whole, were adopted March 19, 1800. At this time John Park was chief burgess, Isaac Craig burgess, Thomas Bracken, Andrew Willock, Robert Magee, assistants.

On March 27, 1800, the county treasurer, John Wilkins, was robbed of \$1,300 in cash, and for the apprehension and conviction of the thief he offered a reward of \$100. Much of the money was in silver and the balance in gold. A servant of Mr. Wilkins was later found to have been concerned in the theft, and his confession implicated a resident of the town, and in the end the most of the money was recovered. Previous to the erection of the new Courthouse John Reed furnished the buildings occupied by the officers of the court. He was paid in 1800 the sum of \$80, or \$10 for each of eight years, for rental. He was allowed this sum by Adamson Tannehill and George Adams, auditors of accounts, and was likewise paid seven cents per bushel for 300 bushels of coal. In April, 1801, Dr. Hugh Scott succeeded George Adams, deceased, as postmaster of Pittsburg. Mr. Adams had resided here nearly sixteen years. In May, 1801, the following borough officers were elected: Chief burgess, Dr. George Stevenson; burgess, Jeremiah Barker; assistants, David Evans, Robert Simpson, William Davis and Peter Kintner. William Woods became town clerk; Noble Willock high constable; Robert Magee and John Darragh assessors, and George Steward and Jeremiah Sturgeon supervisors.

In August, 1801, John Irwin, John Hamsher, John Wilkins, Jr., James O'Hara, William Earl, David Davis, Adamson Tannehill and Jeremiah Barker prepared and signed a remonstrance to the effect that, inasmuch as hay and coal had been and were bought and sold in Pittsburg by estimation, and that frequent losses and impositions had been sustained by purchasing and receiving weighty articles by estimation, such as hay and coal, proper scales should be established at some convenient place within the borough under the direction of the corporation. They called a meeting to consider the subject. At this time, if the old newspapers may be believed, the condition of the streets was deplorable. Deep sandholes had been dug at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Smithfield Street, which were regarded as dangerous to life and limb.

On the 29th of June, 1801, a town meeting was held "for the purpose of enacting certain ordinances for the better regulation of the borough." In consequence of representations and memorials addressed to the burgess, the following objects, it was announced, "would be submitted to the consideration of

the burgess, freeholders and inhabitants:" To prevent the driving of horses at a rapid gait through the streets; to prohibit the beating of drums late at night; to prevent the keeping of wagons and teams too long within the public square, etc. "By the records of the borough, it appears that at different times since 1794 taxes to the amount of \$3,916.94 have been levied for the purpose of repairing streets, etc., the utility of which is, at the present time, scarcely apparent. A proposal has been laid before the burgesses for making improvements of a more permanent nature, paving the streets, etc." (a).

The ordinances which had been passed in August, 1801, were ordered published in the *Gazette* in July, 1802, for the information of the freeholders. These ordinances contained substantially the following provisions: That footways of brick, stone or gravel, bounded by curbstones or by square pieces of timber, should be placed, under the direction of the regulators, on the following streets: Both sides of Market from Water to Fifth; Water, from Wood to Redoubt Alley; north side of Front Street from Wood to Ferry; south side of Second Street from Wood to Ferry; north side of Second Street from Wood to Redoubt Alley; north side of Third Street from Wood to Ferry; both sides of Fourth Street from Smithfield to the alley on which the jail was built; south side of Fifth Street from Wood to Market; east side of Wood Street from Second to Virgin Alley; west side of Wood Street from Water to Fifth. It was ordered that unless the owners of adjoining land should build such footways by January 1, 1803, the supervisors should construct such works of gravel, to be bounded by squared timbers, the expense to be charged to the owner and collected like other tax. It was provided that any person who should obstruct the execution of the ordinances should be fined \$20 for each offense. The street regulators were empowered to pitch and regulate the grade of streets, and each of such officers was ordered to be paid \$1.50 per day.

In May, 1802, the following borough officers were elected: Isaac Craig, chief burgess; David Evans, burgess; John Reed, Abner Barker, Thomas Ferree and John Davidson, assistants; Joseph Davis and John Ferree, assessors; William Amberson and Robert Magee, supervisors; William Christy, town clerk; William Gray, high constable. The borough officers elected in May, 1803, were as follows: Presley Neville and James O'Hara received the same number of votes. They cast lots to see which should be chief burgess, and the honor fell to General O'Hara. William Earl, Thomas Collins, William Hays and Peter Mowry were elected assistants; Robert Simpson, town clerk; William Cecil, Sr., high constable; Anthony Beelen and Abraham Kirkpatrick, assessors; Alexander McNickel and John Reed, supervisors. On March, 1804, under the new charter, the election resulted as follows: Burgess, Presley Neville; Town Council, Dr. George Stevenson, William Hays, Isaac Craig, James Morrison, Joseph Davis, David Pride, Ebenezer Denny, John Scull, Jeremiah Barker, William Porter, John Darragh, Thomas Bracken and William Davis; high constable, Andrew Willock; clerk of the market, Robert Magee.

At the election for Assembly in 1802, 330 votes were polled in Pittsburg; but in October, 1803, only 280 votes were thus polled. Under the old borough charter, when ordinances were passed many of the inhabitants assembled in town meeting to discuss their measures and act upon them. Inasmuch as the charter of 1804 repealed that of 1794, the ordinances between those dates, though a part of the early history, are usually overlooked by historical writers. They were simple in their character, and were only passed as they seemed necessary from the growing demands of the borough. In August, 1802, William Christy, town clerk, called for proposals for four public wells, to be

(a) *Gazette*, June 26, 1801.



dug on Market Street, of a depth not less than forty-seven feet, and further called for proposals for pumps for such wells. This call was authorized by the ordinance of August 9, 1802. It was ordered that the wells should be sunk and pumps erected wherever the burgesses deemed advisable, beginning with Market Street, and wherever it was found that individuals had sunk wells at their own expense they should be compensated therefor when they were assigned to public use. All this expense was to be sustained by a tax levied upon the borough. Three of the wells were ordered to be walled with stone, and two of them were dug on Market Street. For the year 1802 a borough tax of \$497.96 was levied, of which, by December 17th, only \$170 had been collected.

In August, 1802, the inhabitants were called to attend a meeting of the corporation at the Courthouse to consider a proposition "for the better supplying certain parts of the borough with water." It seems, then, that the question of water supply was early considered one of importance, and was investigated and the digging of the wells was ordered. In February, 1803, the citizens, in town meeting assembled, passed ordinances for the improvement of footways, and for the appointment of an inspector and measurer of boards, scantling and other lumber. The following sarcastic article appeared in the *Gazette* of June 3, 1803, and was subscribed by "One of the People:" "Let the people manage their own affairs in their own way, unembarrassed by too much regulation.' Thus saith our wise President, and he is right. Why should ordinances be passed for the regulation of a borough, or officers elected to enforce obedience to them? and wherefore the greater absurdity of those officers being sworn to execute the trust reposed in them? To be sure, it is ordained that during a certain season of the year the streets and alleys shall be cleansed monthly, nuisances removed, slaughter-houses inspected, etc., but those things could not be done without money, money cannot be raised without taxes, and taxes are now, and ever have been, odious and unpopular. Besides, a little clean dirt, more or less, is neither here nor there—it is believed to be wholesome, and some folks have no objection to the smell of warm tripe and garbage, to wading through puddles of green, stagnant water, or to skating over dabs of human ordure. What if a few of the citizens should be carried off by fluxes or fevers? It would be of no great consequence, as our population is rapidly increasing. To be decent is troublesome and inconvenient; to be nasty, one of the inproscriptable and inalienable rights of man in a state of nature, and verily of woman. Let us, I say in the language of the texts, manage our own affairs in our own way, unembarrassed by too many regulations."

In 1801 and 1802 many burglaries occurred in the borough, whereupon town meetings were held to take measures to prevent such outlawry. In July, 1803, William Cecil, high constable, complained that many persons obstructed his enforcement of the ordinances, particularly the one prohibiting horses from running at large. Such persons threw stones at his windows, and otherwise, in a violent way, testified their disapproval of his course. A meeting of the corporation was held approving his actions, and offering a reward of \$20 for the discovery of the person or persons who had thrown the stones. In November, 1803, a town meeting was called by Presley Neville, burgess, for the purpose of establishing a night watch, or patrol, to prevent, as far as possible, the losses which the inhabitants might otherwise suffer "from a gang of thieves, who at present infest our town." On December 22, 1803, a town meeting was called for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature to change the Act of Incorporation of 1794. In January, 1804, the dogs of the borough having become so numerous as to be a nuisance, a tax of twenty-five cents on each animal was levied, and if more than one dog was kept by an individual he was required to pay one dollar for each, etc.

In May, 1804, Hugh Scott, postmaster, died, and John Johnston was appointed in his stead. On July 6, 1804, the *Gazette* said that no mail had arrived from the East since the 29th ult., and called it an "unaccountable circumstance." In August, 1804, the burgess published a proclamation to the effect that he would certainly issue executions on Monday, the 3d of September, against all persons, without exception, who should not, by that time, have paid the borough pump tax, which had been so long overdue.

Mr. Cuming, who visited Pittsburg late in 1807, and wrote somewhat critically and extensively of his observations, said that, "It is inhabited by people who have fixed here for the express purpose of making money." He further said that, apparently, Pittsburg was not celebrated for its hospitality, and concluded that the reason might be due to politics. He stated that the old settlers, who had obtained their property for a song and had seen it grow valuable, "overacted their part, and assumed airs of superiority even over the well-born and well-bred part of the community, who had been reduced from a more affluent situation by misfortune, or who had not been so fortunate as themselves in acquiring what stands the possessor in lieu of descent and all the virtues and accomplishments." The observations of Mr. Cuming throw a strong side-light upon the characteristics of Pittsburg in 1807. Everybody seemed bent upon making money. Even politics was espoused for the money or popularity it might bring. But what was true then is just as true now. There was the dividing line between the possessor of comparative wealth—the old resident with fixed reputation and the newcomer who was comparatively unknown and who possessed little property and an unknown reputation. Mr. Cuming stated in 1807 that no street in Pittsburg, except Market, was paved, but he afterward wrote that during the next three years the greater part of Wood and Front streets, Third Street from Market to Wood, and Chancery Lane from the river to Second Street, were paved, and that considerable grading had been done, particularly on Diamond Alley. Mr. Cuming stated that Pittsburg, during the winter of 1807-8, was unprepossessing, owing to the bad condition of the streets and to the fact, due to the great use of coal, that the houses were black from soot and smoke. The coal was delivered in four-horse wagons of forty bushels to the load, such load costing \$2, and the quantity was sufficient to sustain two fires a month. At this time mail came from Philadelphia and Baltimore twice a week. McCullough's Inn was one of the principal taverns for travelers. At this time old Fort Duquesne had entirely disappeared, but the dry ditch and the ramparts of Fort Pitt were still in existence, and beyond them were "a few straggling apple and pear trees, being all that remained of the King's artillery gardens, planted and cultivated by the first British garrison, and now laid out in streets and towns." Two miles up the Allegheny from the town stood Hill's tavern, while farther down the traveler first caught sight of the belfry of the Courthouse, the brick, octagonal Episcopal Church, a handsome Presbyterian brick meeting-house, and the roofs of the dwelling-houses, intermingled with Lombardy poplars and weeping-willows. At this time Grant's Hill, according to Mr. Cuming, was about one hundred feet in perpendicular height, and was covered with a delightful short green herbage. In fact, Grant's Hill was the resort for parades and outdoor public exercises. Speaking of Grant's Hill, Mr. Cuming said: "It lies within the bounds of the borough, but it is to be hoped that General O'Hara, who is the proprietor, will, with true patriotism, reserve it for its present use, and not permit one of the greatest ornaments of Pittsburg to be destroyed by having it cut down and leveled for building lots." He said: "Was General O'Hara to fence it in, terrace it, which could be done at small expense, ornament it with clumps of evergreens and flowering shrubs, and

erect a few banqueting-houses, in the form of small temples, according to the different orders of architecture, it would be one of the most beautiful spots of which not only America, but perhaps any town in the universe, could boast." Mr. Cuming further said: "The eye looks over a fine level of three thousand acres once intended as the site of a town to be called Allegheny, to be the capital of the county, but the situation of Pittsburg being very properly judged more convenient, it has eventually become the seat of justice of the county and the most flourishing inland town in the United States."

In 1807 Pittsburg contained about 400 houses. By 1810 the number had increased to 767. Mr. Cuming said, when here: "In seventeen streets and four lanes, or alleys, in March, 1808, there were 236 brick houses, of which forty-seven were built in the last twelve months, and 361 wooden ones, seventy of which were added last year. There are twenty-four taverns, four or five of which are excellent ones, and the rest of every grade." Birmingham, of which a portion was called Sidneyville, was laid out by Nathaniel Bedford and Isaac Craig in 1811, and from the start grew very rapidly. Even as early as 1810 it was celebrated for its Birmingham glass. A large grist mill and a lock factory were also there very early. Mr. Craig offered many lots for sale in Sidneyville in 1811-12. It was said that in 1812, 7,000,000 feet of boards and scantling were used in the construction of buildings in Pittsburg.

In 1813 a tax of four mills on the dollar was levied for borough purposes. It seems that the officers of the borough at this time were slack in their duties, because John Darragh and William Hays were appointed a special committee to secure official reports from them, as they had so far furnished for the year 1812 nothing but verbal reports. In March, 1813, Dr. George Stevenson was elected burgess, and James Ross, Oliver Ormsby, Thomas Cromwell, John Woods, Ebenezer Denny, James O'Hara, John Darragh, John Wilkins, John Scull, Anthony Beelen, Robert Magee, George Shiras and William Hays, Town Council. In December, 1813, George Evans issued the following notice: "Having been urged by many of our citizens to make proposals for watering Pittsburg by the power of steam, the subscriber takes this method of informing that he is now ready to furnish the requisite power. He will, at his own expense, raise water sufficiently high to run to any part of the town at three cents per barrel. A particular statement is not considered necessary until some person or persons are appointed to confer with him" (b). In the spring of 1814 the Pittsburg Steam Engine Company advertised lots for sale at Front Street and Redoubt Alley, on the tract known as Mrs. Adam's gardens. Thomas Collins advertised many tracts for sale throughout the Western country, comprising more than 80,000 acres. About this time George A. Bayard offered many lots for sale in what was then called Bayardsville, where, a short time before, he had laid out a town. At this time Samuel Roberts offered for sale land here and elsewhere to the amount of about 25,000 acres. C. F. Bonnhorst a little later offered large quantities of land for sale. It was stated in the *Mercury* of August, 1814, that George A. Bayard, who had leased perpetually sixty elegant building lots on the Allegheny River, fronting on the new turnpike leading to Mr. Hill's, would sell the same at a satisfactory figure to actual residents. In the summer of 1814 stonemasons were advertised for, to assist in erecting the works at Fort Fayette. A. R. Woolley was superintendent of the public works there. In 1814 a bathhouse was located on the banks of the Monongahela, where both hot and cold water were served. It was open from 5 a. m. to 10 p. m. and stood next door to the Pittsburg steam mill. William Wilkins, Isaac Craig

(b) *Mercury*, December 9, 1813.

and Oliver Evans offered a large quantity of land located here and elsewhere for sale. In 1814 many important changes were made in the ordinances of the borough. The *Navigators* said that Pittsburg at this time was celebrated for its coal, which was used in all the houses and manufactories. The mines, or pits, from which the coal was obtained, were from one to three miles distant, and that until a few years previous to 1817 little or no coal was brought across the Monongahela, but that in 1815 large mines were opened on that side. The coal sold at from six to twelve cents per bushel, and wages were very high; in fact, war prices prevailed. It was said that the factories located across the Monongahela River opposite Pittsburg were supplied with coal from Coal Hill, and that the mines were located about one-third of the distance from the top. There were in this vicinity at that time forty to fifty coal pits, open on both sides of the rivers, and the veins were from six to eight feet thick. Everything was black with coaldust, and not even the snow was white. The Courthouse steeple arose above all else, and appeared like a finger of charcoal pointing toward the sky.

In 1814 there were in Allegheny County 5,518 taxables, and in 1821 there were 6,969. In 1800 there were ten slaves in the county.

By the act of March 10, 1816, the Legislature assented to the purchase by the United States of a tract of land on the Allegheny River, two miles above Pittsburg, consisting of thirty acres, strict measure, from William B. Foster, to be used as a site for a military station and the establishment of an ordnance department.

On March 18, 1816, the municipality was changed to a city government and incorporated as the "mayor, aldermen and citizens of Pittsburg." It was provided that the voters should consist of persons who had resided within the borough one year, and had paid a borough tax; that they should meet on the first Tuesday in July, 1816, to elect fifteen persons for a Common Council and nine persons for a Select Council; that such persons should divide themselves into three classes for one, two or three years' services; that the councils so chosen should make all laws, regulations and ordinances for the government of the city; that during their deliberations they should keep open doors to the inhabitants; that the Governor should appoint one recorder and twelve aldermen, each having the powers of a justice of the peace; that the borough aldermen should continue as such under the new city government until their official terms should expire; that the recorder should be compensated by the State with \$600 per year; that both councils should meet on the second Tuesday in July, 1816, to elect *viva voce* one of the aldermen to the office of mayor; that the latter should have all the powers of an alderman, should preside over the Mayor's Court, should execute the city laws, and should continue until his successor was elected and qualified; that the Mayor's Court should consist of the mayor, recorder and city aldermen, or any four of them, who were specially empowered to try forgeries, burglaries, larcenies, assaults and batteries, riots, routs and unlawful assemblies, and other offenses cognizable in Court of Quarter Sessions of the county; should try also all offenses against the laws, ordinances, regulations and constitution made for the city government, and that such court should be entitled "the Mayor's Court for the City of Pittsburg." It was provided that the borough charter should remain in force until the city charter should take effect, and that all public affairs should continue from one government to the other without favor or prejudice.

By act of March 10, 1817, a supplement to this incorporating act was passed by the Legislature. It provided that the Mayor's Court should have full power and authority to issue process on all recognizances forfeited in such court, and to prosecute the same to final judgment and recovery to the

same extent as the Court of Common Pleas could do. The supplement also provided that the aldermen of the city should have the power of justices of the peace throughout the county, and that justices of the peace should have their jurisdiction extended to all parts of the county, including the city of Pittsburg. It was provided that costs in criminal cases, for which the county would be liable in the Court of Quarter Sessions, should be paid by the county when accruing in the Mayor's Court. The recorder was empowered to issue writs of habeas corpus and to give relief thereon in certain cases. The Governor objected to the passage of this supplement and returned it without his signature. It was thereafter passed by a constitutional majority. The Governor stated that the act was unconstitutional, owing to the extension of the aldermanic jurisdiction to all parts of the county, when the aldermen themselves were restricted to special duties and privileges and confined to certain localities. He regarded the act as inexpedient and unnecessary. It was claimed that one of the principal reasons for the creation of Pittsburg as a city was to relieve the Court of Quarter Sessions by the formation of a Mayor's Court, which assumed much of its jurisdiction. In 1818 it was estimated that the increased cost to Pittsburgers, by reason of having become a city, was over \$3,000 per year, and accordingly, there was much grumbling (c).

The first Common Council elected under the city charter consisted of the following members: William Wilkins, James R. Butler, John P. Skelton, Alexander Johnston, Jr., James S. Stevenson, James Brown, Paul Anderson, John W. Johnston, George Evans, John Caldwell, Richard Robinson, Thomas McKee, Daniel Hunter, John Carson and John W. Trembly. They met for the first time on Friday, July 5, 1816. The oath of office was administered to each of them by Charles Wilkins, who had been appointed by the Governor recorder of the new city. William Wilkins was unanimously elected president by a *viva voce* vote and Silas Engles clerk. The election for members of the first Select Council resulted in the selection of the following men: James Ross, James Irwin, William Leckey, Mark Stackhouse, John Roseberg, Richard Geary, William Hays, Dr. George Stevenson and Samuel Douglas. They likewise met for the first time for organization on July 5, 1816. They were sworn into office by Charles Wilkins, recorder. James Ross was elected president of the Select Council by a *viva voce* vote and James M. Riddle secretary.

Both the councils, upon organization, presented a request to the commissioners of Allegheny County for the use of the Courthouse in which to hold their sittings. The following resolution was adopted by both councils:

"Resolved, By the Select and Common councils of the city of Pittsburg, in council assembled, that the councils will meet at the Courthouse on Tuesday, the 9th instant, at 2 o'clock p. m., and proceed to elect by joint vote a mayor of the said city, agreeable to the act of incorporation, and that the presidents of the councils preside on the occasion and declare the result of the vote." The joint councils directed the recorder to procure, as speedily as possible, "a seal with suitable devices, for the use of the city." Immediate steps were taken by both houses to pass the necessary ordinances and regulations for the government and improvement of the city.

On Tuesday, July 9, 1816, the councils held a joint session for the purpose of electing the first mayor. Of a total of twenty-three votes cast, fifteen were polled for Ebenezer Denny, six for Robert Johnston and two for John M. Snowden; whereupon the presiding officer declared that Ebenezer Denny had been duly elected to the office of mayor, and a committee was appointed to inform him of the action of the councils and to request his attendance. He

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(c) Gazette, December 8, 1818.



promptly complied, and Charles Wilkins, recorder, in the presence of the joint councils, administered to him the oath of office.

The councils, immediately after their election, divided themselves into one, two and three year classes and effected a thorough organization for committee work. The streets were to be improved, and new ones were to be surveyed, and many other important acts were to be transacted. On Monday, July 15th, the councils, in joint session, elected the following city officers: John Pentland, treasurer; Mathew McKown, weighmaster; John Hankart, gauger; John Hankart, inspector of tobacco; William Graham, John Roseberg and John W. Trembly, inspectors of boards and scantling; Mathias Evans, Daniel Hunter and John Robinson, regulators of streets and lots; Christian C. Febiger, inspector of pot and pearl ashes. A little later George Harris was paid \$35 for engraving the city seal. Mr. Wilkins was the principal member of a special committee appointed to draft a code of laws, ordinances and regulations for the government of the city. These ordinances were duly adopted and provided for the thorough regulation of the new city government.

In October, 1816, a resolution was passed permitting a Mr. Gray to exhibit a panoramic view of the naval engagement on Lake Champlain and the battle of Plattsburg without a license or other tax, owing to "the patriotic nature and worthy object of the exhibit." In November, 1816, a committee was appointed to inquire whether it was expedient for the city to possess for public purposes more ground than it then did, and whether it would be expedient at that time to purchase ground upon which to erect city buildings. In December a resolution introduced by Mr. Wilkins provided for the appointment of a special committee to make a detailed report upon the condition of the manufactures of Pittsburg, which resolution was adopted; whereupon the following committee was appointed: Benjamin Bakewell, Aquila M. Bolton and James Arthurs. Their report will be found elsewhere in this volume. The city councils at this time also sent agents to Harrisburg and Washington to labor specially in the interests of public roads in the Western country. In 1816 Northern Liberties was laid out by George A. Bayard and James Adams. In February, 1817, the following resolution was passed: "*Resolved*, By the Select and Common councils, in council assembled, that city bills to the amount of \$5,000 be issued, under the direction of the mayor, and the amount thereof be placed in the hands of the city treasurer, subject to the orders of the councils, and that the funds of this city are hereby pledged for the redemption of the same." In 1817 John Darragh was duly elected by the councils second mayor of the city of Pittsburg. In August, 1817, preparations were made for the reception of President James Monroe, and measures were taken to provide money for such expense.

At this time the question concerning the Monongahela wharf, which had been under discussion for twelve or fifteen years, came up again for settlement. In August a special committee was appointed to inquire into the best measures to be adopted in the ejectment proceedings brought in the Federal Court in the case of the wharf on the Monongahela.

In January, 1818, William B. Foster and William Hamilton petitioned the councils for permission to furnish the inhabitants of the city with water. In 1818 Charles Wilkins, recorder, died. He had previously been chief Burgess of the borough and was a young lawyer of much promise. Charles Shaler succeeded him as recorder.

Birmingham was first started in 1813, and by 1819 contained from fifty to sixty houses, several of which were handsome bricks, and at this time, despite the financial distress, was growing rapidly. Lawrenceville was laid out in 1815 by William B. Foster, and had begun with the building of the United

States Arsenal. It was located about two and one-half miles up the Allegheny River. In 1813 the old Arsenal, in the northeast part of the city, was sold at auction. According to the *Navigator* Pittsburg, in 1786, consisted of about 100 houses; in 1810 of 767 houses; in 1811 of 953 houses; and in 1815 of 1,303 houses.

"We have no idea that our ground rents will again be at \$30 and \$40 a foot; we have no notion that a sixty-foot lot will sell for more than double the size of one in New York or Philadelphia. We cherish not the opinion that the time will return when the yearly rent of a shop or a store will more than pay for the expense of building it. But we calculate that our destinies will be substantially great, and that the era of a correct and politic system is rapidly approaching" (d).

In 1819 resolutions were passed by the City Councils to the effect of the necessity of issuing another lot of city bills. In 1816 the city had been divided into two wards, known for many years as the East and West. It was provided by the act of March 14, 1818, that four constables should be elected in each ward, four of whom were to be selected by the Court of Quarter Sessions. In April, 1818, five commissioners were appointed by the councils to select a site for the penitentiary on the public grounds near the town of Allegheny, and consisted of the following citizens: Walter Lowrie, James Ross, William Wilkins, David Evans and George Stevenson. In May, 1819, the arsenal in Lawrenceville was partly burned and partly blown up by explosives.

From January 1, 1817, to January 16, 1818, the receipts in the city treasury amounted to \$7,844.31. There were issued on February 27, 1817, new city bills to the amount of \$5,000. The cash receipts for stall rents in the market were \$428. There were received from the dog tax \$8; from other licenses, \$210; from forfeitures in the Mayor's Court, \$40; and from rent of the weigh-house, \$99.50. The principal disbursements during that period were: Cleaning the streets, \$1,194.72; for the Eagle and Neptune fire companies, \$200; for entertaining James Monroe, President of the United States, the amount being paid to James Ross, \$357.05; there were destroyed in city bills \$909.87; and there was left on hand in the city treasury \$2,768.02. The reader, by comparing these figures with those of the present day, will notice a considerable difference. The total receipts from January 1, 1817, to February 4, 1818, amounted to \$13,710.32. The total annual expenses for 1817 amounted to \$10,942.30. During that period officers' salaries, including those of constables, amounted to \$2,635.55.

The construction of the two bridges, one over the Allegheny and one over the Monongahela, in 1818 and 1819, was one of the most important events which occurred in Pittsburg up to that time. It was said then that the lowland "between the two hills and the two rivers" was cramped already, and that householders began to look across both rivers for homes, but realized that the erection of bridges was necessary to afford them quick and certain transit to their places of business in the city. It was observed that the city could thus expand on level ground and not be compelled to climb the hills to the eastward. In fact, the latter necessity had not yet been called to the immediate attention of the inhabitants. In December, 1818, a resolution was passed by the councils relative to the importance of improving the navigation of the Ohio River, and calling for a town meeting to consider the subject. At the same time an address was read from the physicians of the city recommending the early consideration of erecting an asylum for the poor. In 1819 the principal market-house, which was quite a commodious structure for that

(d) Gazette, June 11, 1819.

early day, stood on the Diamond. Two other market-houses, which had been built for purposes of speculation in the eastern end of the city, were standing unused in February, 1819.

By April, 1819, it appears that the city bills had been extensively counterfeited, for, at that time, George Steward was paid a considerable sum for having pursued sundry persons suspected of having committed that crime. In the spring of 1819 both councils took a trip down the Ohio River, with the object of examining its condition previous to action concerning the improvement of its navigation. Early in 1819 the city finances and city credit were at a very low ebb. The bills of the city stood at four per cent. discount, and contractors for improving the streets were obliged to wait for their pay until the following year. Individuals were permitted to make public improvements adjacent to their property at their own temporary expense, and an ordinance provided that they should be reimbursed in 1820. William Montgomery was thus allowed to reset the curbstone and pave the gutter in front of his property at his own "immediate expense," and the same was ordered to be returned to him out of his taxes for the year 1821.

It was noticed as an unusual act of expedition, in January, 1819, that the Mayor's Court in ten days settled forty-three indictments, two of the cases being charges of counterfeiting and passing the notes on the city. One of these offenders was sentenced to five years' and the other to three years' imprisonment, and counterfeit money found in their possession, to the amount of \$10,000, was destroyed. By October, 1819, the condition of the city finances not having improved, a resolution was passed ordering the issuance of \$10,000 in city treasury bills of the denominations of one, two and three dollars. From January 11, 1819, to December 28, 1819, the receipts in the treasury amounted to \$8,444.37; and there was paid out during the same period \$8,543. The councils, at this time, ordered prepared a second copy of the petition to the Legislature, praying for the erection of a poorhouse in the vicinity of Pittsburg. In March, 1820, John Scull, city treasurer, reported that under the ordinance for the issuance of \$10,000 in city bills there had been engraved and printed of such the amount of \$8,754; had been paid out in warrants \$6,837; and that \$1,400 of the old city and borough tickets had been redeemed. The city levy for 1819 amounted to \$12,160, much of which was expended in improving Grant, Liberty, Penn and Fourth streets, the latter from Smithfield to Grant. At this time William Wilkins was president of the Common Council, and James Ross of the Select Council. For the year 1820 the receipts amounted to \$15,263.68. There was paid out on warrants \$10,005.71, and were burned of city and borough tickets \$2,784.37. At this time there was due the city from various sources \$1,115.29. At this time the city owed the following amounts: For city notes issued, \$9,954; for subscription to the Market Street wharf, \$600; for improving the market-house, \$120; for paving streets and walks, \$11,230.14. There was in the treasury at this time \$1,483.60; due from individuals, \$1,115; and there was due from the duplicate of 1820 \$2,193.43. At this time the city bills were still at four per cent. discount. The city ordinance of December 20, 1821, provided for the election of a joint committee of the councils to examine and settle the accounts of the mayor, treasurer and collector. In February, 1821, the councils, upon petition of the overseers of the poor, passed a resolution granting them a loan of \$500. In March, 1821, John Scull, city treasurer, reported that there was in the treasury \$970 of city bills, ordered to be issued by the ordinance of January, 1821, \$140 in city and borough tickets, and \$570 in current bank paper.

In May, 1821, a committee was appointed to report an ordinance preventing riotous assemblies in the neighborhood of churches on the Sabbath day.

During the year 1820 there were issued in city bills \$9,954, and in 1821 \$510. There were in circulation at this time city bills to the amount of \$12,555. The city yet owed on the new market-house \$74, and for the construction of pavements, \$9,132. In January, 1822, a quantity of new bills was ordered issued to replace the old bills. In May, 1822, a joint committee of the councils was appointed to report on a petition of sundry property holders relative to the introduction of river water into the city. At this time a memorial was received from the Medical Society of Pittsburg, requesting the city to procure an apparatus for the resuscitation of persons who had been partially drowned. At this time a paper was in circulation asking for subscriptions for the improvement of the Market Street wharf. A supplement to the ordinance making an appropriation for the year 1820 directed the issuance of \$3,000 in city bills. In November, 1823, a committee, which had been appointed to destroy city bills, reported that they had burned \$417 in one-dollar notes, \$1,006 in two-dollar notes, and \$1,251 in three-dollar notes. In February, 1824, an ordinance was passed, providing for raising a sum of money on loan to supply the city with water.

In June, 1825, John Darragh, mayor, having resigned, an election of his successor was held by the councils, with the following result: John M. Snowden 11, Magnus M. Murray 4, Mathew B. Lowrie 3, Thomas Enochs 2. From the 13th to the 30th of November, 1825, the number of hogs which crossed the Monongahela bridge, as reported by Mr. Hart, gatekeeper, was 5,489, all intended for this market (c). On December 13, 1825, a destructive fire, which started in a cabinet-maker's shop, swept away nearly thirty tenements, chiefly frame buildings, and an extensive brewery (f). During the year 1825 there were built in Pittsburg fifty brick and twenty-five frame houses, besides many enlargements and additions, and of these structures, twenty-five were three stories in height. The city had begun to recover from the awful lethargy of 1817-21. During the year 1825 the mayor issued warrants on the city treasury to the amount of \$6,205. At the close of 1825 the city indebtedness, less credits, was \$12,398.28. During the year John B. Gray, city gauger, gauged 5,222 barrels of whisky; Thomas Scott, board measurer, reported 3,163,600 feet; D. S. Scully, salt inspector, reported 13,739 barrels of salt. Wharfage amounted to \$842.67. The city revenue for 1825 amounted to \$2,049.15 (g). In February, 1826, the city councils authorized the issue of \$20,000 in water certificates of the denomination of \$100 each, drawing six per cent. interest, payable in Pittsburg and Philadelphia. At the same time a city tax of \$10,000 was levied for the year 1826, and \$5,000 was ordered issued in one and two dollar bills to redeem old and defaced city issues of previous dates. In February the mayor was authorized to negotiate a loan of \$20,000 to defray the expense of establishing suitable water-works for the city. Three persons in each council were appointed a water committee. In June, 1826, this committee was instructed to purchase sites upon which to erect an engine-house and the necessary reservoirs for the city water-works; and later were instructed to purchase from Mr. Adams, for \$1,250, a site for the engine-house, and from Judge Wilkins, for \$3,150, the site for a reservoir. Later the reservoir was ordered to be located on land offered by Mr. Denny. Mr. Strickland was appointed to view the sites proposed and to recommend the most eligible locations for engine-house and reservoir, and the best manner of introducing water into the reservoir on Grant's Hill. Changes were again made, for in September, 1826, the councils directed the water committee to purchase, at a price not exceeding \$15 per foot, a site for an engine-house on the banks of the Allegheny, on a plat of ground owned

(c) Statesman, December, 1825. (f) Niles Register, December, 1825.

(g) Pittsburg Recorder, January 10, 1826.

by Alexander Miller, at the foot of Cecil Alley, the tract not to exceed 100 feet along the alley and fifty feet along the river; and further instructed the water committee to purchase from the executors of James O'Hara four lots of ground on Grant's Hill, bounded by Fifth and Grant streets and Cherry and Diamond alleys, for a price not to exceed \$3,800. In April, 1826, the city was authorized by the Legislature to pass an ordinance prohibiting the erection of wooden buildings within certain limits.

In the summer of 1826 there were here 155 three-story brick buildings; 330 two-story bricks; 10 two-story stone buildings; 10 three-story frames; 623 two-story frames; 280 one-story frames; 17 brick churches and other public buildings; 438 shops, mills, factories, etc. In September, 1826, the mayor was authorized to employ Richard Biddle as counsel for the city in the ejectment proceedings begun by Richard W. Howell, Samuel S. Howell and John S. Howell for the valuable tract of land lying on the Monongahela water front. In December, 1826, the water committee reported that they had let contracts for the excavation of a reservoir on Grant's Hill, 100 by 125 feet, and 13 feet deep, with a capacity of 1,000,000 gallons of water, at the rate of seven and three-fourth cents per cubic yard, and had also contracted for a steam-engine of twenty-inch cylinder and six feet stroke, to be placed in the engine-room at the foot of Cecil Alley, the latter, with its equipments, costing \$3,900; and further, that they had contracted for a pump with a fourteen-inch cylinder and double stroke, capable of raising to the reservoir on Grant's Hill 600,000 gallons of water in twelve hours, at a cost of \$2,000. In January, 1827, committees were appointed by the councils to represent the city in all action necessary to the construction of the Pennsylvania Canal.

"It seems that a project is in forwardness to supply Pittsburg with water. The cost is estimated at \$40,000. The difference of insurance against fire would pay the interest on that sum expended" (h). In January, 1827, the city appropriated \$12,000, to be expended upon the new water-works, and ordered the issuance of \$5,720 in one and two dollar bills. In the autumn of 1826 the water committee issued a public notice calling for an engine and double-forcing pump, and 4,300 feet of cast-iron pipe, twelve inches in diameter in the clear, 3,500 feet of eight-inch pipe, and 5,000 feet of four-inch pipe, all capable of resisting a pressure of 300 feet head. In 1827, in order to pay the expense of erecting the water-works, the city authorized the issue of \$20,000 in loan certificates, in denominations of \$100 each, to bear six per cent. interest, payable semi-annually, and not redeemable without the consent of the holders before July, 1835. "City Water Works.—This great improvement is in progress. The excavation of the reservoir on Grant's Hill is completed; the masons are walling it, and many of the main pipes are cast. The site of the reservoir is extremely convenient and altogether suitable for the purpose to which it is appropriated. The broad space around the reservoir and within the limits of the square will, when handsomely enclosed and shaded, afford a delightful public walk" (i).

In 1827 the demands for either a new market-house or additions to the old one could no longer be resisted, whereupon, at a public meeting, Messrs. Shaler, Patterson, Israel, Craft, Lowrie, Eichbaum and Denny were appointed to investigate the subject and report at a subsequent meeting. They recommended the employment of a superintendent, aided by two constables and a night-watch, and the erection of an additional market-house on Liberty Street, as near the present market as practicable. The latter recommendation was lost when voted upon, though this fact was afterward disputed, the vote hav-

(h) Niles Register, February 4, 1826.

(i) Gazette, June 8, 1827.







ing been very close. Some wanted the new market at the chapel, others in Bayardstown; and others wanted the Courthouse removed from the Diamond and the new market built on that spot, though the prevailing opinion seemed to favor its location on Liberty Street. Much confusion resulted, and no location at this time was decided upon.

During the year ending April, 1827, forty-eight brick buildings, several of them three stories in height, were built in Pittsburg, and many others were built in the surrounding towns. "A gentleman lately enumerated in our presence forty-eight brick buildings, many of them three stories high, finished in town within the year, and these, too, exclusive of those put up during the same period in Bayardstown, which may now be considered as the eastern extension of the city. The increase in population during the year by immigration must have been very considerable. This is proved by the advance in rents and the extension of business in several branches of manufacture. Fifteen gentlemen of the medical profession have flocked upon us from the different points of the compass within two years. These, added to the old stock, make up somewhere about thirty, averaging rather more than one to every 400 of the population. The bar, within the same period, has increased rapidly, though not in the same proportion. The number of attorneys at present practicing in the different courts of Allegheny County amounts to nearly forty" (j). In 1827, in order to reward him for valuable assistance in furnishing plans, estimates, etc., for the water-works, for which he refused compensation, Frederick Graeff, of Philadelphia, was voted a present of Pittsburg glassware, valued at \$100, by the City Councils. In January, 1828, Harmar Denny introduced a bill in the Legislature for the incorporation of Allegheny Borough.

In August, 1827, an ordinance was passed authorizing the mayor to enter into articles of agreement with William Griffiths, giving him the exclusive privilege of lighting the city of Pittsburg with gas. Under the contract the city agreed to pay for every public lamp duly and regularly lighted, commencing from the time the mayor should certify to the council that twenty lamps were ready to be lighted, the sum of \$5 per annum for each lamp. Mr. Griffiths bound himself to keep such lights lighted from one-half hour after sunset until half an hour after sunrise every day, and to keep such lamps in proper condition. The contract was to continue for twenty-one years, at the end of which time the city, at its option, upon certain specified conditions, could take the plant into its own possession. In case the city failed to accept the plant at that time the contract was to continue for a period of ten years, at which time a valuation was to be given it, and the property was then to pass to the ownership of the city. This contract failed to satisfy the citizens. The objections were based upon two points: First, the contract was too exclusive; second, the citizens themselves should have an opportunity of investing in the stock of the concern. Considerable pressure was brought to bear upon both Mr. Griffiths and the City Councils, whereupon the former expressed his willingness to transfer the contract to a stock company. This transfer was accordingly made to a company incorporated for the purpose, consisting of Benjamin Bakewell, James S. Craft, Harmar Denny, Henry Holdship, Benjamin Page and their associates, who were incorporated as the Pittsburg Gaslight and Coke Company, with a capital of \$20,000, divided into 200 shares of \$100 each, with the privilege of increasing the stock to \$40,000. Early in 1828 the company was organized, and proposals for building a circular tank, 35 feet in diameter and 16 feet deep, and for furnishing 10,000 feet of cast-iron pipe, were called for by Henry Holdship, James S. Craft, Thomas Bakewell, James S. Riddle and Harmar

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(j) Gazette, May 4, 1827.

Denny, managers of the company. On April 1st the second installment of stock, amounting to \$10, was called for. A questionable state of affairs arose over the subscription to the stock of this company. The first ordinance was unfavorable to stock subscribers. The second ordinance greatly reduced the amount of payments on the stock, and no sooner was the same placed upon the market than, within fifteen minutes, the entire amount had been taken up by members of the Select Council. Much indignation was expressed by the citizens over this action. It was claimed that the members of the council, after passing an amended ordinance which was greatly to the advantage of stock subscribers, promptly took advantage of their own act by subscribing for the entire amount of the stock. They purchased it at par, although it was claimed that, had the same been placed upon the market, it would have sold for a total premium of from \$5,000 to \$6,000. So much indignation was expressed and opposition offered to this proceeding that the members were compelled, by public opinion, to relinquish the stock and pass another ordinance, which placed the same upon the market upon conditions that would permit the citizens generally to purchase it. There were thus sold at public auction 585 shares to such citizens as desired to purchase. By February, 1829, a change seems to have occurred, for Edward Gray, William Gwynn, Daniel Raymond and Neville B. Craig, associated together as the Pittsburg Gas Company, were authorized to occupy the streets and alleys of the city with their lines of pipes, upon certain conditions and under certain penalties. It was provided that they should be paid \$4 per year for each lamp used to light the streets, and should, within a certain specified time, cover with their lines the following territory: Beginning at the "Point," thence along the Allegheny River to Washington Street, thence to Grant Street, thence to Fourth Street, thence to Ross Street, thence to the Monongahela River, thence to place of beginning. In January, 1829, the first experiment with the coming gaslight was made in the residence of Mr. Bain in Allegheny, near the St. Clair bridge. The newspapers stated that the light was brilliant and economical, and that "seeing is believing." Mr. Bain made the gas in a small retort of two gallons over his kitchen fire, and the gasometer stood in the corner of the room. The first gas used for public purposes was conveyed from this small concern to Lambdin's museum and gallery of paintings, and at first was merely experimental, though many persons visited the museum in order to see the gaslight. From this small concern estimates of the size of the retort and gasometer necessary to supply Pittsburg with gas were made.

In 1828 the mayor's salary amounted to \$200; the commissioner's the same and the treasurer's \$150. An ordinance of 1828 required that all residences, stores and warehouses renting for from \$50 to \$100 per year should keep one leather fire-bucket, and those renting for more than \$100 per year should keep two such buckets. In May, 1828, Allegheny was duly organized as a borough, the vote for burgess standing as follows: John Irwin 71, William Robinson, Jr., 56.

In September, 1828, the water committee informed the public that they were ready to furnish river water to all residences and business houses requiring it. "Pittsburg goes on prosperously. The happy union of the two arms of the American system will make her great—her manufactures and the location of the Pennsylvania Canal. It is stated that 247 houses are now building in this city, chiefly of brick. Alleghentown, a suburb, grows rapidly, 61 houses having been built in it within a year. We hope yet to communicate with Pittsburg by a branch of our railroad, and then she will be a close neighbor. If any place in the United States is obliged to support the American system without combination or compromise or any sort of looking one way and rowing another,

it is Pittsburg. She has prospered by it, and will not make any bargain about it" (k).

By November, 1828, the water-works were not yet ready to supply the citizens, owing to a delay in laying pipes, but it was announced that all would be ready on or about December 1st. George Evans was elected superintendent of the works.

In February, 1829, the grand jury of the Mayor's Court prepared a memorial to be presented to the Legislature, praying that the then existing wards, two in number, called East and West, might be reorganized and changed into four, to be numbered First, Second, Third and Fourth, owing to the great increase in population, from 700 voters when the two wards were created, to over 1,800 voters in February, 1829. Among these memorialists were the following gentlemen: George Darsie, G. McKown, Willard Leonard, B. Franklin, Hiram Badgely, James McEhoy, Joseph Welsh, J. E. Crosby, James Verner, John Anderson, James O'Hern, Edward Kerno, Peter Beard, Thomas Taylor, Ezekiel Day, Samuel Hay, Robert Walker and C. W. Ernest.

The act of 1829 permitted the councils to fix within the limits of each ward, if they thought proper to do so, the places for voting. The law of 1833 required them to do so, and thus removed the option which had been given them. This law required that they should not establish voting places anywhere else, and made it unlawful for any man to vote outside of his own ward. Some question having arisen as to the time when the councils should act under the latter law, a supplement was passed in April, 1833, requiring the councils to establish the voting places within three months after the passage of the supplement.

In February, 1829, a bill pending in the Legislature, authorizing the aldermen of Pittsburg to elect a mayor from the people, instead of from their own number, stirred up a tempestuous debate. The ayes and noes were called and the bill was lost. It was reconsidered and was again lost by the vote of 47 ayes to 47 noes. Ross Wilkins, then a member of the Legislature, voted against the bill. Under this act the powers of the mayor were sought to be restricted. In the supplemental act of 1818 the Governor had refused to sign the bill which extended the powers of the Pittsburg mayor, on the ground of its unconstitutionality. The bill of 1829 recognized this objection, and sought to confine the mayor's jurisdiction within the limits of the Governor's objection, but the bill was voted down as stated.

On May 12, 1829, John Irwin was elected burgess of Allegheny, and Martin Lowrie burgess of Bayardstown. The council elected in Allegheny were as follows: James Brown, Isaac Lightner, Richard Gray, William Leckey, Robert Campbell, Robert Stewart, Foster Graham, Enoch Wright and E. G. Nelson, and the council elected in Bayardstown were as follows: Alexander Ingram, Joseph Sawtell, James A. Bartram, Francis W. Bain, Robert Jones, Bernard McClellan, John Kerns, John Lightner and David Agnew (l).

When the first water-works were put in operation many imperfections were found to exist in the system and many complaints arose in consequence. Defects were discovered in the pipes and vexatious interruptions ensued during the winter of 1828-9, to such an extent that the citizens were almost ready to consign the plant to oblivion. Even the newspapers expressed doubt as to the success of the system. However, by May, 1829, a great change had taken place, the works being then in excellent running order. By the last of May, 1829, the indications pointed to the collection of at least \$2,000 from the water supply. At this time the engine was used only about twenty-one hours per week to supply all with water who desired it.

(k) Niles Register, August 23, 1828.

(l) Statesman, May, 1829.



On the Fourth of July, 1829, the following was a toast offered by Mr. R. Bryant: "Allegheny Borough.—An unparalleled exemplification of what industry and wealth combined are able to accomplish in a short period." In fact, Allegheny, at this time, was enjoying an extraordinary period of growth; so was Pittsburg and so were the suburban towns. The canal brought thousands of prospective citizens to this locality, and the towns grew with a speed that excited the admiration and kindled the joy of every citizen. Allegheny, as a borough, began operations in 1829. Its first loans were \$500 for a market-house and \$2,000 for the improvement of Federal Street.

In November, 1829, the act before mentioned passed the Legislature, dividing Pittsburg into four wards instead of the two then existing. The boundaries of the four wards were established as follows: All that part of the city lying north of the center of Liberty Street to be the North Ward; all between the centers of Liberty and Market streets to be the West Ward; all beginning at the foot of Market Street, thence up the center of the same to Fifth, thence along the center of the same to Grant, thence down the center of Grant to Fourth, thence along the center of Fourth and the line of the Farmers' and Mechanics' turnpike road to the city line, thence to the Monongahela River, thence to the place of beginning, to be the South Ward; all east of the center of Liberty Street, Fifth Street and the boundary of South Ward to comprise the East Ward. In 1830 the population of the wards was as follows: North Ward, 3,000; East Ward, 3,184; South Ward, 4,606; West Ward, 1,750.

By the later part of 1829 the city had spent on its water-works \$47,913.99, and had issued water certificates to the amount of \$90,000. At the close of 1829 the city owned lots on Grant's Hill valued at \$3,800. Its indebtedness at this time amounted to \$81,540.78, incurred chiefly in building the water-works. For 1830 a tax levy of \$15,000 was ordered by the councils, which sum, together with the delinquent taxes and moneys arising from rents, fines, forfeitures, licenses, etc., it was estimated, would meet the city expenditures for 1830. Of this sum, \$10,000 was appropriated to the extension of the water-works, etc.; \$1,000 to the redemption of and interest on the city bills, and \$5,837.90 to interest on the city debt.

In 1830 the southeast quarter of the center square in Allegheny, partly occupied by the market-house, was set apart for a market place for the sale of articles sold usually in the market proper. Public market was allowed to be held on Tuesdays and Fridays until noon.

By the act of April 23, 1829, Northern Liberties was created a borough, and by the act of March 1, 1837, it was added to Pittsburg as the Fifth Ward. By the latter act the West Ward was called First; South Ward, Second; East Ward, Third; North Ward, Fourth; and Northern Liberties, Fifth. Justices of the peace in Northern Liberties became, under the law of 1829, aldermen of Pittsburg. By the act of March 1, 1837, the large tract on the east, which was settling rapidly, was ordered surveyed, as out of it other boroughs, and later wards, would have to be formed at some future day. These limits were as follows: From the city limits up the Monongahela to the mouth of Four-mile Run, thence up that stream to its source, thence to a branch of the Two-mile Run, near the brick house of Mr. Aikens, thence by such run to the Pittsburg and Greensburg Turnpike, thence by the Lawrenceville borough line to the Allegheny River, thence down the same to the city line, and thence to the place of beginning. By act of April 2, 1831, Birmingham was made a separate township, and elections for the necessary officers were ordered to be held in January, 1832.

In 1830 there was assessed for county purposes in Pittsburg the sum of \$0,203.21; in Allegheny, \$1,314.13; and in Northern Liberties, \$768.90. In 1831 the burgess of Allegheny received a salary of \$50. The borough appropriation

for this year amounted to \$1,949.21. In 1831 the total sum paid to Pittsburg officers amounted to \$3,242, and there was spent for cleaning the streets the sum of \$2,156.45. In January, 1831, the mayor was authorized to employ special nightly patrols, owing to the great increase in assaults, fires and other offenses.

The law of 1787 reserved 100 acres in Allegheny for a common, or pasture, for the town. Previous to 1831 the Presbyterians built on this common a church, and at that date other perversion of its use was contemplated, whereupon a large meeting of the citizens was held on September 10th for the purpose of taking action to prevent any further use of the same, otherwise than as provided under the law of 1787. William Robinson, Jr., endeavored, by parliamentary tactics, to defeat the object of the meeting, but was outgeneraled by other citizens. By an ordinance passed in 1828 the burgess and council of Allegheny had permitted the trustees of the Presbyterian Church to occupy on the common a tract 240 by 130 feet. The meeting of September 10th demanded that no other tract on the common should be diverted from the design originally intended, and requested that the Presbyterian Church already built thereon should, within a reasonable time, be removed. This was a stormy meeting, but the intention of the citizens, in spite of the action of Mr. Robinson and others, could not be misunderstood. Decided opposition to the use of the Allegheny common for other purpose than originally intended was interposed by Messrs. Tassey, Avery, Plumb, Page, Blackstock, Montgomery, Tiernan, W. Herron, Barnett, McClelland and others. The burgess and council were requested to repeal the resolution granting the Presbyterians the tract of 240 by 130 feet.

In December, 1832, James Brown, Nathan Pusey, Abishai Way, Thomas Scott, David Evans, Thomas Williams, Adam Hays, Samuel Thompson, Allen & Grant, David Grier, William Hays, Anthony Dravo, Samuel Robinson, John Wright and Thomas Cassilly, in compliance with their contract with the City Councils, built a market-house on Liberty Street between St. Clair Street and Cecil Alley, at a cost of \$1,550, and accepted the stall rents, as they became due, in payment for their labor. Previous to this the market-house was very much contracted and congested; the new building gave great relief. In May, 1832, so great had become the demand for water from the city works, it became evident that a second engine would have to be set in operation soon. The Monongahela bridge, which had needed repairing very much, was greatly improved by Coltart & Dilworth in November, 1832, and made as substantial and convenient as ever.

During the period of the cholera scourge of 1832 Allegheny spent for sanitary measures the sum of \$86.78.

Previous to January 1, 1832, the city had spent for improvements, \$3,800 for lots on Grant's Hill, \$1,435 for lots on the Allegheny River at the foot of Cecil Alley for the engine-house, and had spent a total of \$111,086.52 on the city water-works. The city duplicate for 1832 was \$17,592.77. During 1832 there was spent upon fire-engines and hose companies a total of \$2,412.50. During the year the city paid as a bonus for temporary loans to the Bank of Pittsburg \$2,000, and to the Bank of the United States \$3,500. The interest on the city loans for that year amounted to \$7,118.17. The net indebtedness of the city at the close of the year 1832 was \$152,772.61. Previous to this the city had paid \$7,000 for a tract upon which to locate its poorhouse. During the year 1832 the city purchased an additional lot on the Allegheny River at the foot of Cecil Alley, upon which to locate an additional engine-house. In June, 1832, the city effected a \$10,000 loan for sanitary purposes. The cholera had made its appearance, and strict regulations were required to stamp it out. A temporary hospital was established at a cost of \$65.08. During the year the sum of \$7,833.88 was spent in cleaning the streets, in removing garbage, in

repairing gutters and in scattering lime in the worst localities. The entire city levy for 1832 for all purposes amounted to \$20,000. This was the largest sum levied up to that date. The county assessment upon the city for 1833 was as follows: East Ward, \$2,847.14; West Ward, \$2,701.85; North Ward, \$3,835.57; South Ward, \$4,697.33; total, \$14,081.89; and for Allegheny Borough, \$3,111.01; Northern Liberties, \$1,599.78; Birmingham, \$315.84.

The act of April 9, 1833, prohibited imprisonment for debt where the amount was less than \$5.34, exclusive of costs, debt or judgment. In this year also lotteries were abolished in the State. In February, 1832, occurred the greatest flood known in the history of Pittsburg. In March, 1833, the Mayor's Court, pursuant to the law of April 22, 1794, limited the number of tavern licenses to 100. In May, 1833, an ordinance was passed creating a sanitary board, and an ordinance relative to sanitary measures, passed in 1832, was reenacted, and other steps were taken to prevent the spread of cholera. During this year Allegheny borrowed \$6,000, the most of which, it was designed, would be used in sanitary measures. The act of April 8, 1833, made important changes in the election of city officers. It provided that the Select and Common Councils should meet and elect, *viva voce*, a mayor, on the second Tuesday in January, 1834, and by this act a portion of the South Ward was attached to the East Ward, and a portion of the North Ward was attached to the West Ward. This act fixed the voting place in each ward, and not elsewhere.

In an article headed, "Important Discovery," the *Gazette* of July 23, 1833, noticed that John Murray, in boring a short distance above the bridge on the south side of the Monongahela River, struck a body of salt water at the depth of 627 feet, which rose with sufficient force to reach thirty feet above the surface, and that about 7,000 gallons, enough for twelve or fifteen barrels of salt, were discharged every twenty-four hours. In going down he had struck ten inches of coal at the depth of 133 feet,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet of coal at 280 feet,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet of coal at 440 feet,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet of coal at 480 feet,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet of coal at 580 feet, and 4 inches of coal at 602 feet, and had found gas at every vein, which continued to discharge for several weeks sufficient in quantity to light an establishment larger than the Exchange Hotel then in the city. After reaching the depth of 33 feet he had encountered 88 feet of slate, then 90 feet of varied sandstone, then more slate, then 7 feet of limestone, the only stone of the kind found, then, at the depth of 590 feet, had passed through a dark gray, rotten sandstone containing iron, then a body of hard, gray sandstone, then a stratum of white sandstone. At this time Mr. Anshutz was conducting his saltworks one mile below the city. In 1833 William Robinson, Jr., was deputed by a number of citizens to go to Harrisburg to aid in securing the incorporation of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank.

In August, 1833, the City Councils authorized a loan of \$6,000, to be used for sanitary measures. The cholera was here, and much excitement prevailed. The act of December 26, 1833, required the councils of Pittsburg to meet on the first Tuesday in January, 1834, to divide the city into four wards, or election districts. The law provided that one select and five common councilmen should be elected annually from each ward, and that the mayor should be elected by a vote of the people. The latter was an important change, and at the time and later met with considerable opposition. The Select Council consisted of twelve members and the Common Council of twenty. Under the act establishing the four wards the councils fixed the places of holding elections in the four wards, but this course was changed at a later date and all four wards held their voting places in the Courthouse. This caused great confusion, and soon the voting places were transferred back to the wards. The act of February 18, 1834, created Lawrenceville a borough.

For several years previous to April, 1834, the question of where the new Courthouse should be located perplexed the inhabitants of Pittsburg. At this date, however, a tract 337 by 230 feet, situated at the corner of Fourth and Grant streets, was purchased from James Ross for the sum of \$20,000. The act of April 1, 1834, empowered the Court of Quarter Sessions and the grand jury jointly to incorporate any town or village containing not less than 300 inhabitants, and thus remove from the Legislature the annoying necessity of having to pass special acts for the incorporation of innumerable small boroughs. Early in 1834 Abraham H. Hodge, George D. Blaikie and Andrew N. McDowell, under the name of the Pittsburg Gas Company, were authorized to open streets, lay pipes and to have 3,000 feet in operation by July 4, 1834, and thereafter, annually, to lay 3,000 feet; and the exclusive privilege of furnishing gas to the city was granted them for the term of twenty-one years. In 1834, \$664 was paid for police patrol, and on election night, owing to anticipated riots, \$145 extra was paid for special police patrol. One hundred and fifty men were required to guard the city on this occasion. The water-basin, or reservoir, stood on Grant's Hill, and the engine-house on the Allegheny River at the east side of Cecil Alley. Up to this time the water-works had cost the city the grand total of about \$120,000.

In 1834 the city appropriated, among others, the following amounts: For the Eagle Engine and Hose Company, \$200; for the Allegheny Engine Company, \$150; for the Neptune Engine Company, \$215; for the Vigilant Engine Company, \$700; for the first Pittsburg Hose Company, \$200; and for the Union Hose Company, \$150.

In May, 1834, the councils appointed a committee to select a site for a hospital. The location chosen was in Summerville, but the citizens of that suburb vigorously protested against the establishment of such an institution there. In 1834 John M. Snowden was register and recorder, which position paid about \$2,000 per year.

In 1834 the county jail was used by both the city and the county, and at that time was in a miserable condition. It was stated in the newspapers that for a period of thirty years the institution had been pronounced unsafe by the grand juries, and that for many recent years its sanitary condition was a shame to the county and city authorities. It was declared that, owing to its unsafe, unsanitary and tottering condition, it would be declared a nuisance without any hesitancy if it was a private institution.

It seems that up to this date the night patrol of the streets was not an established custom, and had been resorted to only in emergency cases. So great had become the number of criminal assaults that in October, 1834, a large meeting was held in the South Ward, and resolutions were passed declaring that a permanent night-watch was essential in that district to the security of life and property, and that suitable street lights should be provided; and it was further resolved to memorialize the City Councils to that effect.

The first \$70,000 of indebtedness created under the ordinance providing for the erection of water-works fell due on July 1, 1835. This necessitated a previous provision for meeting the certificates as they accrued. Other indebtedness, to a considerable amount, fell due December 15, 1834. To meet all this, an ordinance was passed December 11, 1834, calling for a loan of \$75,000. Notices were issued in the Pittsburg and Philadelphia papers for sealed proposals for the whole or part of that amount, the paper to draw five per cent. interest, payable semi-annually in Pittsburg or Philadelphia; \$20,000 to be redeemable in July, 1862, \$20,000 in July, 1864, \$20,000 in July, 1866, and \$15,000 in July, 1868. Each certificate was to be of the denomination of \$100, and all proposals were to be opened May 1, 1835.

In 1834 city printing was done by the following individuals and firms: Leonard S. Johns, Alfred Sutton, Joseph Snowden, Richard Phillips, Neville B. Craig, John B. Butler, Wilson & Marks, Mr. Etzler, Alexander Jaynes, Johnston & Stockton and Mr. Smith, and amounted to \$664.75. About this time William Wilkins was paid a fee of \$1,000 for his services in the famous Monongahela Batture case.

In January, 1835, the city treasurer was allowed \$15 in good money in lieu of that amount of counterfeit notes which he had received, and which were ordered destroyed by the City Councils. There were outstanding at this time, unredeemed, old city bills to the amount of \$847. Five hundred dollars was appropriated to be applied toward their redemption. The city loan seems to have been increased, because, in March, 1835, it was announced that the entire issue of \$80,000 of five per cent. certificates had been taken by Jackson, Riddle & Co., at one per cent. premium. At this time the city was busily engaged in filling in the deep cut over the tunnel. The assessment of Pittsburg in 1835 was \$22,269.90; Northern Liberties, \$2,663.88; Allegheny, \$6,415.61; Birmingham, \$601.06; Lawrenceville, \$349.12. The three principal hotels at this time were the Mansion House, kept by B. Weaver; the Pittsburg Hotel, by C. McKibben, and the Exchange Hotel, by James Crossan.

In January, 1835, the Pittsburg Board of Trade was first organized. Thomas Bakewell was first president and S. P. Darlington first secretary. At the first annual meeting in January, 1836, William Bell was elected president, Alexander Brackenridge and Michael Tiernan vice-presidents, S. P. Darlington secretary and D. M. Hogan treasurer. A constitution was prepared the previous year by William Ebbs, George Cochran, George Grant, J. P. Bakewell and Louis Peterson. The advisability of uniting the two organizations, the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce, was discussed in December, 1835, and recommendations in favor of such a course were adopted. The councils levied two mills for school purposes in 1835, and it was estimated that such levy would net to the city schools the sum of \$8,300. For the year 1835 a special appropriation of \$1,000 was made for sanitary purposes.

In 1835 it was particularly noticed by the newspapers that Pittsburg, Allegheny and their suburbs were growing at a tremendous rate. It was estimated that the population of Allegheny was nearly 5,000; that numerous large industries, including cotton factories, had been erected there. In September, 1835, it was stated by the *Gazette* that five schoolhouses, a new county prison and a splendid structure for the Bank of Pittsburg were in process of erection. It was stated that in Pittsburg during the year, previous to September, sixty-four brick buildings and forty-eight stores were erected; that in Northern Liberties sixty-seven dwellings, one iron railing factory and one church were erected; and that in Birmingham six dwellings, one lock and screw factory, one glass-factory, one cutting-house and one store were erected. Great improvements were also noted in Arthursville and Hayti. About this time the Select Council passed an ordinance to restrict the limits of the Allegheny River at the bridge and aqueduct, which proceedings, it was claimed by a number of the citizens, were taken in the interest of private individuals in order to extend their lots as far as possible into the river. A conspiracy was alleged to exist and an investigation was demanded. At this time great improvements were made in the streets, sewers and in grading the bank of the Monongahela. So great had become the increase of criminal depredations within the city limits by 1835 that a large meeting was held to take action thereon. After admitting that there seemed to be a spirit of disorder which was sweeping over the country, and that the same had visited Pittsburg with all its force, it was resolved that sufficient pressure should be brought upon the mayor and the councils to so increase the







police force and the efficiency of the Mayor's Court that all such rascals would be brought to summary justice. Thomas Fairman was appointed chief marshal of the North and the East Wards, which divisions of the city were principally represented at this meeting.

Previous to January 1, 1836, the city had expended for a lot for the hay scales the sum of \$5,000; for the city poorhouse, \$20,000; for the reservoir lot on Grant's Hill, \$25,000; for the engine-house, two lots, one on the east side of Cecil Alley on the river \$10,000, and one on the west side \$50,000; for the gas lot, \$11,000; and for the water-works, in round numbers, to date, \$120,000. By January 1, 1836, the water-works supplied 1,826 dwellings, 34 steam-engines, 30 hotels and taverns, 4 breweries, 12 livery stables, 5 tanyards, 2 public baths, etc., etc., on all of which the water tax amounted to \$11,828. At this time the city assessment amounted to seven mills on the dollar, or a total of \$30,816.81. Among the improvements in 1835 were a large row of buildings on Liberty Street at the corner of Wayne, consisting of nine houses in one block; Ledlie's warehouse; the Fetterman & McClurg block; Captain Wood's large row of houses on Marbury Street; the Bank of Pittsburg; Irwin & Winebiddle's superb row of stores and warehouses, and several new churches; and it was particularly noticed that a great improvement was being made in the architecture of the new buildings that were erected.

The act of January 16, 1836, provided for the laying out of the boundaries of the four wards, and set apart a large tract on the east as a city district, to be surveyed into streets and blocks and otherwise prepared for future admission to the city. The boundaries of this tract were substantially as follows: Beginning at the city limits on the Monongahela, thence up to the mouth of Two-mile Run in the middle of the river, thence straight to William Farrow's, and on until the line should intersect the south boundary line of Northern Liberties, thence west on said line to the east line of the city, thence south by the city line to the place of beginning. The whole tract was ordered to be surveyed into sections of not less than thirty nor more than sixty acres. By this time the city had begun to spread out up the Monongahela on both sides, the same on the Allegheny, had begun to climb past Grant's Hill and up the eastern valleys. Many large structures had been erected in Pittsburg, and Allegheny had undergone a wonderful improvement, so much so that already the subject of its incorporation as a city was broached. Three commissioners were appointed by the act to make a survey of the Eastern tract, divide the same into sections, squares, streets, alleys, etc., as they should think proper, keeping in view roads already laid out, houses already built; and it was further provided that, upon petition of not less than thirty freeholders of any section of this district, the same should be admitted within the corporate limits of Pittsburg.

The act of April 1, 1836, extended the powers of the mayor to embrace all privileges accorded to aldermen, the same having been restricted by the act of December 26, 1833. The act of April 1, 1836, further provided that the county commissioners should have power to borrow \$60,000, to be used in building a new courthouse.

The law of March, 1836, provided for the laying out of Duquesne Way. Pursuant to this law, the councils had careful surveys made and the necessary maps prepared, and directed the surveyor, in August, 1837, to mark out with stakes the lines and limits of the new street. After this had been done the councils went in a body to examine the work. It was found, after careful investigation, that if the law requiring no part of Duquesne Way to be nearer Penn Avenue than 420 feet was complied with, the river at some portions would have to be restricted to such an extent as to render it incapable in times of high water of carrying off sufficiently fast the excess. This fact was so



In 1837 the basin of the water-works had an area of about 14,400 feet and stood about 80 feet above the level of the streets around it. From the time the basin was first built until 1837 the surrounding streets had been cut down from twenty to forty-four feet in perpendicular height, and at the latter date the water committee reported that it would be necessary for the city to build a high stone wall around it, at a cost of from \$40,000 to \$55,000, or to select a new site. They reported several eligible sites—one at the corner of Elm and Prospect streets, which could be secured for \$40,500; another and smaller one near the above and south of Coal Lane, which could be secured for \$19,500; another on Springfield farm, owned by Harmar Denny, which could be bought for \$35,000. In 1837 the capacity of the basin then in use on Grant's Hill was about 800,000 gallons, and the quantity of water supplied daily was about 1,200,000 gallons. It stood opposite the new Courthouse, which had just been built. The conclusion of the water committee, W. Wade, W. J. Totten and G. A. Cook, was that whether the water-works remained in their (then) present location or were removed, a large sum of money would necessarily have to be expended.

Early in 1837 the City Councils approved the action of the banks in temporarily suspending specie payments. About this time the city issued large quantities of currency, commonly known as shinplasters, but the following year passed an ordinance providing for their gradual redemption. In September, 1838, the city borrowed of the Exchange Bank, for three years, at six per cent. interest, the sum of \$100,000, to date from October 1, 1838, to be used in redeeming the certificates of small denominations issued in May and July, 1837, and in January, 1838.

In 1837 Pittsburg comprised five wards, and near it were the boroughs of Allegheny, Birmingham and Lawrenceville. In the autumn of 1837 so much suffering resulted to the working people, owing to the hard times, that the councils took special action for their relief. A committee of six persons in each ward and in each of the boroughs was appointed to solicit subscriptions of money, clothing and provisions for the needy, and a committee of sixteen persons was appointed to distribute the same. The assessments for the year 1837 in the five wards of Pittsburg amounted to \$34,451.06; in Allegheny, \$9,412.42; in Birmingham, \$1,027.76; in Lawrenceville, \$494.76. In May, 1837, W. Wade, S. P. Darlington and Alba Fisk, commissioners appointed to survey and lay out the city's eastern extension, began their work. It was a large task and gave employment to quite a large number of workmen.

The act passed in the spring of 1837, which admitted Northern Liberties within the city limits of Pittsburg as the Fifth Ward, provided that the first election in the new ward should be held at the house of Alderman Glass, where three select councilmen and five common councilmen were to be chosen. Justices of the peace in the borough were transformed into aldermen of the Fifth Ward. This act extended the limits of the city district up the Monongahela River to the mouth of Four-mile Run, thence straight across to the line of Lawrenceville, thence along the same to the middle of the Allegheny River, and thence to the place of beginning at the southeast corner of the city.

Doubts of the reliability of the scrip issued by Birmingham, of its amount and of the intention of the town authorities concerning it, continued to increase and circulate. Finally a number of the strongest business men of that borough published a card, in which they agreed to pledge all their estate, real, personal and mixed, for the full payment on the part of the borough of all scrip or certificates of loan which had been issued, or which had been authorized to be issued by the borough ordinances, to the amount of \$60,000. This card was signed by J. & J. Patterson, Whitehead, Ihmsen & Phillips, Thomas Black-

more, Hodge, Wetmore & Co., John McClurg, David Bealer, William Phillips, Thomas Whitehead, R. A. Bausman, William Noble, James Barr, David Chess, Jr., John Shawhan, A. McKibben, William O'Leary, Charles Ihmsen and W. Symmes (m). The burgess and Town Councils of Birmingham felt called upon, in September, 1837, owing to the injurious reports in circulation, to announce that instead of having issued from \$100,000 to \$180,000 in borough scrip, only \$35,000 of the \$60,000 authorized had been issued. At this time R. A. Bausman was burgess and William Symmes, David Bealer, William Noble, James Barr and Alexander McKibben were members of the council. At this time individuals offered as additional security for the redemption of the borough scrip personal pledges to double the amount of the sum authorized to be issued. The prompt action of the citizens of Birmingham did much to restore confidence in the value of the borough scrip. The most of this paper was issued in denominations varying from ten cents to \$2. Soon after this it was found that large quantities of counterfeit scrip of the local issues were in circulation.

The water committee was divided on the question of where the new basin should be located. The majority, Messrs. Wade, Totten and Cook, reported in favor of its location on Springfield farm, near Two-mile Run, while the minority, Messrs. John S. Blakely and Linton Rodgers, reported in favor of Holmes' Hill, on Prospect Street. All agreed that the existing basin should be abandoned. The minority estimated the cost of its location on Springfield farm at \$227,150, and on Prospect Street at \$112,710.

Building improvements during the fall of 1837 and spring of 1838 were almost at a standstill. Great complaint arose over the ragged condition of the city shiplasters, whereupon the City Councils ordered a new issue to take the place of the old one. By the act of April 14, 1838, the limits of the borough of Allegheny were changed and extended. In 1838 the borough of Lawrenceville issued a considerable quantity of shiplasters, and at this time Ephraim Estep was burgess. By the act of 1838 a large addition was made to Birmingham from the district below the town.

The newspapers complained in July, 1838, that the new water-works, which had been considered, examined and surveyed, were not being constructed. In July, 1838, during the hot weather, the engines of the existing works ran to their full capacity for twenty out of the twenty-four hours, and furnished daily 1,500,000 gallons. It was observed with much seriousness that the capacity of the present reservoir was only sufficient for about one-half day's supply; that the reservoir itself was unsafe, and that there was great risk of its giving way and flooding the adjacent blocks. It was stated that the city reservoirs should hold not less than 4,000,000 gallons, or enough for at least three days' consumption; and that the site chosen should permit of extensions to a total of 16,000,000 gallons. The present reservoir, it was stated, was about eighty feet above the principal pavements of the city, and the new reservoir should be at no less height.

In the spring of 1835 the City Councils authorized the sale of stock of the gas-works to the amount of from \$50,000 to \$70,000, the city reserving the privilege of taking the stock and works into its own hands by paying the stockholders for their investment. Under the new order, books for the subscription of stock were opened in May, 1835. In June the gas stock sold at a premium of from \$1.75 to \$4.50, and on the 8th of June this premium netted the city \$2,100. In October, 1836, the trustees of the gas-works gave notice that early in December their works would be in such a state of forwardness as to enable them, probably, to furnish gas to consumers. The councils fixed the price

(m) Gazette, September 30, 1837.









In December, 1840, the trustees of the gas-works were authorized to receive 400 additional shares of stock of \$50 each, the same to be sold at public auction. In 1841 the salary of the mayor was \$700 and of the treasurer \$500. By the act of 1841 real and personal property owned by the city of Pittsburg and used and kept for public purposes was exempted from taxation except to the Commonwealth. In April, 1841, the new Monongahela House, under James Crossan, with 210 apartments, was opened to the public. In May, 1841, Robert M. Riddle succeeded J. K. Morehead as postmaster of Pittsburg, and Reese C. Fleeson succeeded G. L. Drane as postmaster of Allegheny.

In August, 1841, at a public meeting of the citizens, Harnar Denny, Richard Biddle, John Warden, J. H. Shoenberger and N. B. Craig were appointed on behalf of the city, and Wilson McCandless, William Eichbaum and James May, on behalf of the Board of Trade, to collect facts to show the superior advantages of Pittsburg as a site for the location of the National armory. In 1841 it was alleged by the newspapers that fraud had been employed under the contract for building the Courthouse, and that the county had thus been swindled to the amount of \$40,000.

The following was the form used in the certificates issued at this time by the city: "The city of Pittsburg is indebted \$1 to bearer, bearing an interest of one per cent. per annum, as authorized by ordinance of June 4, 1841, receivable in all debts due the city.—J. A. Bartram, Treasurer." Owing to the interest accruing on these certificates they were handled by the brokers, and in 1843 the latter insisted on the payment of such interest. The city refused and the question was settled by the courts. Early in the forties Pittsburg rebuilt the canal aqueduct, which had been destroyed sometime previously.

The act of March 1, 1845, provided that when 100 or more of the citizens of any section outside of and adjoining Pittsburg, which section contained not less than 300 inhabitants and was not less in extent than one of the wards, should make application to the Court of Quarter Sessions for admission to the city, the judges of that court should fix a day for such district to hold an election to vote upon the question of "admission" or "not admission," and that, if the vote was in the affirmative, the mayor and councils were authorized to admit such section as an additional ward of the city, with all the rights and privileges of the old wards. At this time Lawrenceville and other sections on the east were clamoring for admittance.

In April, 1845, the number of paupers in the city poorhouse was 38; the number discharged, 17; the number of deaths, 7; the number admitted for the year ending April 1, 1846, was 32; and the number remaining in that institution, 30. At this time the city gave much assistance to poor families which were incapable of sustaining themselves, and to needy transient individuals. The poor expense of the city for that year amounted to \$8,664.34. In 1845 Allegheny had outstanding \$36,924 in scrip. Its poorhouse farm and buildings were estimated to be worth \$30,000; Nelson's Island, \$6,000; market-houses, \$7,000; council-house, \$2,000; fire-engines, hose, etc., \$6,000. It spent on streets \$5,920, on fire-engines \$1,000.00, on poorhouse \$4,080.28, and on salaries \$2,364.83. In January, 1846, it was estimated by the auditing committee that the value of the property owned by the city of Pittsburg was, in round numbers, \$700,000.

"Within a day or two we have heard the project of consolidation repeatedly broached by the citizens of Allegheny. The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious, and have been at former periods urged through the *Commercial Journal*. Why should not some steps be taken to procure an expression of public opinion upon the subject? How would it do to call a public meeting? We

have heard such a course suggested" (s). The tolls on the bridges between Pittsburg and Allegheny were raised by the companies in April, 1846, whereupon public meetings were held favoring a free bridge. Over one such meeting in Allegheny Mayor Cassat presided, and a committee was appointed to inquire whether, according to the terms of its charter, the St. Clair Street bridge ought not to be free (t).

In 1845 and 1846 four new wards, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth, were admitted to the city. In November, 1846, the new explosive, gun-cotton, was made here for the first time as an experiment. In January and February, 1846, efforts were made in the Legislature by a delegation from Pittsburg to have the councils elected by a general vote of the city, instead of by wards. This step was advocated by the Democrats, but was opposed by the Whigs. The vote for the admission of the Eighth Ward, in November, 1846, stood as follows: For admission, 117; against admission, 26. At this time Croghansville was on the point of admission as the Ninth Ward. The Eighth Ward was south of the Fourth Street road. During the summer of 1846 not less than twenty dwellings were erected in Sligo; also a large iron establishment.

The great fire of April 10, 1845, staggered the citizens at first, but proved in the end, as in all such cases, a real benefit to the city, although it meant the ruin of individuals. As soon as the city recovered from the shock capital poured in, new business men took the place of those who had been burned out, and the city entered upon a remarkable era of development, despite the depressing effects of the tariff of 1846 upon this great manufacturing center. New factories, warehouses and dwellings were soon in progress of erection on every street. Remarkable as it may seem, it was estimated by the newspapers late in 1846 not less than 2,500 buildings of all kinds had either been built or had been commenced. It was observed with pride that the great majority of the buildings were of brick, and that all were substantial and greatly in advance of those which had been swept away by the fire. In all directions, particularly within the fire limits, new and splendid edifices arose over the ruins of the old, and what made the improvement more remarkable was the fact that construction had not commenced to any great extent until early in 1846. "Two thousand five hundred houses in nine months! Can any Western city beat this?" (u).

By the act of March 13, 1847, it was provided that after the town election of 1848 the Select Council should consist of two members from each ward, one to be elected annually for two years, and that the Common Council should consist of thirty members, apportioned to the wards according to their population. The construction of the new water-works progressed slowly, but by 1847 they were in a state of high efficiency. The engine of the Allegheny River was 275 horsepower, and it operated two large force-pumps, each capable of discharging 180,000 gallons an hour to an elevation of 160 feet above the river level. The water was collected into a capacious vat, thence forced into an upper receiver, and thence to the discharging reservoir. The old Courthouse on the Diamond continued to stand for several years after the new Courthouse was occupied. It was considered an incumbrance and an eyesore to the inhabitants until its demolition. Late in the forties the most important question before the councils was the subscription of stock to the first railways built to Pittsburg. What was done will be found more fully set forth elsewhere in this volume.

Late in October, 1847, it was estimated by the *Chronicle* that 2,000 new buildings had been erected in Pittsburg thus far during that year. At this time lots on Market Street in the vicinity of Second varied in price from \$3,000

(s) Commercial Journal, April 6, 1846.

(t) Commercial Journal, April, 1846.

(u) Commercial Journal, November 4, 1846.

to \$4,000. By October, 1847, a careful estimate placed the number of buildings which had been erected in the burned district alone up to that date at 609. In 1847 the members of the Common Council numbered 45, but the new law of 1848 restricted the number to 30. In 1847 Knapp & Totten secured the contract to supply Allegheny with engines and pipes for its water-works. By October, 1847, Pittsburg comprised nine wards, Allegheny four wards, and in the vicinity were the boroughs of Birmingham, McKeesport, Elizabeth, Manchester, Lawrenceville and Sharpsburg. In November, 1847, the First Ward, with 734 taxables, was entitled to three members of the Common Council; Second Ward, with 684 taxables, to three members; Third Ward, with 1,391 taxables, to six members; Fourth Ward, with 723 taxables, to three members; Fifth Ward, with 1,620 taxables, to seven members; Sixth Ward, with 704 taxables, to three members; Seventh Ward, with 351 taxables, to one member; Eighth Ward, with 353 taxables, to one member; Ninth Ward, with 270 taxables, to one member; total, 6,840 taxables and 28 members, with two extra members to be assigned and elected. The two extra members were assigned to the Seventh and Eighth Wards, owing to their surplus taxables over the requirements of the law. In November, 1847, it was definitely settled, after many years of discussion by the City Councils, to take seven feet from the top of Grant's Hill and add two feet to the low ground at Fifth and Smithfield streets.

In 1847 the water-works assessment was \$28,315.52, of which amount, by January 1, 1848, \$24,687.49 had been collected. The works supplied 5,438 dwellings, 157 hotels, taverns and boarding-houses, 56 steam engines, 13 rectifying distilleries, 15 foundries, 186 new buildings not otherwise noted, besides miscellaneous establishments—in all a total of 5,908. Old scrip to the amount of \$17,000 was replaced with new. Inasmuch as there was an improved demand for real estate, the auditing committee recommended the sale of the city lots on the Allegheny River and on Grant Street, formerly occupied by the engines and the reservoir. Mr. K. Moore, who had been in charge of the Pittsburg works from their commencement, assumed the superintendency of the Allegheny Water-works at the close of 1847. The average daily water supply for the year 1847 was 1,595,260 gallons. The only heavy expenses were \$17,200 paid on city loans, and \$17,657.46 paid on gas stock and interest on city loans. The rent of Diamond market stalls amounted to \$4,022.22. In November, 1847, Allegheny authorized an issue of city scrip to take up old debts, as follows: Due the Exchange Bank in 1848, \$25,000; David Shields, \$5,000; Allegheny Bridge Company, \$1,100; N. Voightly, \$1,000; John Semple, several amounts past due and aggregating \$3,500; Richard Gray, due in 1851, \$550; old city scrip to be taken up, \$47,500; total, \$84,550. This amount was issued in city scrip bearing one per cent. interest. On April 10, 1849, the Legislature enacted, "That the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny be, and they are hereby, authorized to levy upon all property now made taxable by law for city purposes an additional tax, not exceeding one mill, upon every dollar of valuation, to be applied to the redemption of the certificates of loan of the denominations of one, two and three dollars, issued by said cities, until the whole of said issues shall have been redeemed." The total value of city property in January, 1848, was fixed by the auditing committee as follows:

Water-works and lot.....	\$500,000
Lot opposite new Courthouse.....	38,000
Ground connected with basin.....	50,000
New basin lot.....	10,000
Balance due on old hayscale lot.....	7,050

Balance due on water-works lot on Cecil Alley.....	\$ 23,000
Poorhouse farm.....	9,100
Four engine-house lots.....	8,900
Allegheny wharf.....	100,000
Monongahela wharf.....	250,000
Principial of revenue from markets and other sources.....	192,800
Gas stock.....	66,400
Aqueduct.....	58,284
	<hr/>
	\$1,313,534

The water assessment for 1847 amounted to \$28,315.52. During the year \$17,000 in defaced city scrip was destroyed and replaced. At this time there was such a strong demand for real estate that the councils ordered the sale of the city lots on the Allegheny River at the foot of Cecil Alley and on Grant's Hill, formerly occupied by the water-works. During the year 1847 there were laid 3,888 feet of water-mains, and at the close of the year the total length of water-pipes laid was about 15½ miles. At this time the average daily supply of water was 1,565,260 gallons. In 1847 about 8,000 feet of water-pipes were bought by the city to be laid in the Fifth, Sixth, Eighth and Ninth wards, at a cost of \$7,976.

	County Assessment.	Pittsburg Assessment.	Allegheny Assessment.
1840 .....	\$71,563.83	\$28,598.98	\$8,070.05
1841 .....	75,921.69	30,499.53	8,588.88
1842 .....	77,482.22	30,845.98	8,998.34
1843 .....	46,345.95	18,097.54	5,430.54
1844 .....	47,949.60	16,890.35	5,895.73
1845 .....	32,339.24	8,860.19	5,053.84
1846 .....	31,036.65	10,207.68	4,796.49
1847 .....	37,556.77	13,325.79	5,688.02
1848.....	49,734.19	18,805.67	7,427.18
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$469,930.14	\$176,131.71	\$59,949.07
	236,080.78		176,131.71
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	\$233,849.36		\$236,080.78

From the above table it will be seen that Pittsburg and Allegheny were assessed more than half of the entire county of Allegheny. Previous to the the great fire of 1845 Pittsburg alone had been for several years assessed about two-fifths of the entire county, but after the fire for several years a still greater percentage was required from the city by the county commissioners. This was complained of by persons taxed in Pittsburg, who failed to see its justness.

In 1847 the problem of opening Duquesne Way eastward from Washington Street, where it had terminated under the law of 1836, confronted the city authorities and demanded settlement.

During the year 1848 the water-works supplied 6,120 buildings at a cost to them of \$30,214. At this time the total gross indebtedness of the city amounted to \$932,035.99, the permanent loans amounting to \$708,035.99, and the transient loans or scrip to \$224,000. In June, 1848, the councils took final action on the various petitions to supply the higher parts of the city with water by issuing \$60,000 in scrip of the denominations of \$1, \$2 and \$3. However, it was directed that \$30,000 of this amount should be used toward the new water-





without delay, and memorialized the Legislature for an act to cover such expense, besides the cost of constructing new water-works. From that date until February, 1856, Allegheny spent nearly \$200,000 for street improvements. The most important paving law was passed in 1852, but in 1856 a bill having been introduced in the Legislature to repeal such law, the citizens of Allegheny, in public meeting assembled, denounced the action of the Senate, and declared that the repeal was not wanted by the great majority of the citizens of Allegheny. About the middle of the decade of the forties the scrip of Allegheny, for some time, varied from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. discount, but by January, 1850, had risen to five or six per cent. discount. In 1850 important suits against the city of Allegheny, on its scrip with interest long past due, were begun by holders, but the defense was set up of the illegality of the issue. Upon trial, a test case was decided in favor of the plaintiff, Judge Lowrie delivering the opinion.

A short time previous to 1850 a few houses began to appear on the top of Coal Hill, opposite the Monongahela bridge. By the act of April 6, 1850, the Pittsburgh Councils were required to make provision for the establishment of a sinking fund, to be used in retiring the city indebtedness, but not to a larger amount than \$1,150,000, exclusive of the subscription of \$200,000 to the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railway. During 1850 there were laid in Allegheny 12,695 feet of water-pipe, and by January 20, 1851, there had been laid a total of 69,585 feet.

The important question of the right of the Mayor of Pittsburgh to appoint the night-watch had troubled the authorities for many years prior to 1850. In October of that year the legal aspect of the question having been submitted to Charles Shaler, he expressed the opinion that the mayor had no such authority. During 1850 and 1851 the two cities had never before suffered from so many incendiary fires and so many assaults, burglaries and other crimes, and it became an important question among the partisans what should be done to rid the cities of the reign of terror. Many citizens had been sandbagged and robbed, and the newspapers spoke of the times as a veritable "reign of terror."

In 1851 the citizens of Allegheny took steps for the introduction of gas into that city. In 1851 the construction of a new market-house on the Diamond was projected, and by the close of the year the subscription of stock thereto amounted to \$19,850. In 1851 the Gas Company reduced the price to private consumers to \$2.10 per thousand feet, with a discount of ten per cent. for prompt payment. The total consumption of gas for the year ending July 1, 1851, was 24,160,295 feet, of which private consumers used 17,355,892 feet, and the city government used 6,804,403 feet. At this time there were standing 297 public lights; there were 1,143 private consumers. At this time there were in use a grand total of 71,003 feet of gas-pipe mains. To produce this gas 87,712 bushels of coal were consumed. The appropriations for the year 1851 were as follows:

Interest on city loans.....	\$ 63,000
Salaries of city officers:	
Mayor.....	\$ 700
Clerk to mayor.....	300
Treasurer.....	700
Solicitor.....	250
Wharfmaster, Monongahela.....	650
Wharfmaster, Allegheny.....	500
Street commissioner, first district.....	500
Street commissioner, second district.....	500

## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

Clerk of markets.....	\$ 200
High constable.....	450
City constables (eight).....	2,400
Clerks of councils.....	500
Messengers of councils.....	200
Clerk to committees.....	200
Messengers to committees.....	150
Recording regulator.....	400
Superintendent of water-works.....	1,000
Assessor of water rents.....	700
Assessor of taxes.....	195
	<hr/>
	\$ 10,495
Public printing.....	1,000
Engine and hose companies.....	3,675
City watchmen.....	13,250
City water-works.....	28,000
Cleaning streets, first district.....	2,000
Cleaning streets, second district.....	1,800
Public lamps and lighting streets.....	9,500
Sanitary purposes.....	1,000
Cleaning and expenses of other markets.....	800
Monongahela wharf.....	500
Allegheny wharf.....	500
Contingent fund.....	4,000
Scrip outstanding.....	13,000
City loans now due and falling due.....	111,646
Outstanding warrants.....	17,990
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$282,156

The following is, as near as can be ascertained, the revenue of the city for the year 1851:

Balance in the treasury.....	\$ 96
City tax.....	45,600
Water rent.....	28,500
Monongahela wharf.....	15,000
Allegheny wharf.....	2,500
Stall rents.....	3,000
Clerk of market.....	1,500
Mayor's fines, etc.....	2,500
Water rents on new buildings.....	1,500
Interest on bonds, etc.....	1,255
Interest on gas stock.....	6,000
Dray licenses.....	2,200
Sundry resources.....	4,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$113,651
Outstanding taxes.....	17,000
Bonds to be sold for water-works.....	16,650
Bonds issued.....	132,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$279,301
Deduct discount on bonds.....	10,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$269,301

In February, 1851, the finance committee of Pittsburg, consisting of Frederick Lorenz, William Day, David D. Bruce, L. Harper, A. Garrison and R. McKnight, reported that the total city debt amounted to \$1,149,570, exclusive of the \$200,000 subscription to the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad. It was estimated by the committee that the proposed levy of five mills for city purposes would be barely sufficient, with the strictest economy, to pay the interest on the city debt and to defray the current expenses of the city government. The committee recommended the issue of bonds to the amount of \$132,000, of which \$111,646.16 would be required to meet outstanding obligations falling due within the current year. Early in 1851 the police force was so greatly increased and strengthened that in a short time the reign of terror was at an end.

By the act of April 15, 1851, the Monongahela front, from Grant Street to the junction of the two rivers, was declared a public wharf or landing. In 1851 Thomas M. Howe, A. W. Loomis and Moses Hampton, commissioners on the part of the Government, selected the lots at the northeast corner of Fifth and Smithfield streets as a site for the Postoffice and Custom-house, for which they agreed to pay \$35,000. Later, much dissatisfaction was expressed at the selection, and finally a meeting was called to consider the question of waiting upon the commissioners to secure a change of location. In May, 1851, the City Councils appointed a committee to procure and have cut, with suitable devices, a stone to be placed in Washington's monument at the National Capital.

In the forties a contest arose between the corporation of Allegheny and citizens who were required to pay a license for certain privileges. Mr. E. W. Lynd violated an ordinance requiring him to pay a certain license, whereupon he was apprehended and fined. He retaliated by buying a considerable quantity of the scrip of that city, bringing suit thereon for principal and interest, the interest and discount amounting to about twenty per cent. At that time the city was unable to redeem its property. It was therefore argued that if Allegheny was permitted to dishonor its paper Mr. Lynd should not be required to pay a license for certain privileges. In other words, if the city could violate its obligations to Mr. Lynd, he could violate a city ordinance. Much interest was shown in these various suits, and not a little amusement created at the expense of the municipal authorities. However, by June, 1851, the scrip of Allegheny and Pittsburg stood at par with current funds. The building of the railway through Allegheny in 1851 was the signal for vast improvements of the streets of that city, particularly on Federal, Robinson and Main streets.

In August, 1851, Pittsburg six per cent. bonds were worth \$87; Pittsburg six per cent. coupon bonds, \$97; Allegheny six per cent. bonds, \$86.50; Allegheny City six per cent. coupon bonds, \$86.50; Monongahela Bridge stock stood at par; St. Clair Bridge stock \$35, par being \$25; Hand Street Bridge stock \$43, par being \$50; Northern Liberties Bridge stock \$30 par being \$50; Williamsport Bridge stock \$15, par being \$25.

In November, 1851, the citizens of Allegheny took steps to organize a gas company and to secure the permission of the councils to occupy the streets. Numerous meetings were held and the movement was established on a permanent basis. In March, 1852, the Allegheny Gas Company was duly incorporated, with 4,000 shares of \$25 each.

In December, 1851, the citizens of Manchester, in mass meeting assembled, passed a resolution in opposition to the action of the burgess and councils of that borough to secure its annexation to the city of Allegheny in the manner and upon the terms which they proposed, and a committee was appointed to petition the Legislature remonstrating against the passage of the law annex-

ing the borough upon such terms to Allegheny. This committee consisted of Messrs. Ross, Sampson, Townsend, Louthier and Parke.

In 1852 Duquesne Borough was authorized to borrow \$5,000, to be used in grading and protecting the bank of the Allegheny River, in cleaning and deepening the harbor, and in collecting a moderate wharfage in front of that borough. In 1850 Allegheny had  $13\frac{1}{2}$  miles of water-pipe down, and in 1853 over 18 miles. At this time the entire community was intensely interested in the construction of the railways then projected and in the issuance of stock thereto. Many public meetings were held and serious discussions resulted concerning the wisdom of affording such liberal assistance to the railway corporations. In February, 1854, the new Courthouse was nearly completed, and was already, owing to its size and architectural excellence, the pride of the county.

In March, 1854, the question of consolidating Pittsburg, Allegheny and the surrounding boroughs was discussed with much earnestness by the citizens in numerous public meetings, and various opinions pro and con were presented. This question had for years, from time to time, recurred to perplex the citizens and engender local strife and antagonism. Many important questions were presented at this time, owing to the great improvements that were taking place. Free bridges were demanded, many new streets must be opened, five wards had recently been added to Pittsburg, new boroughs had been created, the railways must be provided with passage through the city, the police system was shockingly defective, the strife of partisans prevented the enactment of much needed municipal legislation, the old canal was tottering on its last legs, violent opposition to taxation to enable the cities and the county to subscribe stock to the railways was developed, the slavery question and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill stirred the political sentiments of this community to fever heat; numerous plank roads radiating from Pittsburg were in process of construction, the great drouth and the cholera of 1854 were melancholy facts, and now the consolidation of the cities added to the weight which pressed upon the nerves of this community. The bill which had been introduced in the Legislature, and which came up for final passage in the spring of 1854, having for its object the consolidation of Pittsburg, Allegheny and the surrounding boroughs, met with too great an opposition, particularly from the boroughs, to enable it to pass the Legislature. As a matter of fact, the citizens generally were lukewarm, and therefore the bill failed to become a law.

At this time the liquor license law was passing through an important stage of development here. Many violations of the law were followed by arrests and fines, and the temperance people and the liquor element here arrayed in determined opposition to each other. Conducting a fruit stand and the selling of apples therefrom on Sunday were punishable under the law. Its severity occasioned much bitterness and ill-will and finally led to its modification. It should be noted as a remarkable circumstance that whereas the rainfall at Pittsburg in 1852 was 41 inches and in 1853 38 inches, that of 1854 was but 23.263 inches. It was probably the driest year ever experienced by Pittsburg, and the efforts of the temperance people did little to mitigate the distress. Late in 1854 and early in 1855 the boroughs of Birmingham, East Birmingham and South Pittsburg took steps to secure the incorporation of a company which should supply them with river water.

In February, 1855, the auditing committee of Pittsburg reported that the total funded debt of the city amounted to \$1,135,398.92, falling due from 1856 to 1871. About this time it was observed by the local papers that the railway bonds of the city held in the East were quoted, in some instances, as low as sixty-nine cents on the dollar, but that very recently they had risen to about

seventy-five cents on the dollar. At this time the State five per cent. bonds commanded a higher price in the market than Pittsburg six per cent. bonds. The local papers wondered why this should be true. They asked, "What is the matter? We pay interest promptly." The citizens thus began to awake to the fact that their enormous issues of bonds to build railways, and the liberal terms offered for the payment of interest thereon, were destined, in all probability, to involve this community in a most burdensome taxation, to say nothing of more serious trouble.

By the spring of 1855 the new city market and city hall building was almost finished and ready for occupancy. The water assessment for 1855 amounted to \$48,000. The Monongahela wharfage was estimated at \$16,000; the Allegheny wharfage at \$2,500; proceeds from the Diamond market, \$4,500; dividend on gas stock held by the city, \$6,640; and total amount required for city expenses, \$46,000. In March, 1855, the local newspapers suggested that the property owned by the city in the Sixth Ward, to the amount of nine acres, should be transformed into a small park, or breathing place. Its high location, from which a fine view of the cities, rivers and surrounding country could be obtained, was considered as specially favoring its use as a park, but the city was not yet prepared to adopt a general system of parking. At this time the question of the construction of Nicholson pavements in both cities came before the councils for settlement.

Up to this time neither Pittsburg nor Allegheny had maintained a regular night police force or patrol. The consequence was that criminals conducted their operations under the cover of darkness with little opposition, save what was offered by the owners of property. Riots of various kinds had occurred from time to time in the middle of the night, disturbing the slumbers of the inhabitants and endangering the security of lives and property. It is true that on special occasions a night-watch had been sent out to patrol the principal streets, but no general or permanent attempt had been made to guard the streets of the city during darkness. "Another Fight.—A desperate fight took place on Chestnut Street on last Sunday morning. About 100 persons were engaged in it. It lasted till daybreak. It was the most disgraceful affair of the kind that has taken place in our city for several years. There being no night police, no arrests were made" (v).

In August, 1855, conflicting ordinances concerning the occupation and management of the market-house occasioned great confusion, which led to several riots and lawsuits. A revision of the ordinances corrected the difficulty.

In December, 1854, the Board of Trade appointed a committee to inquire into the expediency of consolidating the cities and boroughs. They returned a favorable report in April, 1855. In this report it was observed that Allegheny was provided with several commons, which at some future day could be transformed into beautiful parks. John M. Cooper delivered the argument of those who opposed the consolidation. The report also exhibited the financial condition of this community. The debt of Pittsburg was stated to be \$1,136,624, and that of Allegheny, in round numbers, about \$500,000; and that of Manchester, Duquesne, Lawrenceville, Minersville, Birmingham, etc., about \$50,000, or a total funded debt, exclusive of railway obligations, of \$1,686,000. The railway indebtedness, amounting to \$2,200,000, added to this sum, gave a total indebtedness for the cities and boroughs of \$3,886,000. The committee presented many sound arguments in favor of consolidation, among which were the following: That many small office expenses would be saved; that the entire debt could be refunded at a lower rate of interest under the act of consolidation, and

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(v) Allegheny Bulletin, July 17, 1855.



ten per cent. be thereby saved; that the segregation of population, wealth and influence would greatly influence credit abroad, etc. Many other similar reasons were presented. However, extreme opposition was offered by many citizens, and in the end the effort to consolidate failed.

In 1855 it became clear to the citizens that, owing to the inability of the railroads to do so, they would be required to pay the interest on the entire railroad bonds, whereupon the overwhelming knowledge of the extent of the burden of taxation and indebtedness resting upon the community led to the development throughout the county of incipient repudiation. Whether the cities were justified in repudiating their railway indebtedness, it is not the object of this volume to inquire. At first little was said, but a great deal was thought. The idea of deliberately repudiating obligations into which the citizens had entered but a few years before with open eyes was repugnant to the moral sentiments of all, but at a later date many such persons were swept into the movement as people, from time immemorial, have been swept into panic.

The paving law, which required that every owner of city land should pay the expense of improving the streets which passed by his lots, met with strenuous opposition from the citizens of Pittsburg and Allegheny in 1855. A large meeting was held in Allegheny on February 11, 1856, for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature for a repeal of the law. The meeting was so large that the town-house could not hold all who assembled, whereupon an adjournment was taken to the new market-house. Allegheny alone, previous to this time, had spent about \$200,000 for pavements. The following comparative table shows the improvement in Pittsburg from 1850 to 1856, as shown by the report of the auditing committee:

1850.	1856.
6,227 dwellings.	8,622 dwellings.
172 hotels, boarding-houses, etc.	381 hotels, boarding-houses, etc.
126 factories, steam engines, etc.	168 factories, steam engines, etc.
<hr/> 6,525	<hr/> 9,171

In May, 1856, the city advertised for a loan of \$84,000, to be used in retiring bonds falling due in that year. The Pittsburg railway debt at this time amounted to \$1,800,000. In January, 1857, it was proposed by a portion of the citizens to amend the city charter, extending the term of the mayor from one year to two years. At the close of 1857, 9,681 establishments were supplied with city water, among which were 7,572 dwellings. The length of city water-pipe at this time was 26 2-3 miles. The total receipts from the aqueduct fund at this time reached the sum of \$47,073.75. The railway sinking fund amounted to \$48,373.71. The receipts from the Diamond Market-house Association were \$18,508.49. In 1850 the average daily supply of water was 258,000 cubic feet, and the average daily consumption of coal was 259 bushels. In 1857 the average daily supply of water was 620,500 cubic feet, and the average daily consumption of coal 665 bushels. In 1850 the water revenue amounted to \$33,000, and in 1857 to \$62,000. At the close of 1857 the mercantile agency of B. Douglas & Co. reported that in two years twenty-eight business failures had resulted in Pittsburg, with an aggregate loss of \$1,183,000. One or more of the local newspapers denied this statement, but the report seems to have been based upon substantial facts.

Beginning with January, 1858, the new law required that the mayor, treasurer and controller of the city should be elected by a general vote on the first Tuesday in January of every second year, beginning in 1858, and that a plurality of votes should elect. It was provided that the mayor should have the power

of an alderman or a justice of the peace, and that two-thirds of the Select Council could remove the above officers under certain conditions and restrictions. The following statement was prepared by Mr. Lambert, city controller, in April, 1858:

Real estate owned by city.....	\$1,083,486.00
Total personal property.....	102,853.77
Funded debt.....	1,135,879.92
Floating debt.....	33,310.29
Railway bonded debt.....	1,800,000.00

The number of shares of railway stock held by the city at this time was as follows:

Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway.....	4,800 shares.
Pittsburg and Steubenville Railway.....	11,000 shares.
Allegheny Valley Railway.....	8,000 shares.
Pittsburg and Connellsville Railway.....	10,000 shares.
Chartiers Valley Railway.....	3,000 shares.
Total.....	36,800 shares.

The act of April 16, 1858, authorized the District Court to appoint commissioners to establish lines of high and low water on the Monongahela, Allegheny and Ohio rivers at Pittsburg. "City Statistics.—It appears from various reports submitted to councils that there are now within the limits of Pittsburg proper 7,620 dwelling-houses which pay water rent; 482 stores with dwellings attached; 390 hotels, taverns and boarding-houses; 957 warehouses, stores and offices; 22 schools and colleges; 48 churches; 32 miscellaneous manufactories; 32 printing-offices and binderies; 11 livery stables; 42 rectifying distilleries; 19 breweries; 3 tanneries; 11 brickyards; 6 glassworks; 3 chandlerys; 9 cabinet and chair factories; 8 planing and saw mills; 7 steel spring and shovel factories; 44 engine shops, foundries and boilerworks; 4 iron-mills; 8 railroad depots, with the custom-house, courthouse and gas-works. The total number of assessments for 1858 were 9,757, and the amount assessed \$62,020.74" (w).

In March, 1859, an important law was passed when the Citizens' Passenger Railway Company of Pittsburg was incorporated. It was authorized to start from the intersection of Market and Fifth streets, thence passing to Liberty, thence across Liberty to Cecil Alley, thence to Penn Avenue, thence to the Greensburg and Pittsburg turnpike road, and thence to the suburbs. The company was incorporated with 2,000 shares of \$50 each, among the incorporators being James Verner, Alexander Speer, Richard Hays, William Darlington, Joshua Rhodes, Nathaniel Holmes and others. In 1859 the railway bond cases occupied the attention of the courts. The ablest counsel in Pennsylvania were employed and every attempt to defeat the interests and intentions of the bondholders was made. In the case of several issues of bonds, Judge Grier held that the city had no authority so to issue, but the Supreme Court decided otherwise, and in the end the cities were required to pay these obligations.

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(w) Commercial Journal, January, 1859.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

POLITICS—RIVALRY OF THE COLONIES—THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE—ACTIVITY OF VIRGINIA—DOCTOR CONNOLLY AND LORD DUNMORE—CONFLICT OF CIVIL AUTHORITY—SCHEME TO CAPTURE PITTSBURG—OPPOSITION OF THE PENNSYLVANIANS—RESOLUTIONS TO SUSTAIN THE COLONIES—ARREST OF TORIES—PROPOSITION OF SPAIN—METHODS OF MR. BRACKENRIDGE—STATE AND NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS CONSIDERED—THIRTEEN COUNCIL FIRES—CELEBRATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE DAY—FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS—EARLY CONTESTS OF THE PARTISANS—WAR WITH FRANCE FEARED—BITTERNESS OF POLITICIANS—TRIUMPH OF THE JEFFERSONIANS—ECHO FROM COAL HILL—CHANGES IN POLITICAL NAMES AND PRINCIPLES—PROCEEDINGS DURING THE WAR OF 1812—ELECTION DISTRICTS—RECEPTION OF PRESIDENT MONROE—CHARACTER, LABORS AND PROMINENCE OF HENRY BALDWIN—THE DELEGATE SYSTEM—ERA OF GOOD FEELING—PROTECTION TO AMERICAN MANUFACTURES—CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS—RECEPTION OF MR. BALDWIN—TARIFF OF 1824.

The British colonies in America were independent of each other, and the rights of each were secured by charter from the English king. It was afterward found that the boundaries conflicted, and particularly was this true of the Pennsylvania and Virginia colonies. Not only were the boundaries between the several colonies indefinite and uncertain, but their western limits and extent were little thought of and unknown. It was at first supposed that the charter extended the domains of each colony westward to the Pacific Ocean, but after the French gained possession of the Mississippi Valley such claims were rendered invalid and were not afterward seriously considered. The Penns claimed the right to much of what is now Western Pennsylvania, while the Virginia colony, under color of the indefinite description of its western limits, likewise claimed by priority the same territory under royal grant. The boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland was uncertain, and at an early day was under dispute. The rights, therefore, to lands west of the Laurel Hills and perhaps, as some claimed, to lands west of the Alleghany Mountains, were subject to future arbitrament by the arts of diplomacy or the strategy of war. As certainly as the territory should become filled with settlers, the question of ownership was bound to come up for final disposal.

In this doubtful and interesting state of intercolonial affairs, Virginia showed greater energy and better judgment and led in all movements to attach this territory to its domain. George Washington was sent from Virginia in 1753 to prepare the way for the accession of this soil, not merely to the English Government as against the French Government, but to the Virginia colony as against the Pennsylvania colony. It was a political stroke of vast importance in which Virginia took the initiative and Pennsylvania lagged behind. The forces under Captain William Trent, which built the first stockade at the "Point" in February, 1754, were sent out by the Governor of Virginia primarily in the interests of Great Britain and secondarily in the interest of the Virginia colony. It was thus early not merely a struggle for the soil between the French and the English, but was a political contention between the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The provinces, while united against France, were divided among

themselves over the extent and boundaries of their landed possessions, particularly on the west. Washington was sent as a military representative of the Virginia colony as well as of Great Britain, with troops to reinforce Captain Trent. He was too late to accomplish the result intended, as the French had already secured the "Point," and, therefore, the country west of the Laurel Hills, if not all of the country west of the Alleghany Mountains. The expedition of General Braddock to regain possession of the "Point" was more of a political movement of the Virginians than of the Pennsylvanians, though primarily a movement of the English against the French. The expedition of General Forbes was composed largely of Virginians, who were commanded by Colonel Washington.

There was a striking contrast between the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia in their conduct concerning the western lands. The Governor of Virginia invariably anticipated and preceded the Governor of Pennsylvania in all attempts to win the territory for the English; and did so for the express purpose of securing such lands for the benefit of the Virginia colony. The Virginians were well represented here during the construction of Fort Pitt and thereafter to a large degree dominated affairs at the "Point." Previous to 1768, when the territory was secured by cession from the Indians, severe measures were not adopted by either colony, because neither could act in extremity until the termination of the Indians' claim. No sooner had the Indians' title been extinguished than both Pennsylvania and Virginia claimed the soil and set up civil governments to maintain their alleged rights. Both were acting under color of right, and it will not answer to assert that the steps taken by the Governor of Virginia were unjust and tyrannical. He, as well as his successor, was the mouthpiece and the agent of his colony, and must be given credit for his energy and intelligence and the breadth of judgment he displayed later in selecting a man so sagacious as Dr. John Connolly to carry into effect the designs of the Virginia Assembly. To claim that the avarice of Lord Dunmore was responsible for the rivalry existing between Pennsylvania and Virginia over the country west of the mountains, is to overlook the claims of Virginia to the soil before the appointment of that Governor, in 1771. When he assumed the office he likewise assumed the policies of his colony and the responsibilities connected with the administration of its public affairs. One of these duties was to secure the accession of as much of the Western country as could possibly be gained under the terms of the Colonial charter or of that of the Ohio Company. That Lord Dunmore expected to reserve a large slice of this territory as a reward for his services or as a result of his intrigues, has nothing to do with the rival claims of the two colonies or the rights of the Penns or of the Ohio Company. He was as much the agent of the Virginia colony as Dr. Connolly was his agent. There is not a line in existence to prove that Lord Dunmore had any other object in view than to secure the acquisition of the country west of the Laurel Ridge to the Virginia possessions, and incidentally, perhaps, his own aggrandizement and official promotion. He was in all respects loyal to his sovereign, faithful to the interests of Virginia, as represented by the Ohio Company, and more than able to cope with the lethargic Pennsylvanians.

In all treaties with the Indians at Fort Pitt the Virginians were prominent factors, having in view the acquirement of this territory for Virginia. George Croghan and John Gibson favored the cause of Virginia. Previous to 1776 the county of Augusta, in Virginia, embraced much of what is now Western Pennsylvania, but at that date the territory was divided into Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia counties. Pennsylvania also endeavored to obtain civil control of this territory. From 1750 to 1771 the territory was a part of Cumberland

County, and from 1771 to 1773 a part of Bedford County. At the latter date Westmoreland County was created and made to embrace nearly all of what is now Western Pennsylvania. When the territory was a part of Bedford County it comprised eight townships, as follows: Armstrong, Fairfield, Hempfield, Mount Pleasant, Pitt (embracing Pittsburg), Rostraver, Spring Hill and Tyrone. After the formation of Westmoreland County the necessary townships were duly organized. Virginia was not behindhand and also divided the three counties above named into townships. Both colonies appointed civil officers to carry into effect their respective laws. It is thus seen that both colonies, true to the policies that had prevailed for many years, endeavored to gain civil ascendancy in Western Pennsylvania. It is not the design of this chapter to enter into a discussion of the conflict which occurred between the adherents of the two colonies. The particular objects are to present the claims of Virginia in a just light and to remove, so far as possible, any unfavorable judgment which may prevail concerning the integrity of the public acts of Governor Dunmore and Dr. John Connolly. It is customary and quite popular to look altogether from the standpoint of the Pennsylvanians; in fact, the correct attitude taken by Virginia and its agents in this controversy has never been impartially represented on the pages of history. A careful study of the contentions over this territory between the two colonies must result in the removal of much of the odium which fashion persists in attaching to the names of Dunmore and Connolly.

In 1773 Dr. John Connolly, who resided here, was appointed by Lord Dunmore the agent of the Virginia colony, and on January 1, 1774, acting under such authority and in such capacity, he published a manifesto as captain and commandant of the militia of Pittsburg and its dependencies, and called upon all people upon the Western waters to assemble in Pittsburg on January 25, 1774, with the object of carrying into effect the civil authority of Virginia. Arthur St. Clair, then a justice of the peace of Westmoreland County, placed him under arrest and confined him for a short time in jail. Upon his release he promptly went to Pittsburg and continued his former policy. When Fort Pitt was evacuated by order of General Gage, in 1772, there was left here only a corporal's guard of three men. Soon after this Messrs. Ross and Thompson took possession of the fort and held the same until the spring of 1774, when Dr. Connolly assumed command with a considerable body of militia in the name of Virginia and continued to hold possession until August, 1775, when Captain John Neville, also from Virginia, at the head of 100 men from that province, took command and so continued until the Continental forces were placed here the following year. It will thus be seen that the Virginians maintained almost continuous control of this settlement in their designs to attach it to the Virginia colony. It is well known to historians that all the acts of Dr. Connolly were not only commended and approved by Lord Dunmore, but by the Virginia Assembly as well. His performances, which have been branded by the adherents of the Penns as tyrannical and unjust, must be regarded in the light of history as of a character thoroughly loyal to the power under which he professed to act. The fact that he resorted to arbitrary measures, that he overrode without compunction and with a high hand the claims and pretensions of Penn's adherents, is a signal proof of his ability, sagacity and loyalty to Lord Dunmore. That he was in earnest is shown by the fact that he remained faithful to the English cause; that he suffered imprisonment, ostracism and persecution at the hands of the Colonial forces, and that he was finally obliged to seek refuge in the dominion of the British Government. In view of these facts it will not suffice to dismiss the subject by characterizing the militia under Dr. Connolly as "a lawless set of men acting under color of authority." While



it is true that Connolly's proceedings were abrupt, arbitrary and severe, it must be admitted that it was necessary for him to pursue that course in order to place this settlement within the jurisdiction of Virginia. George Croghan stated, in 1774, that he had long been convinced that Fort Pitt and its dependencies were without the limits of Pennsylvania, and that, inasmuch as the Virginia colony had, during the winter of 1773-4, provided for the raising of militia and the appointment of civil officers, he would no longer countenance the laws of the Pennsylvania colony, which he had previously obeyed in lieu of something better. Connolly was sustained by George Croghan, John Campbell, Dorsey Pentecost, Thomas Smallman, John Gibson and many others. He was also sustained in the enforcement of the Virginia laws by a body of militia numbering about 100. He was accused of brutality, but there is nothing to show that he used harsher measures than were necessary to effect his purpose. He used his militia to sustain the courts organized under the Virginia laws. In the latter part of 1775 he was arrested and placed in prison at Frederickstown, Maryland, and after that date he cut no important figure in the history of Pittsburg. Although Connolly was crushed and Dunmore was thwarted, they did not for a moment lose sight of the primary object of uniting this colony with Virginia.

It is popular to regard Dr. Connolly as a man of no principle; facts will not sustain such a view. In all his movements he was loyal to Virginia and to the English crown. He was unquestionably a man of great ability and exceptional diplomacy, and facts will support the statement that he was unrivaled in the early history of Pittsburg as an executive officer. Instead of pursuing a course of persecution and tyranny, history must regard him as a patriot of the English Government. He performed no act of treachery such as disgraced Benedict Arnold, but all his performances were consistent with the position he occupied and with his loyalty to Great Britain. It will not suffice to brush aside as an act of oppression the policy of Virginia to attach this settlement to that province. All the acts of Lord Dunmore and Dr. Connolly were sustained by prior claims of ownership. The Tories of the Revolution, to whom the inhabitants of the United States are in the habit of referring in the most derogatory terms, were afterward regarded, and have ever since been held by the English Government, as her most patriotic and loyal citizens, and to this day are known in Canada as United Empire Loyalists. Previous to the outbreak of the Revolution, Dr. Connolly was faithful to Lord Dunmore, to Virginia, and to the English Government. After the Declaration of Independence he was still faithful to Great Britain and still endeavored to secure Western Pennsylvania for Virginia. Accordingly, he assisted in the creation of one of the boldest and most brilliant political or military maneuvers ever proposed on the American continent.

This scheme of conquest was best described in a letter written to General Washington and by him communicated to President Reed, bearing date April 25, 1781, the following being the language: "Colonel Connolly, with his corps, is to proceed to Quebec as soon as possible, to be joined in Canada by Sir John Johnston with a number of Tories and Indians, said to amount to 3,000 (the number must be exaggerated). This route to be by Buck Island, Lake Ontario and Venango, and his object Fort Pitt and all the adjacent posts. Connolly takes with him a number of commissions for persons now residing at Pittsburg, and several hundred men at that place have agreed to join to make prisoners of Colonel Brodhead and all friends of America; his (Connolly's) great influence in that country will, it is said, enable him to prevail upon the Indians and inhabitants to assist the British in any measure." This brilliant scheme emanated from Virginia and was designed to regain possession of all the Western posts, with the idea of attaching them not only to the Tory possessions, but to



the Virginia colony as well. It was really designed to be a masterly attack upon the rear of the Colonial forces; and after the Western posts had been captured the plan was to form a union down the Potomac River with the British forces in Virginia, and thus divide the Colonies as General Sherman divided the Confederacy by his march to the sea in 1864. It was not only a continuation of the policy of attaching the Western settlements to Virginia, but was a daring scheme to strike the Colonial forces a deadly blow in the rear, and then divide them by a line of fortifications down the Potomac. The fact that several hundred men of this vicinity intended to join the forces of Colonel Connolly; the fact that the leaders were to be presented with commissions and that Fort Pitt and its garrison were to be taken by surprise and captured, largely through the influence and treachery of the residents, lend to this scheme an air of mystery, daring and importance.

The entire plot was originated in Virginia. Dr. Connolly was placed in command of the movement. He was given full authority to stir up the Indians, to unite all the Tories possible under his banner, and actually carried in his pocket commissions in blank to be given, according to his judgment, to such persons as should furnish him the greatest aid in the movement. After Pittsburg should have been captured it was designed to make it headquarters for the movements of the Tories in the West. Alexandria, Virginia, was likewise to be captured and fortified, and the Earl of Dunmore was to cooperate with the fleet on the Potomac River, to sever the Colonies and unite the Western Tories with those in Virginia. It was the plan that in case Fort Pitt could not be captured to descend the Ohio River and then sail round by New Orleans and join the English forces on the Atlantic Coast. This military maneuver was authorized and approved by no less persons than Lord Dunmore and General Gage (a). Connolly had been appointed a lieutenant-colonel in the Queen's Royal Rangers by Lord Dunmore on November 5, 1775. He was thus a Tory in the full meaning of the word, but at the same time there are many things to prove that both Dunmore and Connolly were working in the interests of the Virginia colony and incidentally for their own aggrandizement. It is reasonable to suppose that the leading Tories of Pittsburg were not only to be given commissions in the British army, but were likewise promised valuable tracts of land in this vicinity as a reward for their services in case of success. Unfortunately for the movement the plans of the leaders were discovered and prompt action to thwart it was taken by General Washington and Colonel Brodhead. A considerable force actually assembled on Lake Chautauqua (Jadaque), but when it was learned that Fort Pitt had been repaired, that the leaders at Pittsburg had been arrested and that elaborate measures had been taken to resist the movement, the force was disbanded. However, the movement may be said to have terminated in a most harassing Indian war, which galled and decimated the Western settlements for two years.

In June, 1774, a memorial was prepared and forwarded to the Penns recounting the performances and usurpations of the Virginians under Dr. Connolly and praying that relief might be furnished the adherents of the former. This memorial was signed by the following persons: Eneas Mackay, Devereux Smith, John Ormsby, Richard Butler, William Butler, James O'Hara, James Fowler, Joseph Spear, Andrew Robinson, Frederick Farry, Robert McCully, George McCully, John Shannon, Gabriel Walker, John Walker, Benjamin Elliott, Alexander Wayne, Ralph Wailer, William Evans, William Amberson, William Hamilton, James Smith, John Irwin, Robert Elliott, Richard Carson, Joseph Carrell and Stephen Groves.

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(a) J. F. D. Smyth's Tour.



Four weeks after the Battle of Lexington, or May 16, 1775, a public meeting was called here and resolutions were passed to sustain the Colonial cause. While it is true that both the Virginians and the Pennsylvanians participated in this meeting, it is equally true that the former largely predominated—another point in favor of the political aggressiveness and ascendancy of Virginia. The records of the meeting read as follows: "At a meeting of the inhabitants of that part of Augusta County that lies on the west side of Laurel Hill, 16 May, 1775, the following gentlemen were chosen a committee for said district." It will thus be seen that the meeting was instigated and held by Virginians, or at least that they so greatly outnumbered the Pennsylvanians participating, that the meeting was represented to have been held by the inhabitants of Augusta County, Virginia. It is also true that nearly all the members of the committee chosen were Virginians. Their names were as follows: George Croghan, John Campbell, Edward Ward, Thomas Smallman, John Cannon, John McCullough, William Gee, George Valandingham, John Gibson, Dorsey Pentecost, Edward Cook, William Crawford, Devereux Smith, John Anderson, David Rodgers, Jacob Vanmetre, Henry Enoch, James Ennis, George Wilson, William Vance, Daniel Shepard, William Elliott, Richmond Willis, Samuel Sample, John Ormsby, Richard McMahon, John Neville and John Swearingen. These men were appointed a standing committee of safety to meet political, civil and military emergencies likely to arise, and it was announced that they were vested with the same powers as were given to like committees in other counties of this colony. The meeting, by resolution, extended thanks to John Harvie, the delegate of this colony in the Colonial convention held in Richmond, and to John Neville, the other delegate, who was unable to attend by reason of sickness. The meeting cordially approved the acts of New England against the mother country and recognized the importance of taking steps to avert "the danger to be apprehended, in this colony in particular, from a domestic enemy said to be prompted by the wicked minions of power to execute our ruin," meaning, doubtless, the danger from the Indian tribes. It was also resolved that the action of the Continental convention, at Richmond, of May 20, 1775, relative to the assembling of the militia, etc., "should be carried into execution here with the greatest diligence." The committee was required to collect all guns and have them repaired, whether in use or not. The meeting ordered to be raised a subscription of £15 in current money, to be sent to Robert C. Nicholas for the use of the deputies sent from this colony to the general Congress, and the full amount was raised at the meeting by the committee. John Campbell, of a select committee, was appointed to prepare instructions to the Congressional delegates representing this colony, and to set forth therein the wants and grievances of this community. John Harvie and George Rootes were the representatives of the country west of the Laurel Hill in the Colonial Congress. Accordingly, an address was prepared elaborating the desperate situation of the Western country with regard to the Indian tribes, and calling attention to the probability of an attack of combined British and Indians from Niagara or Detroit. It was urged in the address that should the Indians be stirred up by British agents thousands of settlers in the Western country would be murdered and their homes destroyed. The address also contained this important sentence—"that the unsettled boundary between this colony and the province of Pennsylvania is the occasion of many disputes." It will thus be seen that the meeting was controlled by the Virginians, and history must again record that that province had again anticipated the action of Pennsylvania and had stepped in to gain the Western country for the purpose of attaching it to the colony of Virginia. Copies of the address were ordered sent to the delegates and ordered published in the *Virginia Gazette*.

In 1776 Colonel Gibson, Indian agent at Fort Pitt, was succeeded by Colonel Richard Butler. At this time Alexander McKee was Indian superintendent. As early as 1776 Alexander McKee was known to be in communication with the English commander at Niagara, and was suspected (justly so) of being a Tory. In the spring of 1776 he was known to have received a letter from Niagara and was compelled by the committee of safety, of which Colonel Croghan was chairman and Thomas Smallman and Thomas Campbell members, to exhibit this letter, wherefrom his Tory proclivities were learned. He was forbidden to hold any further communications with the English authorities or with the Indians, and promised to comply with the demand. Later, when the leading Tories residing here found that they could do the English cause no good by remaining, and when it again seemed certain that they were likely to get into serious trouble by reason of their hostile acts, they departed suddenly and joined the British forces. Among them were McKee, Elliott and Girty. The termination of the Revolution was the signal for a renewal of the controversy over the boundary. An amicable settlement was finally reached.

"When first the county of Westmoreland was laid out, commissioners were appointed to fix the county town. They are said to have fixed on Pittsburg as the place, but the Governor, at the instance of George Croghan, did not confirm the report. This gentleman, conceiving Pittsburg to be within a grant of boundary to him from the natives, is said to have been unwilling that the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania should extend to it. There is no kind of doubt that if the seat of justice had been then established at this place, the contest with Virginia which has given us so much trouble would never have existed. The strength of civil authority which would have been fixed in this quarter would have baffled at once all the efforts of Lord Dunmore to have engaged adherents. We have presented petitions from one session of our Assembly to another since the Revolution to have a county laid off, comprehending the town of Pittsburg, for in the present extended settlement of the country it would not be convenient to make this town the seat of justice for the county of Westmoreland. Our petitions have not been regarded" (b).

An international question in which the citizens of this vicinity took great interest in 1786 was the proposition of Spain to permit the United States to trade with all Spanish ports in our own vessels, upon condition that we would relinquish the trade of the Mississippi country for twenty-five years. It was his opposition to this proposal more, perhaps, than to any other cause, that secured the election of Mr. Brackenridge to the State Legislature in 1786. Other political questions which figured in the campaign of 1786 were the formation of a new county of which Pittsburg should be the county seat, and the creation of Pittsburg as a borough. These were all important considerations at that time, and no party which opposed them could hope for success at the polls. As a means of defeating the proposition of Spain above mentioned the citizens of the Western country prepared a memorial which was very extensively signed, and addressed both to the State Legislature and to Congress, praying that the proposition should be rejected. Another important question carried into politics was that old certificates of the Government might be taken in lieu of paper money in payment of old land rights. Upon the affirmative of this question Mr. Brackenridge, during the campaign, declared his purpose to stand. Having pledged himself to sustain the Western country in its claims on these propositions, he had no trouble in securing an election. It was afterward claimed that in many particulars he violated his promise to his constituents. In 1787 he was severely taken to task, in a prolonged newspaper controversy,

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(b) Gazette, 1787.

by William Findley, but emphatically denied that he had acted otherwise than for the best interests of the Western country. Whether Mr. Findley was correct in his claims is difficult to determine from the mass of conflicting charges and counter-charges made in the newspaper controversy. One thing is certain: Mr. Brackenridge, to some extent, lost by his conduct in the Legislature much of the confidence of the people of the Western country. He had promised that he would favor the acceptance of certificates in lieu of patent money for old rights, but when the bill was put upon its passage in the Legislature, he first voted against it. Although he well knew the sentiments of his constituents, he yielded to the pressure in the East and voted against the measure, but later, when it was reconsidered, in the meantime having heard from the people of the Western country, he supported the bill. When taken to task for his opposition to the measure, he replied: "It is a principle of representation that the representative is bound by the instructions of those whom he represents; therefore, if the people of Westmoreland County are dissatisfied with my vote, they should send forward their instructions to the contrary, that in any future discussion of the question I may be bound by them." Unquestionably, Mr. Brackenridge was the shrewdest politician and the greatest diplomatist in all the Western country, not excepting even Albert Gallatin. He possessed great ability, and was an orator of uncommon power.

At that time Pittsburg was in Westmoreland County, and the three representatives to the Legislature were William Findley, H. H. Brackenridge and James Barr. Colonel John Gibson was elected, in October, 1786, coroner of Westmoreland County.

In 1787 the question of a union of the States under a new organic law was the most important question before the public. At the legislative session of 1787-8, William Findley and Samuel Barr, two of the representatives from Westmoreland County in the House, opposed the resolution which recommended the calling of a State convention to consider the proposed national constitution. They, together with the minority party in the Assembly, issued an address to their constituents, reciting, mainly, that they had been taken by surprise, and had not been given a suitable opportunity to reply to the resolution, and for that reason had opposed it; that two of the minority party had been forcibly taken to the House by the majority in order to secure a quorum, and while thus detained, the resolution had been passed; that the only question intended to be considered when the delegates had been elected to the last convention, was to revise the Articles of Confederation. It was stated by the sergeant-at-arms of the House that "Particularly he pursued William Findley the length of a square, but he hastened his pace, and by turning a corner got out of view" (c). Mr. Brackenridge declared that Mr. Findley "lay that whole afternoon in the upper story of the house of Robert Irwin," presumably to avoid arrest by the sergeant-of-arms of the House.

The adoption of the new Constitution was an overshadowing question. The Revolution had been successfully fought under the old Articles of Confederation, but now, in time of peace, many new questions of government arose which the old law failed to embrace, and all realized that it might make a vast and serious difference to the future welfare of the country to adopt an ill-considered and injudicious organic law. Many people feared that the old Articles of Confederation, which had served them so well during the Revolution, and which they had learned to love, would be wholly suppressed and that a new Constitution, perhaps unwisely considered and unduly oppressive, would be substituted therefor. For this reason, and others, the people of Pittsburg

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(c) Gazette, October and November, 1787.

and vicinity took great interest in the provisions and character of the new Constitution. Messrs. Findley and Barr doubtless acted in the Legislature according to their best judgment, believing that an over-hasty step toward the adoption of the Constitution would be unwise, and perhaps dangerous to personal rights. They therefore felt justified in absenting themselves from the House and in thus preventing a quorum and the transaction of business. Such course is not unusual on the part of representatives at the present day. However, in spite of opposition, the resolution calling for a convention of the State to consider the proposed Constitution passed in the General Assembly.

In November, 1787, William Findley, William Todd and John Beard were elected delegates from Westmoreland County to the convention called to consider the new plan of government proposed by a convention of the States held in September, previously, in Philadelphia. The people of this vicinity were fully awake to the importance of public events. At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburg, held at the tavern of A. and J. Tannehill, on Friday, November 9, 1787, for "the special purpose of taking the sense of the town with respect to the system of confederate government proposed by the convention at Philadelphia, General John Gibson was called to the chair. "After considering the fact that the people had heard both sides of the question; that the new system was the result of much political wisdom, good sense and candor in those who framed it; that no reason existed why anything better should be expected from any other body of men; that from the necessity of mutual concessions by the different States, another more equitable could not probably be formed; that posterity required the speedy adoption of some mode of government more efficient than the Articles of Confederation; that the Western people particularly desired the accomplishment of these objects, therefore, it was unanimously *Resolved*, That it is our ardent wish and hope that this system of government may be speedily adopted."

Messrs. Findley, Todd and Beard continued to oppose the adoption of the new Constitution, but that instrument was finally adopted by Pennsylvania, greatly to the joy of a majority of the people of the Western country. However, the discussion of the principles of government embraced in the Constitution formed a division in opinion regarding measures of public policy and resulted in the establishment in this vicinity of the two great parties, Federalists and Anti-Federalists. The adherents of Washington, Hamilton and Adams, who had favored the Constitution, became called the Federalists. They were opposed by Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and others, who became known as Anti-Federalists. The Constitution finally adopted was a compromise between the radical opinions of the two factions, and the discussion of its measures served the purpose of establishing two lines of thought and action upon public questions, which endure to the present day and were the cause of the war of the Great Rebellion.

On Friday, June 20, 1788, the news was received in Pittsburg of the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia, the ninth State to decide in its favor. On the Saturday following, the inhabitants of this vicinity to the number of 1,500 assembled on Grant's Hill to celebrate the event. Nine large piles of wood, representing the nine States which had adopted the Constitution, were lighted, and near them the four other piles, representing the four remaining States, were also kindled. It was declared that the fire failed to burn readily in the four piles last mentioned, but that at last the flames burst out with luminous splendor, and soon all thirteen were burning brightly, while the cheers of the assemblage echoed across the hills. The youths of the village danced round the flames, and the Indians who were present viewed the scene with amazement, thinking that the whites had adopted the savage custom of burning



council fires and holding scalp or green corn dances. They thought that the thirteen fires were lighted to celebrate the meeting of a great council of the white people. Mr. Brackenridge was orator of the occasion, and among other appropriate things said: "With you, O men of Pittsburg, it remains this day to celebrate this event. You gave your approbation when this plan of government was first produced; your voice has been heard, and it has done you honor. These hills and these mountains, in distant prospect, were they imbued with vital motion, would assent with you. These lucent streams which run gently by; yonder Ohio himself who received their waters, could he speak in vocal language, would approve the sound; with hoarse murmurs he will approve it, and kiss his natal banks with greater rapture than before. For on these hills and by these streams will those live who shall trace at early dawn and in the evening shade your footsteps—shall place your names with the heroes who have lived before them and have thought wisely on this subject. Join, then, in a loud acclaim and let future ages know that you are worthy of them in having handed down this palladium of liberty; and by preserving it entire and unbroken, let future ages show themselves worthy of you" (d).

The adoption of the Constitution by the thirteen original States did not end the controversy over the wisdom of its provisions. The discussion continued in Congress and throughout the country with great intensity for several years, and various amendments were proposed to change its provisions. Efforts were made in the autumn of 1788, at Greensburg, Pennsylvania, by several gentlemen, at the head of whom was William Jack, to secure united action on the part of several counties of this State and of other States, in an endeavor to effect the adoption of certain proposed amendments to the Constitution. A memorial reciting the changes desired and pointing out the alleged faults of the organic law was circulated and received many signatures.

In October, 1788, James O'Hara and John Wilkins, Jr., were elected delegates to represent Allegheny County in the conference to be held at Lancaster to select a general ticket for the Western country for members of Congress. Washington, Fayette and Westmoreland counties failed to elect delegates to this conference, but instead commissioned the Allegheny County delegates to represent them. The delegates were authorized to work specially toward securing a representative in Congress who not only had the welfare of the Western country at heart, but who also owned property there and lived there. General James O'Hara was one of the electors of Pennsylvania in 1788. In November, 1788, pursuant to act of the General Assembly, Richard Butler and John Gibson were appointed commissioners on the part of the State to effect the purchase of the Erie tract.

It became the custom immediately succeeding the Revolution for the citizens generally to assemble "to test the sense of those present" regarding the fitness of candidates for office, and to formally select or nominate the choice of the party. Such meetings were held in Pittsburg. On August 25, 1789, such an assembly gathered at the house of Adamson Tannehill, to select candidates for the Legislature. James O'Hara received forty votes; George Wallace, eleven; and Thomas Morton, one. General John Gibson was chairman of this meeting. Charles Matthews, in a long public letter, announced himself as a candidate for sheriff, and said that if elected he would be content with one-half the fees allowed by law, and would receive from the public all kinds of produce, allowing the following prices: Wheat, 4s.; rye, 3s.; oats, 1s. 10d.; corn, 2s. 6d.; barley, 3s. 9d.; buckwheat, 2s.; potatoes, 2s. 6d.; and for such other articles as are not mentioned, the highest selling prices. It does not appear that the two parties of this

(d) Extract from speech of H. H. Brackenridge, delivered June 21, 1788, on Grant's Hill. Gazette, June 28, 1788.

country were very widely divided at that time. However, the partisan spirit manifested itself even then, because it was denied that the meeting of August 25th represented the citizens of Pittsburg, there being only 52 votes cast out of nearly 300 resident voters and out of 150 voters who were present.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the wheels of government were set in motion by George Washington, Robert Morris and Alexander Hamilton. In less than three weeks after the Declaration of Independence, the Continental Congress had proceeded to organize a Treasury Department. In July, 1789, Congress passed an act to regulate the collection of duties imposed by law on the tonnage of vessels, and on goods, wares and merchandise. In March, 1789, the new Constitution went into operation, and the following September the Treasury Department was established, and five days later Alexander Hamilton became chief of the Treasury. Hamilton's first act was to recommend the payment, dollar for dollar, of the domestic and foreign war debt, although he well knew that the obligations were mainly in the hands of speculators. He also advised that the United States should assume much of the war debt of the separate States, which had really been incurred in the national cause. He further recommended that Continental money outstanding should be funded at the rate of \$1 in specie for each \$100. It is well known as a matter of history that when this able paper was first read in Congress, it produced the greatest consternation, several declaring that Hamilton had gone mad. His recommendation would create a Government debt of about \$75,000,000. His plan as a whole was bitterly opposed by the Anti-Federalists, but it was as vehemently favored by the Federalists, and in the end slowly succeeded. One of his recommendations was that a duty be levied on foreign wines, spirits, coffee, on various domestic productions, a comparatively high tax on luxuries and only a moderate tax on necessities. His paper thus outlined the protective policy, and thus early the question of protection to American industries, so vital to Pittsburg, was placed before the American people. His recommendation for a duty on spirits was merged into a law a short time afterward, and became the basis upon which was conducted the whisky insurrection in Western Pennsylvania. So rapidly did the country develop under the financial system of Mr. Hamilton, that the citizens of the Eastern cities subscribed the necessary stock for the United States Bank, in one day, and the first mint of the Government was soon afterward established. Although there was violent opposition to Hamilton's fiscal policy, it proved to be so successful, when once put in operation, that his enemies were for the time being disarmed, and no serious opposition again appeared until late in the decade of the nineties, when the Jeffersonian party came prominently and squarely before the people on doctrines which afterward became the foundation of the Democratic party. To the credit of Mr. Hamilton it must be said that his financial policy fully established the national credit, and paid off the debts of the Revolution and the War of 1812.

In 1788-9 the most important question for the consideration of Pittsburgers was the adoption of a State constitution. At the October election of 1789 William Findley and William Todd were chosen delegates to the State convention, called to frame such an instrument. William Findley became a member of the Select Council, and John Beard and James Barr of the Assembly. General John Gibson, among others, announced himself as a candidate for delegate to the Constitutional Convention, but his methods of conducting the campaign were so unusual as to call forth numerous protests. The following is an extract from an open letter addressed to him, and published in the *Gazette* of October 27, 1789: "There are those who blame the mode by which you obtained your appointment, in the going round to almost every door of the county and arresting every individual whom you occasionally met, and telling him that Mr. Bracken-

ridge, who had offered himself for the same honor, had damned the country and was about to leave, and only wished this compliment at his departure. Whether true or false, they allege it was indelicate in you to circulate the idea, and contained by implication a reflection on yourself as not depending on your own popularity, but on the prejudice you could establish against him." This letter reveals to some extent the methods adopted at that day by candidates for office, and shows the light in which both Mr. Gibson and Mr. Brackenridge were held by the people of this community. The convention to frame the State constitution convened late in 1789 and debated long and earnestly over the provisions of that important fundamental law. The delegates from the Western country were prominent participants in all the movements of that important body.

The *Gazette* of July 14, 1789, said: "The 4th inst. being the anniversary of American Independence, was announced by the salute of thirteen cannon. A number of gentlemen of this town, joined by some accidental travelers, met at the house of Messrs. Tannehill, where an elegant entertainment was prepared. After the cloth was removed the following toasts were drunk, accompanied with a discharge of cannon to each, viz.: 1. The Day; 2. The United States in Congress; 3. The Convention; 4. General Washington; 5. Dr. Franklin and the State of Pennsylvania; 6. His Most Christian Majesty; 7. The United Netherlands; 8. The Memory of Those Heroes Who Fell in Defense of America; 9. The Marquis de Lafayette; 10. Colonel Harmar and the Standing Army; 11. General Mifflin, Speaker, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania; 12. Comte de Rochambeau and the French Army Who Fought in Defense of America; 13. Success to Pittsburg and a Free Navigation to the Western Country. The day was celebrated with mirth and good humor and closed with the utmost harmony and decorum."

Previous to 1792 members of Congress were elected by the vote of the entire State instead of by districts. In 1788 Thomas Scott was thus sent to Congress. In 1792 Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Allegheny counties were formed into one Congressional district, and in that year General John Woods and Thomas Scott were candidates for Congress. At the last moment, Albert Gallatin, a dark horse, was put forward as a surprise and triumphantly elected. In 1797 John Woods was elected to the State Senate, and was supported by Mr. Brackenridge among others, who thought thus to get rid of him as an aspirant for Congressional honors, but in 1798 General Woods announced his candidacy for Congress and was then bitterly opposed by Mr. Brackenridge, who had other objects in view. At this time Washington and Allegheny counties constituted one Congressional district.

At the close of the session of Congress, which ended January 1, 1796, the Secretary of War, with the knowledge of the President and the heads of the Government departments, and in pursuance of an act of Congress making an appropriation therefor, placed in the hands of James Ross, of Pittsburg, a considerable sum of money, to be used by him in compensating secret agents of the United States, who had been engaged to trace and detect the intrigues of emissaries of an unfriendly foreign power (France) on the Western frontier and among the Indian tribes. The names of these agents were carefully concealed, but no doubt they lived in Pittsburg. In 1802 James Ross stated that the money had been duly paid to such agents in July, 1796, and asked to be credited with the same on the public records of the Government. General Anthony Wayne had been charged with the direction and general management of this bit of secret service, and all the transactions connected therewith were well known, both to Governor St. Clair and H. H. Brackenridge.

At a meeting of a number of the citizens of Pittsburg, held in the Courthouse, Thursday, August 2, 1798, a resolution was passed appointing Presley Neville,

John Gibson, George Wallace, Adamson Tannehill, Steele Semple, James Brison, Nathaniel Bedford, George Stevenson and John Wilkins to correspond with persons in different parts of the district, to ascertain the person best qualified to represent the Western country in Congress, and the one "most likely to zealously support the Constitution and Government of the United States, and who will do his utmost to promote strong, decisive measures for defending the right, honor and independence of this country against the lawless aggressions of the French Republic." This committee reported that "it is absolutely necessary that our present representative (Albert Gallatin) be not returned to Congress."

"The French directory threatened us with the fate of Venus, plundered our commerce, demanded tribute, and refused to hear our messengers of peace, and insultingly told us that they have among ourselves a party strong enough to defeat every effort our Government may attempt for our defense" (c).

It was declared by the Federalists, in 1798, that Mr. Gallatin, the representative of this district in Congress, had opposed any action seeking a redress from France for its many injuries, and accordingly a public meeting was called to nominate a man to succeed him, one who would carry out the wishes of the Western country concerning the attitude which should be assumed by this Government toward France. The action of Mr. Gallatin was denounced in the bitterest terms by the Federalists of this vicinity. It was declared that although the French in two months' time had cajoled Switzerland and taken possession of it, and now boasted that they had sufficient influence in the United States to accomplish the same result, Mr. Gallatin had acquiesced in their demands and had fought against all measures looking to redress or retaliation.

In 1798 many people of this district were thus dissatisfied with the course of Albert Gallatin in Congress. On August 2, 1798, Presley Neville was put forward as a candidate by those who opposed Mr. Gallatin, on the occasion of a largely attended meeting, of which Andrew Watson was president and Dr. Andrew Richardson secretary. John Gibson, Presley Neville, George Wallace, A. Tannehill, Steele Semple, James Brison, Nathaniel Bedford, Judge Stephenson and John Wilkins were appointed a committee of correspondence. Mr. Brackenridge, who was present, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he stated that he was not a candidate for Congress. He denounced previous meetings that had been held as being one-sided and of a partisan character. On the 4th of August a meeting was held, on which occasion the proceedings of the meeting at which Mr. Neville was proposed for Congress were violently denounced. Mr. Brackenridge was the leading spirit at this meeting. Thomas Collins, John Read and William McMillan were also active participants. It had been claimed that Mr. Neville had been selected by a total of 242 votes, but this was emphatically denied by Mr. Brackenridge, who declared that only fifty or sixty voters were present at the meeting of the 2d of August. He further stated that inasmuch as nearly 500 electors resided in this electoral district, Mr. Neville was not a representative candidate, and that the proceedings of the meeting of August 2d should be disregarded and annulled. The two parties here were therefore squarely divided on the issue existing between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. In September, 1798, a citizen correspondent for the *Gazette* wrote that, "But this same Neville family have all the profitable offices in the country, and have grown rich in the possession of them; yet, not content with these, it would seem as if their wealth and power had led them to suppose that no one ought to hold an office but by their special grace and favor." To add to the confusion, a remonstrance to the candidacy of Mr. Neville was prepared and quite extensively signed in Washington County. This action induced the Pittsburg Federalists, rather than have their party defeated, to adopt

(c) *Gazette*, 1798.



the diplomatic course of selecting a candidate in place of Mr. Neville from the region of French Creek, providing the people of Washington County would support him. French Creek was called the "Cussawago country" at that time. It was thus the design of the Federalists to select General Woods, who resided on French Creek, and they were promised the support of Alexander Addison. General Woods had previously been the opposing candidate to Albert Gallatin for Congress. The Anti-Federalists were determined to defeat the election of Mr. Neville to Congress. Inflammatory and anonymous articles, libelous in their character, were freely circulated, whether within Mr. Brackenridge's knowledge cannot now be determined, but they were abusive in the extreme, and among other things called to the attention of the voters was that Mr. Neville was the surveyor of a district in this county, brigade inspector, paymaster-general of the militia, a member of the Assembly and receiver and storer of whisky. The opposition to Mr. Neville became so strong that he finally withdrew, whereupon General Woods was selected as the candidate by the Federalists. At the ensuing election, General Woods received in this county 1,751 votes, and in Washington County 714. Mr. Gallatin received in this county 1,304, and in Washington County 2,163. The latter was, therefore, elected by about 1,000 majority. James Sample was elected from this county to the General Assembly.

In March, 1799, James Ross became the candidate of the Federalists for governor and Thomas McKean the candidate of the Anti-Federalists. The entire grand jury of Allegheny County, in June, 1799, with the exception of one member, agreed to support James Ross for governor. On September 4, 1799, a large meeting of both parties was held here to endorse the candidacy of James Ross and to nominate candidates for the Legislature. The Pittsburg delegates at this meeting were George Wallace, John Gibson, John McDowell, John Wilkins, Presley Neville, Jeremiah Barker, Andrew Willock, Samuel Creigh and Anthony Beelen. At this meeting James Sample, H. H. Brackenridge, Dunning McNair, Samuel Ewalt and William Amberson were nominated for the Assembly, the two receiving the highest number of votes to be elected. Messrs. Sample and McNair were thus chosen, showing that the Federalists were still in the ascendant. The parties at this time were not yet wholly grounded on the plan of holding separate conventions for the nomination of candidates. In fact, what became known as the delegate system had not yet been introduced here, although members attending the conventions were called delegates. While such meetings were called by the members of one party, many who favored the opposite party contrived to be present, and usually came prepared to defeat the will, if possible, of those who had called the meeting.

The election resulted in placing Thomas McKean, the candidate of the Anti-Federalists, in the governor's chair, and when the news became known a large celebration was held in Pittsburg by his supporters. The meeting was held at the tavern of Captain John Smur, and Mr. Brackenridge officiated as chairman, Samuel Ewalt as vice-president, and many toasts were drunk amid cheers and general rejoicings. So boisterous did this meeting become that upon its dismissal some of those who were most enthusiastic visited the houses of the friends of the defeated candidate, Mr. Ross, played the rogue's march, and otherwise humiliated the supporters of that gentleman. Several members of this meeting were arrested the following day upon the charge of rioting, and there seemed to have been no doubt of their guilt. Among the Anti-Federalists present at the meeting were Nathaniel Irish, James Kerwin, James Riddle, William Gazzam, Thomas Baird, John Smur and Dr. Andrew Richardson. Partisan questions from this time forward were warm in Allegheny County. The Anti-Federalists were denounced as Jacobins, while the Federalists were stigmatized as Tories and aristocrats. So violent became partisan abuse that

John Scull, editor of the *Gazette*, who had always previously published with singular impartiality the proceedings of both parties, refused any longer to permit the Anti-Federalists to use his columns; instead, thereof, he permitted violent articles, denunciatory of the Anti-Federalists, to appear, which proceeding was the principal cause of the establishment of the second newspaper in Pittsburg. The Anti-Federalists saw the necessity of having an organ to disseminate their party policies, and had begun to talk of establishing such a paper as early as 1797. As a matter of fact, although many think that it was almost wholly through the instrumentality of Mr. Brackenridge that the second paper was established here, it was demanded by all the members of the Anti-Federalist party, who began to call themselves Republicans. Mr. Brackenridge afterward stated that he had contemplated for several years establishing a private press with which to print his own pamphlets and other publications. Although the new paper was proposed by him, it was really established as an organ of his party. The Anti-Federalists claimed at this time that they were the warmest supporters of the Constitution and the real friends of the Government, but this was ridiculed with great energy and unanimity by members of the opposite party. It is amusing to read the vindictive and furious articles published about this time in the old *Gazette*. All persons who departed from the party of Washington and Hamilton were denounced as traitors to the Government and the Constitution, and it was regarded as the height of imbecility to trust such persons with the Government, which had been established at such a cost of blood, trial and treasure. The Anti-Federalists denounced the opposite party as traitors, Tories, French aristocrats, apostate Whigs, British agents and subjects, and did not hesitate to deride and revile the public actions of Washington, Adams and Hamilton. To show the extent to which personal villification was carried at that time, the following is quoted from the heading of an open letter addressed to Mr. Brackenridge, and published in the *Gazette* of December 21, 1799, and signed "2,000:"

"To H. H. B——, Esq., President of the Jacobin Society, Professor of Chivalry, Privy Counsellor to the Governor of Bantam, Poet Laureate to the Herald of Sedition, Biographer to the Insurgents, Auctioneer of Divinity, and Haberdasher of Pronouns, etc."

Another libelous publication about this time was the following:

ECHO FROM COAL HILL.

Have your heard	of the New Press?
Echo	of the Jew Press.
What, is it published,	and by a Jew?
Echo	and by a Hugh.
Of the Aurora	Another edition?
Echo	a mother of sedition.
Jacobinism imaginary is	or is real
Echo	Israel
On all that's military who is	a sarcasm?
Echo	ask Gazzam (f).
Who has done over	Squire Fowler?
Echo	Squire Bowler.
What, our	Alexander the Great?
Echo	All eggs under the grate.
Who fills the Judge vacancy,	one of the law bench?
Echo	one of the low French.

(f) William Gazzam.



At Marie's, who was	President on the hill?
Echo	President Tannehill.
Our Judge was at	Cannonsburg frisky.
Echo	Cannonsburg whisky.
Who has always delighted in	mischief?
Echo	this Chief.
How would you	requite them?
Echo	bite them.
To the circuit his	honor alas! is going down.
Echo	honor alas! is going down.
Finis cum Fistula	Populorum Zig.
Echo	Populorum Zig.

One of the most prominent local politicians at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Alexander Fowler, who had previously been an officer in the Eighteenth Royal Irish regiment of foot. In 1775, while at Boston, he had been severely persecuted by General Gage, owing to his warm espousal of the cause of the Colonists. He had openly declared that he would resign his commission sooner than draw his sword against the injured Americans. He went to London, and there sued General Gage for 5,000 guineas damages for malicious prosecution, but later went to France, where he reported himself to the American commissioners, and asked to be permitted to enroll his name as one of the rebels of the Colonies. Owing to infirmities, he was unable to take active part in the Revolution, but in a short time came to Fort Pitt, and settled near the Monongahela. Fort Pitt was then under the command of Colonel Brodhead, who was called by the Indians Big Moon.

Governor McKean had no sooner been elected than he began to displace persons who had opposed him with his own active supporters. He seems to have anticipated the dictum promulgated at a later date, that "to the victor belong the spoils." James Brison, prothonotary of Allegheny County, was removed, and J. C. Gilkerson appointed in his place. Samuel Jones, register and recorder, was also displaced by Dr. Andrew Richardson. These two changes were the result of the policy adopted and extensively exercised by Governor McKean. In April, 1800, Mr. Gilkerson having died, Tarleton F. Bates was appointed by the Governor to succeed him.

The success of the Jeffersonian party was a cause of great surprise and chagrin to the Federalists. It was seen in this vicinity as early as 1798 that they were making enormous gains, and that, too, with great rapidity, and the old supporters of Washington and Hamilton looked upon the new departure with amazement and fear. It was well known, of course, that Mr. Jefferson and his supporters had opposed many provisions of the Constitution, and it was argued as unwise to trust that instrument in the keeping and resign it to the control of men who had fought bitterly against its provisions. Mr. Jefferson was supported by James Madison, Dewitt Clinton and many other eminent men of that day who afterward became prominent in public affairs.

The Fourth of July, 1799, was appropriately celebrated. The day was ushered in with a discharge of artillery at Fort Fayette. Captain Brison's troops paraded the principal streets. At three in the afternoon the citizens sat down to a bountiful dinner spread in a bower a mile or two up the Allegheny River. Many appropriate toasts were drunk. Mr. Scull of the *Gazette* said "federalism and good humor marked the conduct of everyone."

On Wednesday, January 8, 1800, all the citizens of this vicinity turned out to pay their last tribute to the memory of George Washington. The ceremonies were conducted as though the body of Washington were present. Two detachments of cavalry, one from Westmoreland County under Captain Lodge, and

one from Pittsburg under Captain Brison, one company of light infantry under Lieutenant Magee, and one regiment of troops under Captain Shoemaker, met at Fort Fayette and marched past headquarters in platoons, with arms reversed, while the military bands played a funeral dirge. The soldiers wore white sashes trimmed with black. At the dawn of day sixteen cannon were fired in close succession, and during the day one was fired every half hour, with minute guns while the procession was marching. The *Gazette* said: "The concourse of people of both sexes was immense, and their countenances were expressive of the irreparable loss. Wednesday last was at this place devoted to the performance of funeral honors to the 'father of his country,' the respected and beloved Washington. The houses were shut, all business suspended and citizens of every description united in a becoming manner to express their veneration for the memory of the late President and Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States. It is computed that upward of 2,000 persons attended the procession which took place on the occasion." The following was the order of the procession: The above mentioned troops; the clergy headed by two of their number robed in black cloaks and representing mutes; bier supported by four sergeants with white sashes trimmed in black, and the pall by the following veterans with similar sashes: Captain Herron, Colonel Neville, General Neville, Major Kirkpatrick, Major Craig and General Gibson; field staff and other officers of the army with same sashes; Society of Cincinnatus; Masonic order; Mechanical Society; civil officers; students of the academy, fifty or sixty in number, headed by their preceptors; citizens generally; unarmed militia. Promptly at 12 o'clock the march through the streets was commenced, the band playing the dead march. The principal streets were traversed by the procession, terminating at the Courthouse, into which the bier was carried. Religious services were read by Rev. Sample and an instrumental dirge followed. Colonel Presley Neville then delivered the funeral oration, and an anthem adapted by the people for the occasion was sung. Another dirge was then rendered, after which the bier was carried out and placed in front of the troops, who were drawn up in front of the Courthouse, facing the east. The orders of President Adams and General Hamilton were then read and the services were concluded with three volleys of small arms.

The meeting held at Smur's tavern resulted in the formation of a company, at first informally organized, authorized to procure the necessary material for the establishment here of the new paper. Although the project had been proposed two or three years previously, the pressing necessity for such an organ was not felt here until 1799, when John Scull denied the use of his columns to Mr. Brackenridge and his friends. In August or September, 1800, the new paper, the organ of the Anti-Federalists or Republicans, made its first appearance. It was called the *Tree of Liberty*, and was printed in a building owned by Mr. Brackenridge. The publisher was Mr. John Israel, and the leading editorial writer was Judge Brackenridge.

The *Tree of Liberty* began its career by placing the severest strictures upon the course and character of opposing politicians. During the campaign of October, 1800, it published libelous articles concerning Messrs. Ross, Woods and Addison, which resulted, after the election, in several lawsuits for damages. Both Ross and Woods secured judgments against Mr. Israel for damages in 1802. Judge Addison accepted a recantation from Mr. Israel, which was published in the *Gazette* of November, 1803; and Mr. Israel paid the costs which had thus far resulted in the case. Mr. Israel was a stranger here, having come from Philadelphia at the solicitation of the Anti-Federalists for the purpose of publishing the *Tree of Liberty*. His enemies made the most of the fact that he was a Jew. The *Tree of Liberty* was published in what was then called Clab-

board Row, which seemed to be the headquarters of the Anti-Federalists, or Jacobins, as they were popularly designated by their political enemies.

The removal of Federalists from office by Governor McKean created great rage in the breasts of members of that party. The old *Gazette* of that period is filled with articles from contributors, which denounced this course on the part of Governor McKean in the severest terms. In 1801 Alexander Fowler was recommended for Congress at a meeting of the Anti-Federalists or Republicans, and Dr. Andrew Richardson for the State Senate. At the ensuing election Mr. Fowler was defeated, but Dr. Richardson was elected to the Senate and George Robinson, William Plummer and Samuel Findley, Anti-Federalists, were elected to the Assembly. To show the growth of the Federal Republican or Jeffersonian movement, it may be stated that in 1800 they lost their candidate for borough inspector by one vote, but in 1801 elected Thomas Bracken to the same position by a majority of over two to one.

On the 4th of July, 1801, a celebration was held by the Republicans on the grounds of Thomas Reed, three miles west of Pittsburg, where a fine repast was partaken under the trees. Alexander Fowler was president of the day and Dr. Andrew Richardson vice-president. General Fowler read the Declaration of Independence and Dr. Richardson delivered an oration "which drew forth bursts of applause." Sixteen toasts were drunk, one of them being "more farmers and fewer land-jobbers." It was said that the "woods resounded with harmony and good humor." Another celebration of the day was held by the Federalists on Grant's Hill. At this time Mr. Fowler was brigadier-general of Allegheny County militia.

It was gravely thought by John Scull and by other members of the Washingtonian party that those who opposed the administration of Mr. Adams were enemies of the Republic. They had not yet learned to what extremes partisan rancor could go. It was bewailed by the *Gazette* and its correspondents that after twelve years of successful administration, during which time the country had been placed on a secure basis before the nations of the world, that it should now pass to the control of men who had fought against the adoption of the Constitution and had opposed the advice and counsel of Washington, Adams, Hamilton and Morris. The election of Mr. Jefferson by the House of Representatives in 1801 was regarded by the Federalists of this vicinity as a national calamity.

In October, 1800, Adamson Tannehill was tried and convicted on two indictments of extortion in the office of justice of the peace in Pittsburg, and was reprimanded by the court and fined \$50. Governor McKean promptly remitted the fine, and as the conviction was thought to have disqualified Mr. Tannehill, he was reappointed by the Governor in January, 1801. In 1804 Judge Brackenridge was removed by the Assembly from the office of associate justice of the Supreme Court, the vote in the Senate standing yeas 17, nays 2, and in the House yeas 53, nays 22. One of the strongest and most popular methods of the Republicans in 1802 was to denounce the Federalists as aristocrats, and to inflame the poor people of the Western country against them as such. In a large measure the success of the Jeffersonian party in the West was due to this politician maneuver. In September, 1802, at a meeting of the Federal Republicans, held at the tavern of Jeremiah Sturgeon, the following recommendations for office were made: For governor, Thomas McKean; for Congress, John Wilkins, Jr.; for the Assembly, Andrew Richardson, William Plummer and Ephraim Jones, and for commissioner, John Johnston. The meeting asked for the repeal of the tax on salt and brown sugar. In 1802 Mr. Brackenridge was the law printer for the State. In 1802 J. B. C. Lucas was elected to Congress from this district. The three candidates were John Wilkins, J. B. C. Lucas

and Alexander W. Foster. The Federal Republican majority in this Congressional district in 1802 was 94. Pittsburg polled 566 votes for Mr. Wilkins, 276 for Mr. Lucas and 17 for Mr. Foster. At the election in October, 1802, there were polled in the borough almost 330 votes, while in 1803, although the population had greatly increased, the poll numbered about 280 votes. In 1803, largely through the influence and exertions of Judge Brackenridge, Alexander Addison was disqualified as a judge by the State Senate and impeached. He was immediately afterward honored with a public dinner by the citizens of Fayette County, who turned out in large numbers to stamp the act of the Legislature with their disapproval.

In the early days time often changed the objects as well as the names of parties. In 1788 the two parties were called Federalists and Anti-Federalists, and these names were used by both, even though many of the principles had been discarded or new principles had been adopted, until 1801, when it was found that the Anti-Federalists, as well as the Federalists, favored and supported the Constitution which they had previously opposed. The Federalists still clung to their old name, but the Anti-Federalists became generally known as Republicans, a name they had adopted at the outset and had since claimed the right to use. From 1799 to 1801 the entire country underwent a complete change in political affairs. The republicans became so numerous as to be able to take control, not only of national, but usually of local affairs. At this time one of the most prominent questions was the advisability of admitting foreigners to national citizenship. The Federalists favored doing so, while the Republicans opposed such a course.

It was customary immediately succeeding the Revolution, as before stated, for all the citizens of a county, or as many as could conveniently do so, to assemble to suggest the names of persons suitable for public office. Later the party spirit arose, and although each faction made desperate efforts to carry all before it, the fact was well known for which division the meeting was held, and the opposers, if they did not wish to break up the meeting, usually remained away. This gave rise in the end to separate meetings of the members of each faction, and soon such meetings were called county conventions of each party. However, at first such meetings were not called conventions. In September, 1804, such a meeting was held in Pittsburg "for fixing upon" suitable characters to fill the various offices within the gift of the people at the ensuing election. Even later than this date such meetings were not called conventions. Early in 1803 much fear was expressed throughout the United States that France, under Napoleon, the "dictator of the terrible republic," would make war on the English and American possessions. For nine years the course of France was looked upon by the citizens here as one of "plunder, depredation and death" (g). It was in 1803 that Henry Baldwin, who was destined at a later day to become so useful and so prominent here, began to attract local attention as a practitioner of law and as an orator on public occasions. During the session of 1802-3 the Legislature authorized the Governor to borrow \$150,000 to meet current expenses for the ensuing year, which act of alleged improvidence was called to public notice by many of the Federalists throughout the State. On the 30th of April, 1803, by the Treaty of Paris, France sold all of Louisiana to the United States, and thus settled any possible war between the United States and that Government. When the news was received here, great rejoicing was indulged in, and public meetings were held to voice the general satisfaction.

In 1804 the vote for Congressman here was as follows: General O'Hara, 352; J. B. C. Lucas, 240; George Robinson, Abner Lacock and Jacob Machlin,

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(g) Gazette, January, 1803

Republicans, were elected to the State Legislature. In Allegheny County General O'Hara received 814 votes and Mr. Lucas 959. This one item shows how this strong county of Federalists had been changed to the cause of Jefferson. O'Hara at that time was one of the most popular men in the county, and the fact that his vote fell much short of that received by Mr. Lucas proves to what extent the stampede had taken place to the Jeffersonian party. William McCandless, also a Republican, was elected sheriff. Among the Federal Republicans at this time were Isaac Craig, Nathaniel Bedford, Joseph Barker, John Darragh, John Simrall, Eliphalet Beebe, Steele Semple, Thomas Collins, John Hancock, Robert Magee, Samuel Mercer, John McBride, John Coulter and Jacob Ferree. However, it must be observed that at this time partisans wavered very greatly in their fidelity to any party, and men often changed from one cause to another within a few months.

In July, 1804, news was received of the death of Alexander Hamilton, who had been killed in a duel by Aaron Burr. Public meetings were held to lament that deplorable occurrence. The 4th of July, 1804, was celebrated here with great enthusiasm. The artillery at Fort Fayette was fired at intervals during the day. A dinner was spread out under the trees at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, about a mile from town, where toasts were drunk and eloquent addresses delivered. It was stated that there were present a number of citizens who, in the "times that tried men's souls," were the companions of General Washington on the field. In 1804 this Congressional district comprised the counties of Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Crawford and Erie. The act of the people of West Florida in declaring their independence in August, 1804, kindled various opinions here regarding the wisdom of their conduct. Some favored and some opposed their proceedings. At the close of 1804 or the beginning of 1805 the *Tree of Liberty* became extinct, and soon thereafter the *Commonwealth* was established in its place as the organ of the Republicans. It was a strong supporter of Mr. Jefferson, and was edited by William Brown. Following is the vote for governor in 1805:

	Thomas McKean.	Simon Snyder.
Pittsburg .....	210	125
Plum .....	22	65
McKeesport .....	83	22
Elizabethtown .....	132	39
Mifflin .....	85	98
Fayette.....	106	93
Moon .....	63	65
Ohio .....	14	50
Robinson .....	35	54
Pine.....	46	92
Deer .....	55	17
Pitt .....	144	77
St. Clair .....	130	114
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,125	911

In 1805 the vote for State senator was as follows: James Martin, 1,000; Samuel Ewalt, 996; Thomas Morton, 40.

Mr. Cuming, who visited Pittsburg in 1807, thought the two parties calling themselves Federal Republicans and Democratic Republicans, but shortened to Federalists and Democrats, "argued their opinions with more warmth and thus produced more rancor and violence in Pittsburg than perhaps in any other part of America."

At the Congressional election held in 1810 Adamson Tannehill received in



Allegheny County, 1,390 votes; Abner Lacock, 349, and Samuel Smith, 99. Lacock received a small majority in the district and was elected. The vote for sheriff in this county was as follows: William Westhoff, 1,095; William Steele, 695; Thomas Jones, 290. In 1812, the principal issue between the two parties was on the question of a war with Great Britain. The peace party nominated Dewitt Clinton for the Presidency, and the war party selected Mr. Madison. At a public meeting held September 17, 1812, in Pittsburg, on which occasion Captain Nathaniel Irish, a Revolutionary soldier, presided, and John M. Snowden served as secretary, resolutions were adopted, favoring the prosecution of the war. One of the resolutions, presented by William McCandless, chairman of the committee, was as follows: *Resolved*, That this meeting has viewed with great regret the attempts now making in different parts of the Union to sow discord and disunion among the people, weakening their just confidence in the measures of their own Government, and thereby affording to the enemy encouragement for procrastinating a war which the exertions of a united people would bring to a speedy and honorable issue" (h).

On the 12th of August, 1812, a large meeting of the Democratic Republican citizens of the county was held at the house of William McCullough, sign of the Cross Keys, for the purpose of taking the sense of that party on the question of the war. Colonel John Neel was elected chairman, and Ephraim Pentland secretary, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "*Resolved*, That a committee of five persons be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of this meeting respecting the measures of the General Government and the proper course to be pursued preparatory at the ensuing general election." The chairman appointed such committee, as follows: William McCandless, John Cunningham, James Alexander, William Brown and Ephraim Pentland, who were directed to report at an adjourned meeting the following day. On that occasion resolutions were adopted endorsing the conduct of the Government toward the powers of Europe, declaring that an appeal to arms was consistent in order to maintain national honor and dignity; asserting that the war was one in defense of our most sacred rights; insisting that the conduct of the British Government in turning loose the Indians on the border "deserved the execrations of the civilized world;" stating that all persons, irrespective of party, should obey the laws and help carry them into effect, announcing that all citizens here were ready to submit to any system of taxation to carry on the struggle and gain satisfaction from the "common enemy of mankind," and pledging the members of the meeting to support the reelection of James Madison to the Presidency and Elbridge Gerry to the Vice-Presidency. The action of the Governor of this State, concerning the war, was endorsed. The following committee of correspondence, to make generally known the action of this meeting, was appointed: James Evans, James Riddle, William Brown, Samuel Neely, Charles Johnston, Hugh Fleming and John Cunningham. Joseph McClurg and Matthew Stewart were appointed members of the committee of vigilance. Prominent Democratic Republicans at this time were: William McCandless, Abraham Watkins, Joseph McClurg, Benjamin Brown, George Cochran, John Spear, James Gibson, William B. Irish, Archibald Shaw, John Feariss, William Leckey, John Johnston, P. M., Ephraim Pentland, Matthew Stewart, George Robinson, Abner Updegraff, James Kerwin, Thomas Fairman, John Hannan, James Arthurs, John Carson, Isaac Roberts, John Marshall, John Stevenson, Henry Ray, Laurence Kingsman, Thomas Baird, Samuel Douglas, John Gorman, Dennis S. Scully, Joseph Wilson and James Young. It is next to impossible to give the politics of any individual with certainty at this time, because many who were the supporters of Mr. Clinton

(h) Gazette, July 3, 1840.



in August, 1812, voted for Mr. Madison in October. The old party of Federalists had been almost annihilated, and nearly all former political distinctions were merged into the war question. In October, 1812, the Clinton ticket was as follows: For Congress, Adamson Tannehill; for Senator, Walter Lowrie; for the Assembly, William Marks, Jr., Joseph Reed, James Scott and George Cochran. John Wilson was also a candidate of a faction of the Democratic Republicans for Congress. John Woods was the candidate of the Federalists for Congress. The vote in Allegheny County for this office was as follows: Tannehill, 875; Wilson, 300; Woods, 1,029; for State senator, Lowrie, 847; Power, 399; Gilmore, 962. At this election the few Federalists voted for the Democratic Republican candidates for the county offices. The Madison ticket was as follows: For Congress, John Wilson; for the State Senate, Samuel Power; for the General Assembly, William McCandless, Alexander Snodgrass, Davis Coon and Eliakim Anderson.

At this time there was a strong division in the ranks of the Democratic Republicans over what was called the delegate system. By the party the system had been previously adopted, but a faction arose which desired to break away from that method of conducting elections. What made the division hopeless was the fact that each wing of the party claimed to be the regular organization, and each presented a so-called delegate ticket. This question was afterward destined to cause considerable trouble here in the ranks of the Democratic Republicans. In 1812 Adamson Tannehill was elected to Congress from this district. The Presidential vote in 1812 in Allegheny County was as follows: James Madison, 966; Dewitt Clinton, 645. Mr. Madison was triumphantly elected and the Government thus stood pledged to carry on the war. In December, 1812, Abner Lacock was elected United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

In 1813 Pittsburg comprised two election districts. The Democratic Republicans were still divided over the delegate system, and presented two candidates for the State Senate, Walter Lowrie and Samuel Power, while the Federal Republicans, formerly Federalists, nominated John Gilmore. At the ensuing election Mr. Lowrie received 269 votes, Mr. Power 35, and Mr. Gilmore 327, in Pittsburg. In all of Allegheny County Mr. Lowrie received 1,098, Mr. Power 321, and Mr. Gilmore 911. It will thus be seen that at this time the Federalists were stronger than the united Democratic Republicans, though the reverse was true in all of Allegheny County by over 500 majority. At this time there were seven candidates for sheriff presented by the Democratic Republicans—Irish, Robinson, Davis, Woods, Steele, Baird and Jones. The committee of correspondence of the Federal Republicans consisted of John Wilkins, Thomas Bracken, Thomas Wallace, William Hays and John McDonald. The 4th of July, 1814, was celebrated in numerous places in Allegheny County. One of the notable features of the celebration here was the display of fireworks. "The pleasures of the day were closed in the evening by a number of skyrockets thrown from the public wharf at Fort Fayette, with a very pleasing effect" (i).

In 1817 three tickets were placed in the field in Allegheny County, called Independent Republican, Independent Delegate and Democratic Republican. The Independent Republicans nominated for the State Senate, John Gilmore, and for the Assembly, Walter Forward, John Robinson and William Wilkins; commissioner, William McCandless; auditor, John Neel. The Independent Delegate ticket was as follows: For the State Senate, John Gilmore; for the Assembly, William Wilkins, John Robinson and William Ayres; commissioner, Alexander Logan; auditor, Henry Beltzhoover. Both of these tickets supported Joseph Heister for governor. The Democratic Republican ticket was as fol-

(i) Mercury, July 6, 1814.

lows: For governor, William Findley; for senator, Walter Lowrie; for the Assembly, William Marks, Samuel Douglas, Archibald Coon and John Wilson; commissioner, Joseph Wilson; auditor, John S. Scully. The October election resulted as follows: In Allegheny County, Heister received 1,630 votes, and Findley 1,593; for senator, Lowrie 1,614, Gilmore 1,583. It would seem that at this election the Democratic Republicans were united, while the opposing party was divided upon the question of the delegate system.

On Friday, September 5, 1817, Pittsburg was honored with a visit from President James Monroe. "A few miles from the city he was met by the committee of arrangements and conducted to the ferry, where an elegant barge, rowed by four sea captains, awaited his approach. As he descended the hill to the river, a national salute was fired from the city, and a band of music attended the barge while crossing. On landing he was received with military honors by Captain Irwin's company of volunteer light infantry, and by the citizens with loud acclamations. A coach with four horses waited to convey him to his lodgings, but, observing that the authorities of the city were on foot, he chose to walk also." He was entertained at the house of William Wilkins. The following morning the city officials, whose spokesman was James Ross, formally waited upon him and thanked him for his efforts in behalf of the Western country; particularly in having been the instrument of opening up the Mississippi to the commerce of the interior. While here Mr. Monroe visited the Arsenal; on Sunday attended the Episcopalian Church in the morning, and the Presbyterian Church in the afternoon, and on Monday visited the leading manufactories (j).

The 4th of July, 1818, was generally celebrated in this vicinity. The Pittsburg City Guards fired twenty rounds from Grant's Hill, and were then joined by the Washington Guards of Birmingham. A band of amateur musicians had been marched to the grove above Birmingham, where a sumptuous dinner was enjoyed. Over twenty toasts were drunk. The troops made a merry day of it, but a local paper said that in the evening, notwithstanding the hilarious time they had had, they returned "in good marching order." One of the toasts was as follows: "The city of Pittsburg—Once the outpost of the scattered population is now the center of wealth and a fortress of industry and art." Another was, "Women, war and wine." Another celebration, largely attended, was held on Mount Independence, where some fifteen toasts were drunk.

In 1818 Mr. Baldwin was perhaps the most prominent figure in the politics of the Western country. He became particularly conspicuous by reason of his advocacy of all measures contributing to the welfare of the interior. He possessed sufficient ability to maintain his views with dignity and effect in the halls of Congress. He anticipated the injury to the interests of Pennsylvania, particularly Pittsburg, certain to result from the completion of the Cumberland road, and was, therefore, instrumental in Congress in defeating the large appropriations in aid of that project. He favored manufactories, internal improvements, the protective system, foretold the injury sure to result from a sudden repeal of internal taxation, sustained the demands of the Revolutionary veterans, encouraged the Irish Emigration Association established here, secured the first branch of the United States Court, and worked with unceasing devotion to prevent the carrying trade of the Great West from passing through any other place than Pittsburg. Is it any wonder that he became the idol of this city? In the race for the governorship between Mr. Heister and Mr. Findley he had supported the former. However, the latter was triumphant, but Mr. Baldwin continued to oppose his measures of government. This was a continu-

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(j) Mercury, September 12, 1817.

ance of the old battle between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, though local issues largely predominated in the warfare. In the campaign of 1818 the *Statesman*, edited by Ephraim Pentland, supported the candidacy of Samuel Douglas for Congress, while the *Gazette*, conducted by Messrs. Scull and Neville, supported Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Douglas was a candidate of the Democratic Republicans, and Henry Baldwin of the Independent Republicans. These were the party names employed during the campaign of 1818. The *Statesman* declared, among other things, that Mr. Baldwin had been the attorney of the Croghan heirs "to the ruin of the people of this country." As a matter of history it must be stated that the success of the heirs of Croghan in securing the bulk of their claims was mainly due to the ability and persistence of their attorney, Mr. Baldwin, though this fact was carried into politics by his enemies, who endeavored to pervert it to his disadvantage.

In 1818 the delegate system was violently opposed by the Independent Republicans, but earnestly supported by the Democratic Republicans. Both parties in Allegheny County appointed committees of correspondence to prepare tickets and platforms and otherwise conduct an aggressive campaign. The Independent Republican committee consisted of David Logan, Thomas Baird, William B. Irish, Alexander McClurg, James Hall, John Spear and J. H. Hopkins; and the Democratic Republican committee of Ephraim Pentland, Noble Calhoun, William Leckey, Robert Hilands and Hugh Davis.

It was difficult for many to believe in the wisdom of selecting delegates who were themselves empowered to choose the candidate. The result was a continual clashing between factions of both parties on this question. Not infrequently the official character of the delegates was denied. In case they had been selected by a meeting of small dimensions, the opposition was almost certain to deny the official and representative character of the delegation. In 1818 Pittsburg could muster about 800 voters in the two wards, which were then called East and West. "We complain that a nomination is made by intrigue, and enforced by denouncing all who oppose it; we complain that the nomination is so made that it is intended to be actually an election of the party nominated; we object to it because a few individuals not only select the candidates, but enforce their nomination by proscribing and denouncing those who dare to possess sufficient independence to think for themselves. We are willing that the people or their delegates should nominate as many candidates as they please, but let the voters afterward have the right of deciding to which of those candidates they will give their votes. But this privilege is not allowed you by the friends of the present delegates system. They tell you that you must vote for the men who have been chosen for you, whether you think them competent to serve you or not. It is virtually placing in the hands of office-holders the right of nominating their successors" (k).

It was recognized in 1818 that Pittsburg, with the balance of the West, was opposed by the commercial interests of the East and the planters of the South. It was argued, therefore, that a man of rare ability, a friend and advocate of protection, should represent this district in Congress. Mr. Baldwin, it was claimed, was such a man. Already, through his influence, the duty had been increased on iron, cut glass, nails, woolens and cottons. Mr. Baldwin had furnished the chief opposition to the Cumberland Road in Congress, and thus had favored the retention of the immense carrying trade in Pennsylvania, instead of permitting it to be diverted either to New York or to Baltimore. The question of the carrying trade was one of the utmost importance at that date. "It is, in fact, the support of all the country from this to Chambersburg" (l).

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(k) *Gazette*, October 2, 1818.

(l) *Gazette*, 1818.

Many people of this vicinity, without thinking seriously of what they were doing, favored the completion of the Cumberland Road, and thus indirectly were pursuing a course certain to result in injury to themselves. "The danger of this road is not ideal; already has the stage route for carrying the mail ceased between this place and Washington." On this important question Mr. Baldwin took a stand that was certain to result in great benefit to Pittsburg and Pennsylvania.

This seems to have been an era of political good feeling, when partisan spirit was almost wholly dormant, and when patriotic and local considerations controlled the views and movements of politicians. In 1818 James Lea, John Spear, D. S. Scully, John Douthett, P. Doran, Thomas Liggett, Thomas Fairman, Walter Fortune, James Dallas, Peter Beard and Walter Glenn were selected at the house of Mrs. McCullough, in Pittsburg, as a committee of Democratic Republicans to prepare a ticket of their party for the coming election. They recommended Henry Baldwin for Congress; Walter Forward, William Marks, John Wilson, Assembly; James Hildes, commissioner; Robert S. Leckey, coroner, and Silas Engles, auditor.

The overshadowing question here in 1818 was protection to American manufactures. This statement vitally concerned Pittsburg, which was the center of the peculiar manufactures which required assistance from Congress. It was at this time that the people of this community first learned that it was necessary for them to combat the manufacturers of New England as well as the cotton producers of the South. While it was known that Pittsburg was destined to become a great iron center, it was not so well known that this vicinity could secure a large portion of the manufacturing interests of woolen and cotton goods. In its ambition the city determined to expand its manufacturing interests to all possible branches. In addition to its manufacturing interests, the city had now become an immense depot for supplying all the Western country with merchandise as well as manufactures. Inasmuch as no national question of importance was before the people here, local considerations prevailed. In 1812 Samuel Douglas had opposed the regular or caucus nominations. In 1816 he supported Findley, who was the regular nominee, and in 1818 was regularly nominated himself. He had thus completely changed in his views concerning party measures.

In 1818 the *Gazette* congratulated the population of Allegheny and Butler counties on the election of Mr. Baldwin, and among other things said: "We have found a gentleman high in office strongly advocating the Cumberland Road, and really indifferent about the success of manufactures. Yes, a Senator (Lacock) of the United States from Pennsylvania! It behooves us under these circumstances to be doubly alert. We have everything to hope from the exertions of our member; if he succeed, the country around Pittsburg for 200 miles will flourish as the rose. But we find we will have much to contend with, as an enemy is likely to rise up among ourselves. We must call in the people east of the mountains to our assistance" (m). In 1818 Mr. Baldwin was elected to Congress over Mr. Douglas by over 500 majority, Pittsburg giving the former 716 votes and the latter 258 votes. The vote for Mr. Baldwin in Allegheny County was 1,821, and for Samuel Douglas 1,268. William Marks, Walter Forward, John Gilmore and John Wilson were elected to the Legislature; Robert S. Leckey, coroner; Robert Magee, commissioner; and Silas Engles, auditor.

The opposition to Mr. Baldwin adopted the views advocated by the Southern members of Congress. The importance of protection was denied by both the *Mercury* and the *Statesman*, and during the campaign Mr. Douglas

(m) *Gazette*, October 2, 1818.



decried the advantages likely to result from the adoption of a protective schedule. But the people of the Western country could not be deceived in this matter. While it was true that the claims of Mr. Douglas may not have been supported by the facts, it is equally true that the claims of Mr. Baldwin and his supporters were more or less extravagant and based upon the prosperity of Pittsburg, regardless of what might happen to the manufactures of New England or the cotton fields of the South. The supporters of Mr. Baldwin were too apt to think that Pittsburg was the center around which revolved as satellites the other cities and interests of the country. It will be noticed that, although the protectionists succeeded in this vicinity by a large majority, the country was yet several years removed from the adoption of a protective tariff and from a discontinuance in assisting in the completion of the Cumberland Road. In other words, while the protectionists succeeded in the vicinity of Pittsburg, they failed wholly, for the time being, in the country at large.

It will thus be seen that party considerations did not cut so great a figure in the Western country as did the question of protection, transportation, revenue, etc. During the campaign of 1818 the *Mercury* and *Gazette* supported Mr. Baldwin, while the *Statesman* advocated the election of Mr. Douglas. Among those who supported Mr. Douglas were Ephraim Pentland, Noble Calhoun, William Leckey, R. Hilands and Hugh Davis; and among the supporters of Mr. Baldwin were David Logan, Thomas Baird, William B. Irish, Alexander McClurg, James Hall, John Spear and John H. Hopkins. During the campaign the Independent Republicans were kept busy denying that their candidate for Congress, Mr. Baldwin, was a Federalist. They claimed that his conduct had always been consistent with the principles of the Democratic Republican party. This was a local intrigue to secure as many votes as possible for Mr. Baldwin from the ranks of the Democratic Republicans. The Independent Republicans favored the system and comprised the largest number of that party.

In December, 1818, Walter Lowrie succeeded Mr. Lacock as Senator of the United States from Pennsylvania. It was during this campaign that William Wilkins first began to attract attention by his ability as a thinker on public questions and as a popular orator. It was recognized that his future in the political arena was destined in all probability to be one of usefulness and brilliancy. In 1819 Messrs. Wilkins, Gilmore, Stewart and Brackenridge were elected to the Legislature. Samuel Power was chosen State senator for four years, and William Marks for two years. Morgan Neville was elected sheriff of Allegheny County. Three distinct shades of political opinions were shown at the election of 1819, as follows: Federalist, Republican Delegation and Democratic Republican Delegation. To state the distinctions between them would, no doubt, meet with emphatic contradictions from students of history. The candidates for sheriff in 1819 were William McCandless, Morgan Neville, William Leckey, Hugh Davis, William B. Foster, Edward Achelle, James Crossan, Edward W. Smallman, David Glenn, James Park and James Blashford.

It was in 1819 and 1820 that Western Pennsylvania first began to assume a position of State and National prominence in political affairs. Henry Baldwin, in Congress, was accomplishing results wholly unexpected to his most ardent supporters here, and of immense advantage to Pittsburg, as well as to the State generally. Walter Lowrie, in the Senate of the United States, was also attracting attention by his ability and his efforts in behalf of the Western country. In the State Legislature, Messrs. Powers, Wilkins, Brackenridge, Gilmore and Stewart were also accomplishing excellent results in aid of manufactures and internal improvements, and were attracting the attention of the State by the ability with which they urged the claims of Pittsburg and vicinity

upon the consideration of the Legislature. In May, 1820, public meetings were held in more than one place in Allegheny County to publicly thank the local representatives in the Legislature and in Congress, for their intelligent efforts and splendid success in securing so much beneficial legislation for Western Pennsylvania and the United States generally. In one of the meetings held in Pittsburg, William Wilkins was prominently mentioned in connection with a Congressional nomination. At this time Mr. Baldwin's speech on the tariff question in the House was published in full in the local newspapers, and received, without regard to party, the plaudits of this entire community. It was recognized as a masterly effort, and as presenting the tariff question upon a basis never before accomplished so successfully in Congress.

In 1820 William Wilkins was formally nominated for Congress by the Democratic Republicans. He had previously been a Federalist and an Independent Republican. Whether his views on the subject of protection and internal improvements had undergone a change, or whether his ambition had been overshadowed by the success of Mr. Baldwin is difficult now to determine. At any rate he came out in opposition to Mr. Baldwin, which fact was deplored by the Independent Republicans, owing to his success and splendid record in the State Legislature, and owing to the fact that this Congressional district was already so well represented in Congress. His nomination by the Democratic Republicans looked too much like the course of a disappointed man, who seeks the best results obtainable when other results more desirable cannot be attained. Mr. Baldwin had accomplished so much in Congress that it was generally thought here a matter of wisdom to continue him a member of that body. This view did not reflect in any way upon the ability of Mr. Wilkins. It was considered best to continue Mr. Baldwin in Congress and Mr. Wilkins in the State Legislature until the great measures then before the public were placed upon a substantial foundation. But the supporters of Mr. Wilkins apparently had other objects in view, and, accordingly, he was brought forward, and his election to Congress in the place of Mr. Baldwin was urged with great ability and persistency.

The exertions of Mr. Baldwin in Congress in behalf of the domestic system of manufactures were, up to that time, unparalleled in that body. Perhaps he did more than any other man to cement the wavering and uncertain fragments of a national policy on that subject. Although baffled and crushed by the enemies of the system, he sprang into prominence again and again with the elasticity of steel, and with some new resolution, some new artifice, supported with consummate skill and ability and with an unwavering persistency that kindled the admiration of his associates and filled his constituents with hope. However, his tariff bill of 1820 was defeated, as was also the same bill, considerably improved and again introduced by him in 1822. After the session of 1821-2 he suffered a severe illness at Washington and came near dying, and during convalescence traveled for the benefit of his health. On October 16, 1822, he returned to Pittsburg, and never was a king or conqueror received with greater manifestations of respect and joy than he by his fellow citizens. The entire city and surrounding country, with spontaneous outpouring, turned out to welcome him. "A salute of thirteen guns was fired. The Mayor and City Council were suddenly convened, and the volunteer companies ordered out. At a spot about two miles from the city line he was met by the city authorities, the battalion of volunteers and a large concourse of citizens, and welcomed in a speech by Judge Walker, who, among other things, said: 'You ask the cause of this assemblage of your fellow citizens; they answer, their gratitude for your tried services in the national council, which, while they have given you a distinguished place among the American statesmen, have



reflected their luster on the district and the country; they regret that they are about to lose a representative who broke the first ground in a system of finance and national policy which will form an era in the political history of the republic; their sympathy for your protracted indisposition, produced in your and their country's cause, prosecuted with all the labor and industry of council, and all the zeal and eloquence of advocacy; their joy at your restoration to health and home.' Mr. Baldwin replied that he was unable to express his feelings on this occasion, but that he could never forget it, and had but one source of regret—that he had been able to effect so little for those who had honored him so much. Then the long procession, under the order of the marshals, moved down through the city to the residence of Mr. Baldwin" (n).

On the 5th of August, 1824, the leading manufacturers of Pittsburg gave an honorary banquet to Henry Baldwin, in testimony of their appreciation of his eminent services in Congress in securing the passage of the tariff of 1824. "A large number of people sat down to a splendid entertainment." To the toast, "Our distinguished guest, Henry Baldwin," he spoke at considerable length, and gave the principal credit of the success of the measure to Henry Clay, and ended by proposing the toast, "Henry Clay and the American system," which was "received with great applause by the company." Several volunteer toasts were offered, during which it appeared that both Henry Baldwin and John Todd were natives of Connecticut. Judge Shaler, also a native of Connecticut, near the close of the entertainment, offered the following: "The State of Connecticut; whilst she can manufacture such domestic fabrics as Baldwin and Todd, she will scarcely need a tariff for the protection of genius and perseverance" (o). The vote in Congress on the tariff of 1824 was as follows: All the Free States—For tariff, 89; against tariff, 32. Slave States—For tariff, 18; against tariff, 70.

In 1824 the vote of Allegheny County for Congressmen was as follows: Stevenson, 1,524; Allison, 1,421; Moore, 1,276; Forward, 1,296; Sutton, 390; Negley, 190. The first two mentioned were elected. At the same time Messrs. Brown, Patterson, Gilleland and Sullivan were elected to the Assembly. This was a triumph of the Jacksonians. It was said later of the campaign of 1824 that the Jacksonians at their outdoor meetings "covered a four-acre lot." At the Presidential election Pittsburg gave Jackson 1,386 votes, Crawford 402, Adams 19 and Clay 26. The city might as well have made the vote unanimous.

The Legislature in 1824 took a decisive stand on the question of domestic manufactures by enacting "that the senators of this State, in the Senate of the United States, be, and they are hereby instructed, and the representatives of this State in Congress be, and they are hereby requested, to exert their influence in establishing a tariff for the protection of our domestic manufactures and agricultural interests" (p). In the preamble to this act it was stated that "in the progress of events experience has fully demonstrated the inadequacy of the present rate of imposts to protect domestic manufactures against a foreign competition enjoying the advantages of capital, experience, matured skill and the artificial encouragement of premiums and bounties, and that, without additional protection from the General Government, the country must continue indebted to foreign supply for even many articles of manufacture immediately connected with the defense and independence of the nation;" that it was the duty of the General Government to cherish and foster internal industry; that Congress should countervail, by protecting duties, all foreign regulations which operated injuriously upon the business interests of this country; that the United States in this respect should become independent of foreign

(n) Niles Register.

(o) Niles Register, September 11, 1824.

(p) Act of January 24, 1824.

powers; that the independence and security of the country were materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures, and that their establishment, by the adoption of a sound tariff, would improve labor, render secure the domestic market and promote the general prosperity. Mr. Baldwin, in his speech in Congress in support of the tariff of 1824, had said:

"It would be going too much in detail to trace the various rates of ad valorem duties from 1789 to 1804. In that year they were permanently fixed at 12½, 15 and 20 per cent.; with the addition of the Mediterranean fund they were 15, 17½ and 22½ per cent., and continued so during the most prosperous period of our commerce and revenue till in 1812, when the permanent duties were doubled, making 27½, 32½ and 42½ per cent. They continued so until 1815, after the peace, when the Mediterranean fund ceased, and the duties remained until July, 1816, at the rates of 25, 30 and 40 per cent. ad valorem. Had they remained so you would not have been assailed by general cries of distress from all parts of the nation. We should have enjoyed not a nominal but a real independence. Our resources would not have been sent abroad to protect and reward the industry of others, to the ruin of our own merchants, manufacturers and farmers. . . . If it was right in 1816 to impose a duty of 25 per cent. on woollens and cottons, principally with a view to revenue, there will be found a strong reason for its increase in the duties now imposed by the British Government of sixpence sterling on every pound of wool and six per cent. ad valorem on cotton imported after the 5th of January, 1820. Wool has been an article of export from this country to England. The new duty excludes it; the ports are now shut against your provisions. In France a duty of four dollars per 100 pounds on cotton, equal to 20 per cent. ad valorem on the raw material, is aimed at this country. Thus we find the two nations pursuing the same policy toward our products; both are enriched in the manufacture. . . . I beg the House not to lose sight of one fact, which is admitted by all to be true, that coarse domestic cottons are now made cheaper than they were ever imported. The remark is equally true of nails and every other article of which this country commands the consumption. . . . This has been called a Pittsburg, a cut-glass bill, local, partial in its operations, and framed through interested motives. Gentlemen had better be cautious how they use the word Pittsburg as a name of reproach; it may be like the term 'Whig,' one of pride and not of disgrace. I will tell the House frankly that I have not lost sight of the interests of Pittsburg, and would never perjure myself if I had. If you are not convinced that the interests of that place are identified with the nation, that cut glass can be defended on national grounds, then I agree that Pittsburg, its representative, its favorite manufactures (iron and glass) and the tariff may go together. I will rest the whole bill on this item (glass), and freely admit that the increase of duty on glass, plain not cut, is among the greatest proposed. . . . In the days of our prosperity we have made to the amount of a quarter of a million dollars' worth in a year. It was so much money extracted from the bowels of the earth—a raw material of no value for exportation converted into articles of the greatest usefulness and beauty. . . . The present duty is a mere tax on the consumer; it operates as no discrimination between ours and the industry of other nations, but leaves it to struggle against the effects of a positive premium on importations. The proposed increase will not, as a protecting duty, amount to more than twenty per cent. ad valorem on cut glass; it is only proposed to add five per cent., the duty being now thirty. I am aware of objections to the duty on plain glass, and am sorry to find them come from manufacturers, glasscutters, *not makers*, but importers of plain glass who are not satisfied with thirty-five on cut glass, and represent plain as a raw material which ought to be duty free.

In Pittsburg it is both made and cut, and the House will judge who is most actuated by national principles. . . . Gentlemen are mistaken in supposing mine an iron-making district; it is iron buying and iron consuming. The time was when 6,000 tons were purchased annually, not one of which was made in the district. It is a matter of most perfect astonishment that so important an article should have been not only so perfectly and wantonly abandoned by the present tariff, but pointedly selected for reprobation by a strange policy, which, while it raised the duties on most other articles, reduced that on iron nearly 100 per cent. From 1804 until 1815 it was seventeen and a half per cent., and until 1816 at fifteen per cent., a duty which might have saved these interesting establishments thus apparently destroyed by design. Pigs and castings in 1815 paid fifteen per cent. ad valorem; bar-iron nine dollars a ton, equal to (say) nine per cent. ad valorem. In 1818 the duties were increased to fifty cents a hundred on pigs, seventy-five on castings and bar-iron. In this House it was raised to \$20 a ton by a majority of forty-seven, but reduced in the Senate to \$15. Had the duty been a proportionate one in 1816 a rate lower than the one proposed would have been sufficient to have insured a domestic supply, but the reports of the treasury present us with facts which call for immediate and efficient interference. In 1818 the importation of bar-iron exceeded 16,000 tons; in 1819 it amounted to near 20,000 tons."

In February, 1824, the Monroe Doctrine was affirmed by resolution of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

Pursuant to public notice, the Democratic delegates of Allegheny County met at the Courthouse on June 7, 1825, and nominated the following ticket to be supported by the Democratic Republican party at the ensuing general election: Senator, James M. Riddle; Assembly, John Brown (of Ross), James C. Gilleland, Dr. James Powers; sheriff, William Leckey; commissioner, Henry Strome; coroner, Hugh Hazleton; auditor, Samuel E. Marks. William Marks and David Lynch were requested to attend as delegates to meet the delegates from Beaver and Butler counties to form a ticket for the senatorial district, and the Assembly ticket to be formed for Butler and Allegheny, at such time and place as might be agreed on. The following persons were appointed a committee or correspondence for the ensuing year: Charles Shaler, Charles Craig, Ross Wilkins, John Sampson, Robert Hilds, James Patterson (of Birmingham), David Coon, Francis McClure, Thomas Brown (of Moon), Samuel Hamilton, J. H. Sewell, Thomas Gibson and John Spear.

In 1825 the vote for Congressman was as follows: Robert Orr, Jr., 2,660; Abner Lacock, 1,496; and for State Senator, Gilmore 1,779, Sullivan 1,598, Riddle 893.

In 1825 General William Marks, of Allegheny County, was elected United States Senator for six years, after a contest lasting several months. On the 24th of August, 1826, William Wilkins, who had been selected for the purpose, delivered an able and eloquent eulogy on the characters of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who had recently died, to a large and respectable audience in the First Presbyterian church. The following is the result of the election held in Allegheny County on October 10, 1826: Governor, Shulze, 2,297. Congress, James S. Stevenson, 2,531; Robert Orr, 2,534. Assembly, Foster, 2,006; Brown, 1,987; Denny, 1,973; Beatty, 1,639; Power, 1,454; Neel, 1,337; Murray, 694; Patterson, 569. Commissioner, Fletcher, 1,324; A. McFarland, 646; T. Chalfant, 789; Hulbey, 406. Auditor, McFarland, 1,624; Scully, 1,371.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

POLITICS—THE AMERICAN SYSTEM—RECEPTION OF HENRY CLAY—JACKSON'S GROWING POPULARITY—BEWILDERMENT OF THE PARTISANS—RISE OF ANTI-MASONRY—THE COFFIN HANDBILLS—THE GREAT CAMPAIGN OF 1828—WILLIAM WILKINS—WAR ON THE MASONS—PROCEEDINGS OF THE MANUFACTURERS—ELECTION RETURNS—ANIMOSITY OF THE PARTISANS—THE MAYORALTY CONTESTS—STRENGTH OF THE JACKSONIANS—OPPOSITION OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO THE UNITED STATES BANK—SECESSION FROM THE JACKSON RANKS—REMOVAL OF THE GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS—RESOLUTIONS AND OTHER PROCEEDINGS—THE SOUTH PACIFIED—DANIEL WEBSTER ENTERTAINED—INTRIGUES OF LOCAL POLITICIANS—NEWSPAPER LIBELS—FORMATION OF THE WHIG PARTY—THE JUBILEE CONVENTION—RISE OF THE VAN BURENITES—THE MUHLENBERG DEFECTION—THE CHAOTIC CONVENTION—LIBELOUS HANDBILLS—PROTECTION THREATENED—THE FIRST GOLD PARTY—GROWTH OF THE WHIG PARTY—"THE FAMILY"—THE HARD TIMES ASCRIBED TO "TINKERING WITH THE TARIFF"—HARRISON'S POPULARITY—MR. WILKINS CRITICISED—THE HARD-CIDER CAMPAIGN—RECEPTION OF GENERAL HARRISON—THE TARIFFS OF 1842 AND 1846—INCIDENTAL PROTECTION—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED—VIEWS OF THE FREE TRADERS—WAR WITH MEXICO SUSTAINED—CAMPAIGN OF 1848—JOSEPH BARKER—SCOTT MEETINGS—THE CUBAN QUESTION—NATIONAL FREE SOIL CONVENTION—DISRUPTION OF OLD PARTIES—RAILWAY BOND REPUDIATION—INCIDENTS.

Henry Clay became known as the father of the American system. He had advocated it in Congress from the commencement of his career there, and had sustained it with great ability and unwavering fidelity until the system fell into serious disfavor and encountered violent opposition from the Southern members of Congress about 1820. He was greatly assisted by Mr. Baldwin in formulating and upholding the measures of protective legislation. It is not the province of this work to tell the reason for Mr. Clay's defection from his previous unwavering support of the system. He fell into disfavor in this vicinity, and accordingly, in September, 1825, was burned in effigy in Pittsburg. It was well known that Mr. Clay did not deserve from Pittsburgers treatment of this character, and the better class of citizens took no part in this disgraceful affair. The grand jury found a true bill of rioting against John McFarland, Robert McFarland, Jonathan McCurdy, John Murphy, George Cochran, Edward Pachell and William Wright for that offense. They were tried by jury, but the jury failed to agree, owing to the sickness of one juror during the time of deliberation. William Wilkins and Richard Biddle were counsel for the Commonwealth, A. S. T. Mountain for General Pachell, and Messrs. Snowden, Pius, Kingston, Burke, E. J. Roberts and J. M. Riddle for the defendants generally. This case attracted intense interest.

On the 20th of June, 1827, the citizens of Pittsburg and vicinity, to the number of nearly 700, entertained Henry Clay, then Secretary of State, with a public banquet and an enthusiastic welcome, as an acknowledgment of his services in behalf of the American system of protection. The meeting was held at the Anchor Paper Mill of Henry Holdship, and was presided over by General William Marks, with John Darragh, James Riddle, Michael Allen, Mark



Stackhouse and William McCandless vice-presidents, and Samuel Gormly and Edward D. Gazzam secretaries. Among the guests present were George Rapp and Frederick Rapp, of Economy, and Major Churchill, commander at the Arsenal. The meeting had been projected some time before, when a committee of arrangements had been appointed. This committee consisted of the following persons: Charles Shaler, Walter Forward, Charles H. Israel, Henry Holdship, John Robinson, Christopher Magee, Alexander Brackenridge, A. S. T. Mountain, George G. Wright, Edward Quigley, Samuel Roseburg, George Evans, James Reeder, Neville B. Craig, William Robinson, Jr., Dennis S. Scully, William McCandless, George Darsie, Alexander Miller, James Shaw, James Irwin, David Logan, James Wilson, Florence Cotter, George Dawson, Carter Curtis, Joseph Barclay and Ephraim Pentland. On this occasion Mr. Clay delivered an eloquent, conciliatory address, affirming his well-known views on the subject of protection. The *Gazette* said: "Upward of 600 persons dined. The toasts were drunk by this large company with an enthusiasm that showed that their hearts were with their illustrious guest. When Mr. Clay was toasted he rose amidst the acclamations of all to address this great multitude. Perhaps a scene more imposing could not be presented to the human mind. Four hundred of the party at least were manufacturers; before them stood the advocate of that great system upon the success or failure of which had depended the fortune of their lives, nay, life itself and its blessings. As the silver tones of his voice first began to fall upon the ear, breathless silence succeeded to the acclamations which his rising had created. But when sentiments of exalted patriotism, wrought to the highest coloring by the strength of his genius, rolled with all the modulations of intense feeling upon the auditory, the excitement could not be restrained; reiterated applause broke from all parts of the assembly, and the orator was obliged again and again to stop until the desire to hear produced silence and calmness." At the conclusion of his address Mr. Clay offered the following toast: "The city of Pittsburg; the abundance, variety and excellence of its fabrics attest the wisdom of the policy which fosters them." Among the toasts were these: "Alexander Hamilton—The first advocate of protective duties;" "The Woolen Bill—Let us feed, clothe and protect ourselves;" "The Anchor Paper Mill—The only American factory ever stopped through Henry Clay. It stopped one day to honor him who prevented it from stopping altogether."

It was in 1824-5 that the strength of General Jackson in the political field was first presented to the citizens of this community. Already he had a powerful following here. At the electoral college in 1825 he had received 99 votes, but the election having been thrown into the House of Representatives, Mr. Adams was chosen President. It was at this time also that Harmar Denny became first prominent in political affairs. In 1827, so great had become the strength of General Jackson in this vicinity that political lines were sharply drawn and immense crowds assembled almost at the mention of his name. His friends and supporters became aggressive in the extreme, and conducted a campaign on a scale of magnitude and magnificence never before witnessed here.

Among the leading supporters of Adams were William McCandless, Francis McClure, John Darragh, B. R. Evans, Thomas Gibson, Joseph Patterson, Charles H. Israel, Alexander Johnston, Charles Shaler, David Logan, Robert Christy, William Howard, James Hanson, Ephraim Pentland, James Fulton, Joseph Barclay, Dr. John S. Irwin, James Thomson, Alexander Miller, David Maclean, Solomon Light, Captain Robert Burke, Neville B. Craig, John Butler, Patrick McKenna, Richard Robinson, John Caldwell, W. W. Fetterman, Michael Allen, Alexander Brackenridge, Charles L. Volz, Joseph Long, James Wilson, John Sheriff, Martin Rahm and James Riddle.

In February, 1827, a large meeting was held in Pittsburg to take action to aid the Greeks in their struggle for liberty. William Wilkins was chosen chairman, and N. B. Craig and A. S. T. Mountain secretaries. B. R. Evans offered a set of resolutions, which was seconded by Charles Shaler, warmly supporting the cause of the Greeks in their struggle for independence, and appointing a committee to solicit subscriptions and forward the same to the Greek committee at Philadelphia, to be transmitted thence to Greece. Michael Allen was appointed treasurer to receive the subscriptions. Meetings were also held by various churches to raise funds. By the following autumn a total amount of \$1,756.43 was raised. The churches, presided over by Reverends McGuire, Cook, Black, Kerr, Hopkins, Swift and Herron, raised \$361.71 for the Greek cause.

On the 4th of July, 1827, the friends of General Jackson and the opposition to a high protective tariff held a large meeting here and enjoyed a dinner, to which, it was claimed by the *Mercury* and the *Democrat*, about 1,600 persons sat down. It was said there were three tables, each 252 feet long. Ex-Governor William Findley was president of the occasion. Mr. Baldwin, who had lately espoused the cause of Jackson, read the Declaration of Independence, while standing on a pile of cannon captured by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie. There were present James S. Stevenson, William Wilkins, John M. Snowden and others already prominent as recent supporters of General Jackson for the Presidency, and opposers of a high protective system. Mr. Baldwin delivered the principal oration of the day. His views on protection had undergone great change, but not to the extent of opposing the system generally.

Pursuant to notice, a public meeting was held at the Courthouse, March 22, 1828, by the "friends of General Jackson and the American system." Robert T. Stewart was chosen chairman, and John M. Snowden and Thomas Hazleton were appointed secretaries. Benjamin Bakewell offered resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, declaring that it was the duty of every government to protect its industries; that no excessive encouragement should be offered to any particular branch of industry to the injury of all the rest, and that the meeting reposed undiminished confidence in the representative of this district in Congress. One resolution was as follows: "*Resolved*, That the articles of wool, iron, hemp and flax, and the manufactures thereof, as well as the finer fabrics of cotton, are not sufficiently protected." It will thus be seen that this meeting took middle ground. It was called together by "the friends of General Jackson and the American system," thus linking the cause of protection to the Democratic car, as it was thought, in this vicinity at least. It was a recognition of the importance to Pittsburg of protection by a faction of the local democracy. The Jacksonians here were somewhat at sea yet, but were swiftly formulating their policy and concentrating their strength.

In 1827 John Brown was elected State senator; Harmar Denny, William B. Foster, Ross Wilkins and William Beatty representatives. There were but two tickets, those of the Adams administration and of Jacksonism. On November 10, 1827, the friends of the administration held a large meeting in Pittsburg, on which occasion William McCandless presided. Francis B. McClure and John Darragh were appointed vice-presidents, and John Scott and B. R. Evans secretaries. Charles Shaler was the principal speaker, and at the conclusion of his address he introduced resolutions declaring that the administration party favored protection to manufactures; advocated a suitable diffusion of the public finances for the purpose of aiding in the facility of inter-communication; declared that Southern statesmen placed a wrong construction on the Constitution concerning manufactures; asserted that the South was jealous of the prosperity of the North; and ended by recommending the renomination of Adams to the Presidency, and the selection of John A. Shulze as the candidate



for the Vice-Presidency. William McCandless, Thomas Gibson, Joseph Patterson, Charles H. Israel and Alexander Johnston were appointed a committee to attend a State Administration meeting to be held at Harrisburg, July 4, 1828.

At the city election in January, 1828, the Administration majority over the Jackson ticket was about 138. At this time the most prominent politicians here were Henry Baldwin, William Wilkins, James S. Stevenson, Harnar Denny, John M. Snowden, William McCandless, Charles Shaler and William B. Foster. Mr. Stevenson was sent to Congress in 1827. While there he espoused the cause of Jackson and his supporters, and not only spoke, but voted, against the Woolen Bill, which the manufacturers of Pittsburg ardently desired to see become a law. It was at this time that both Henry Baldwin and William Wilkins became supporters of General Jackson. It was claimed that Henry Baldwin had been promised the appointment of Minister to Mexico, and James S. Stevenson the appointment of Sergeant-at-arms in the House in case of the election of General Jackson to the Presidency. In 1828 John M. Snowden was the Jackson elector from the Sixteenth District. It was during the Presidential campaign of 1828 that the famous "Coffin Handbills" were issued, supposedly from the office of the *Statesman*, either by John B. Butler, or through his countenance and favor. They were designed to cast ridicule upon the career of General Jackson, and throw his pretensions into public disfavor. They seem to have been in the form of a pamphlet, showing six executions of militiamen, alleged to have been ordered during the active military career of General Jackson. On page eight was a weeping willow, and Jackson was represented as a slave-trader in an illustration where two slaves were chained together. Jackson's encounter with the Bentons at Nashville, and his alleged connection with the conspiracy of Aaron Burr were also presented in strong colors. Intense excitement resulted.

In 1828 James S. Stevenson was the regularly nominated Jackson candidate for Congress, running in four counties, which gave Jackson a majority of 3,628, and was supported by six out of seven of the Jackson newspapers in the district. William Wilkins, late in the campaign, came out as an independent candidate for Congress, and although he received the support of but one newspaper (said to have been established to aid him) in the district and was a volunteer candidate, he was elected by a majority of 186. The candidacy of Mr. Wilkins was due to the hostility of a faction of the Democracy to Mr. Stevenson. His enemies for some time called Mr. Wilkins the "party disorganizer."

The campaign of 1828 was in many respects the most remarkable that ever occurred in Allegheny County. The Jackson star was then in the ascendent, and the tide of popularity was turned almost wholly in his favor. The old party organizations were broken down, and the new candidate for national honor swept all before him. Many men, like William Wilkins and Henry Baldwin, who had previously been staunch supporters of the doctrines of Hamilton and the other Federalists, reversed their views and came out in support of General Jackson. Numerous meetings were held in all parts of the county, and it is declared that no buildings then in existence could contain the crowds that gathered to hear the orators speak in favor of the merits of Jackson and his claims to be honored by election to the Presidency. Members of the old parties still fought against him, but it was like a struggle against the tides of the sea. Messrs. Wilkins and Gilmore, both Jackson men, were elected to Congress, and Ross Wilkins, James Patterson, James Powers and James McKee, all Democrats, or "Jackson men," as they were then termed, were elected to the General Assembly.

No doubt the success of Mr. Wilkins over Mr. Stevenson in his candidacy for Congress was due to the course pursued by the latter in working and voting

against the Woolen Bill and against internal improvement, and to the support which Judge Wilkins promised would be given by him to those measures in case of his election. But it was to be learned later, much to the dismay of manufacturers and friends of internal improvement here, that Mr. Wilkins, as well as Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Baldwin, could be swept from his former allegiance and plunged into the quagmire which the South was persistently preparing for the industries of the North.

In 1828 a large meeting of young men who favored the reelection of Mr. Adams, was called in Pittsburg, on which occasion Edward D. Gazzam reported resolutions against the election of Jackson and Calhoun, and in favor of the ticket, Adams and Rush. The resolutions declared that inasmuch as the Democratic nominees opposed the American system and were likewise caucus candidates, having been chosen by a Legislative caucus and by conventions not called by the people but by members of the Assembly, they should not be supported at the ensuing election. The resolutions eulogized Clay as the "general, subaltern and sentinel of the tariff." At this meeting a number of the friends of General Jackson attempted to create a disturbance, but were frustrated in their design. This young men's meeting ended by appointing a committee of correspondence of twenty-five, and a committee of vigilance of 150—all young men of this vicinity. It must be observed, however, that before the Presidential campaign of this year ended several of the young men composing these committees became the supporters of General Jackson, and voted for him at the November election.

During the campaign political recriminations were very severe, and the course pursued by local politicians cannot be said to have been of the fairest character. In October, 1828, James S. Stevenson began suit against David Maclean, editor of the *Gazette*, for libel. The case remained on the dockets until 1830, when it was settled by dismissal, the plaintiff paying the costs.

In January, 1828, the candidates for mayor of Pittsburg were Messrs. Murray, Lowrie and Snowden, the two former being Administration men and the latter a Jacksonian. On the first ballot Murray received eight votes, Lowrie nine and Snowden three. On the second, Murray received eleven votes, Lowrie nine and Snowden none. At this election the principal question at issue was the national one of Administration or Jacksonism.

In 1827, during the progress of a trial before Judge Wilkins, a certain lawyer called Neville B. Craig a liar, whereupon the latter retaliated with a blow. Judge Wilkins fined each of them \$150, but never exacted the fines, recommending their remission. It was shortly after this that Judge Wilkins was prevailed upon by Mr. Craig and others to run for Congress, which he did, and after a bitter and acrimonious campaign was elected. At a later date, when Judge Wilkins was elected to the United States Senate, Mr. Craig rejoiced at his success, declaring that his friendship for manufactures and internal improvement would prove of great benefit to Pittsburg. As was predicted, Judge Wilkins made his mark in the United States Senate, where, owing to his advocacy of measures in support of iron, as well as other manufactures, he became popularly styled the "iron knight," a name which clung to him for many years, despite his course in opposition to manufactures and internal improvement at a later date.

The November election of 1828 resulted as follows:

	Jackson.	Adams.
Pittsburg, East Ward.....	655	298
Pittsburg, West Ward.....	561	308
Allegheny Borough.....	223	75
Allegheny County.....	3,866	1,666

It should be noticed that in October, 1828, there were five candidates for Congress in this district, all of whom were Democrats except Mr. Moore. At this election, so great was the rush to the Jacksonian ranks that both Pittsburg and Allegheny went Democratic by large majorities.

It was during the campaign of 1828 that the question of Anti-Masonry began first to assume a position of importance in this vicinity. It was seen that the question, owing to its widespread agitation, was destined to become of national significance. The disappearance of William Morgan, in September, 1826, who had supposedly been abducted and murdered by the Masons in New York, had attracted the attention of politicians here as well as throughout the country. Another case of much importance from a Masonic standpoint was that of Pluymart, who in 1818 had robbed the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburg and had escaped punishment therefor until 1828, when he was brought to trial in Pittsburg and sent to the penitentiary for three years. It seems that Pluymart had been arrested on four different occasions, but had escaped three times, and after being sent to the penitentiary the fourth time had broken jail and was running at large and enjoying himself when pardoned by Governor Shulze. It was claimed by the Anti-Masons that the frequent escapes of Pluymart were due to the fact that he was a prominent Mason and had employed the influences of that order to free himself from the clutches of the law. While he was running at large, after having escaped from the penitentiary, strong petitions in his favor were numerous signed by prominent men in Philadelphia, New York, Columbus, Cleveland and elsewhere; and it was declared that many of the signers were prominent Masons, who were thus bound under their oaths to assist him. Even the *Pittsburg Statesman*, edited by John B. Butler, approved the pardon of Pluymart, whom it styled a persecuted man. As a matter of fact, it was shown that Pluymart was a professional blackleg and robber, and his associates were thieves and abandoned wretches; that he had swindled the merchants of New York out of from \$60,000 to \$80,000 by a systematic course of villainy; and that when arrested in Cleveland, himself and his associates were rioting on their ill-gotten plunder, quaffing champagne by the dozen and sporting thousands of dollars at the gaming-table. This was the man, the Anti-Masons declared, whom John B. Butler called a persecuted man, and whom the prominent citizens in various large cities of the country were determined should be set at liberty. It was at this time that all the secrets of the Masonic lodge were alleged by the Anti-Masonic papers here to have been revealed. It was asserted that the Masonic oath required one Mason to assist another, even to the extent of violating the laws of the country, and that, therefore, members of that party should, under no circumstances, serve upon juries or be elected to any office of responsibility. It was declared that the Masonic sign of distress had been given by criminals to the jury from the dock of the Pittsburg courts. Whether these charges were true or not, and whether the course of the Anti-Masons, conducted through many years of warfare, resulted in checking what might have become dangerous practices of the Masonic order, it is not the province of this volume to record. One thing is certain, no more Masons disappeared as a consequence of having revealed the secrets of the order, nor were there any other serious rites practiced upon society by citizens who might be bound by oath or otherwise to place the welfare of a brother Mason or Odd Fellow above the pale of the law. The case of Pluymart is introduced here to show one of the principal reasons for the organization in this vicinity of the strongest section of the Anti-Masonic party in all of Pennsylvania. It was declared here by Mr. Lightner and twenty-six other Masons, and published in the newspapers, that some of the Masonic practices were calculated "to weaken all the securities of life, liberty and property." For many years after Pluymart

had been pardoned, persistent efforts were made to secure from Harrisburg the petitions praying for his release, in order that the same might be published, but such documents could never be found (a).

In July, 1828, Matthew Carey, the great protectionist, visited Pittsburg and was honored with a public dinner. There were present, among others, ex-Governor Findley, Henry Baldwin, Benjamin Bakewell, James Adams, John K. McNickel, James S. Craft, Robert Burke, and, in fact, the whole city. In response to the toast, "Matthew Carey, Esq., the genuine philanthropist, who has exemplified charity at home by cultivating domestic industry and charity abroad in his efforts for Grecian liberty," that gentleman addressed the assemblage at considerable length on the condition of the country "under the previous ruinous policy," and concluded with the following sentiment: "Frenzied be the head and palsied the hand that shall attempt a dissolution of the Union." After leaving Pittsburg Mr. Carey visited Steubenville to see the paper-mill of Henry Holdship and other enterprises there, and was "chaired from the mill to the river" and greeted with cannon and cheers (b).

At the electoral college in February, 1829, Jackson received 178 votes, and Adams 83. At the Democratic convention held at Harrisburg in March, 1829, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Governor, James S. Stevenson, of Pittsburg, showed the greatest strength except two—Messrs. Barnard and Wolf. The latter received the nomination on the fifteenth ballot. The name of Mr. Stevenson was presented to the convention by David Lynch. On June 25, 1829, the Anti-Masons met in convention at Harrisburg and nominated Joseph Ritner for Governor.

In July, 1829, a number of manufacturers of this city addressed a letter of inquiry to Ross Wilkins, David Lynch, James Patterson and James S. Craft, who had a short time before been duly nominated for the General Assembly, requesting an expression of their views on several public questions, among which was that of the tariff; particularly their attitude toward prominent men of the Southern States, who opposed the protective system. Already a distrust, not yet severe, had fallen upon the manufacturers of the North by the hostility of Southern statesmen to the American system, and by rumors of the hostility of Jackson's administration to the United States Bank. An uneasy and apprehensive feeling manifested itself in the transactions of business. This unrest, more than anything else, led the manufacturers here to request their nominees for the Legislature to publicly express their views on these questions. They met the questions squarely and to the satisfaction of the inquirers. They said: "We hold that the ingenuity and industry of this people, fostered in their first efforts, can manufacture at home whatever can be manufactured abroad, and that it is the duty of the Government to protect the industry by such duties as will secure its free and full exertion, until it reaches that maturity of production and cheapness of price which experience in every protected article demonstrates can be attained." The letter of inquiry was signed by the following men: A. and J. Murray, satines and woolen-cloth manufacturers; Thomas Bakewell, flint-glass manufacturer; Benjamin Page, ditto; Hamilton Stewart, cotton-cloth manufacturer; Mark Stackhouse, steam-engine maker; Asa Waters, scythe, shovel, etc., manufacturer; Blackstock, Bell & Co., cotton manufacturers; Freeman & Miller, iron-founders; John Gallagher, bell and brass founder; Henry Jones & Co., cotton-cloth manufacturers; Abner Updegraff, cutler and whitesmith; James Shaw, cotton-cloth manufacturer; Joseph McFadden, miller; James Thompson steam-engine maker; George Cochran, agent for Pittsburg Manufacturing Association; Hilary Brunot, white and red lead manufacturers; B. McAlenin, ditto;

(a) Gazette, August 30, 1841.

(b) Niles Register, July 19, 1828.







J. Tilford & Son, cotton-cloth manufacturers; Jacob Hays, farmer and distiller; Mahlon Rogers, steam-engine maker; McGill & Darsie, cabinetware manufacturers; M. S. Mason & Co., Pennsylvania Rolling Mill; Kingsland, Lightner & Co., the Jackson Foundry; John Arthurs, steam-engine maker; R. T. Stewart, late of Sligo Iron Works, now salt manufacturer.

The following was the result of the October election:

	Ritner.	Wolf.
Pittsburg, East Ward.....	139	333
Pittsburg, West Ward .....	201	408
Allegheny.....	88	113

In the autumn of 1829 William Wilkins, who had been elected to Congress, resigned, which necessitated the election of his successor. The Congressional district at that time comprised the counties of Allegheny, Armstrong, Beaver and Butler. After his election to Congress Mr. Wilkins had been requested by many members of the bar, by the jurors and by many citizens generally, to resign his seat in Congress and to resume his judicial office. After some deliberation he consented, whereupon Henry Baldwin was publicly requested to become a candidate for the vacant seat. Two large meetings of the citizens were held, one of which, as a friend of domestic industry, nominated Mr. Baldwin, and the other, as the friend of the Jackson Administration, nominated Mr. Stevenson. Shortly afterward a third meeting was held, at which Harmar Denny, as an avowed enemy of Masonry, was nominated to the same position. A committee of Anti-Masonic citizens, consisting of Benjamin Bakewell, Mark Stackhouse, John Arthurs, Thomas Liggett, James Arthurs and John McKee, had addressed an open letter to Mr. Baldwin, requesting him to accept the Congressional nomination of that party. Upon the resignation of Mr. Wilkins the friends of protection in this vicinity had turned with one accord to Mr. Baldwin as the champion of the American system. It was concluded that the requirements of this district demanded, above all else, a man qualified to oppose measures already at work in Congress to cripple or annihilate the tariff of 1824. He had been thoroughly tried, and although he had become somewhat estranged from Henry Clay, he was still an advocate of the protective system. But other causes and elements were at work under the surface in this community. Mr. Baldwin was past deputy grand master of the Grand Lodge of Masons, and had deprecated the persistent force of a large faction of his party against that organization. He replied that, while under ordinary circumstances he could not refuse to accept a public station so generously offered, he could not receive such nomination from a party of his fellow citizens whose course was committed to a rigid proscription of the old society (Freemasons) which for ages had survived the enmity of inquisitions and tyrants, and whose principles had been respected amidst the wildest civil discord and party vengeance. He said: "If the people of this powerful and respectable district shall think proper to stamp Masons and Masonry with the seal of infamy, I hope it may never be attributable to me or my friends, and that the responsibility may rest exclusively on those who have commenced the excitement." He ended by stating that having candidly expressed his views, he was willing to abide by the decision of his fellow citizens. His refusal compelled the Anti-Masons to select another candidate, which they did in the person of Harmar Denny. At this time party lines were sharply drawn in Pittsburg. It is doubtful whether, at any time before or since, so much feeling was manifested as during the various campaigns of the year 1829. The result of the special Congressional election was as follows:

	Denny.	Stevenson.
Pittsburg, East Ward.....	231	311
Pittsburg, West Ward.....	321	322
Allegheny.....	130	110
Northern Liberties.....	32	112
Allegheny County.....	2,171	1,550
Denny's majority.....		621

In December, 1829, Mr. Craig, editor of the *Gazette*, admitted that he had much difficulty in deciding whether to advocate Masonry or Anti-Masonry during the special Congressional election, owing to the fact that his party here was almost equally divided on that question and that his patrons were numerous among both factions. He finally said, on December 4: "After much deliberation, therefore, we have determined that the *Gazette* shall not become the advocate of either party in the present contest." The *Mercury* declared that the *Gazette* tried to remain neutral so as not to be compelled to come out against James S. Stevenson, a high Mason, because Mr. Stevenson was considered the ablest representative this district, under the circumstances, could send to Congress to support local manufactures; but the subsequent course of Mr. Craig proved that he was no friend of the Masons. Soon after this election the *Gazette* came out as an avowed organ of Anti-Masonry, and so continued until that question was wholly obliterated from American politics. In fact, Mr. Craig soon became the strongest Anti-Masonic editor in the Western country. His persistency, his adherence to principles he believed to be correct, his dogmatic method of fighting in behalf of any cause, coupled with his irascible temper and his strong regard for law and religion, gave him a national reputation as an Anti-Masonic supporter.

At an adjourned meeting, held August 5, 1829, of all persons who were opposed to Freemasonry, the Anti-Masonic party of Allegheny County was formally organized. David McKee served as chairman of the meeting, and John Willock secretary. The creed of the party was laid down as follows: "The institution of secret societies in a republican government has always been viewed by our wisest and best patriots as unnecessary and dangerous. . . . We will not, upon the present occasion, refer to the truly alarming case of William Morgan. We will confine our attention to the situation of the high offices in the city and county, and from that alone every impartial individual must be satisfied that Freemasonry is a combination whose ruling spirit is greedy, exclusive and monopolizing. . . . In the city of Pittsburg there are six good salary offices: Recorder, mayor, treasurer, street commissioner, gauger and wharfmaster, and they are all held by Masons. There are also twelve aldermen; eight are Masons. The judge of our County Court, our prothonotary, our register and recorder and the clerk of the Orphans' Court are all Masons. Of the present delegate ticket, three at least are Masons. This surely cannot be accidental. It is produced by combined and concerted influence upon the appointing power, not used in their Masonic character, but regulated and directed in secret, having the united influence of all those bound by the 'mystic tie.' The members of the meeting have no disposition to proscribe or injure their fellow citizens even though they obstinately adhere to the secret fraternity. While their proceedings are such as to eschew the penalties of the law, they may pass unmolested and undisturbed. At the same time, we deem it our right and our bounden duty to protest against placing the whole governing powers of our country in the hands of members of a secret society, a society united together by a tie known to themselves and unknown to the rest of the world, a society who form an *imperium in imperio*, a society having an interest

different from, and perhaps hostile to, the rest of the community; therefore, *Resolved*, That this meeting do protest against the election of Freemasons to the Legislature of this Commonwealth. *Resolved*, That we do solemnly pledge ourselves to oppose by all honorable means the election to any office of any individual so long as he continues a member of the Masonic Fraternity."

The meeting announced that it would support for the Assembly Joseph Patterson, James Logan, Thomas McKown and Francis C. Hannagan, and approved of the nomination of Joseph Ritner for governor. A committee was appointed to prepare an address to the citizens of the county.

In the autumn of 1829, during the special campaign for Congress, Harmar Denny strongly advocated the claims of Anti-Masonry. It was stated that out of 6,000 taxables in the county, there was not to exceed 500 Masons, and that the number of offices then held by members of that fraternity was out of all proportion. In fact, it was declared that in the city and county, out of a total of twenty-six elective offices, nineteen were held by Masons and seven by persons not members of that organization.

In January, 1830, M. B. Lowrie, Anti-Masonic candidate, was elected by the City Councils mayor of Pittsburg. In the spring of 1830 the local papers published in full the speeches of Colonel Hayne and Daniel Webster in Congress on the subjects of nullification and of State's rights under the Constitution, and commented upon the same. The views of Colonel Hayne met with considerable support in this vicinity, the Democratic papers supporting the claims advocated by the members from South Carolina. On the other hand, the great body of citizens appreciated the strength, wisdom and patriotism of the position taken by Mr. Webster.

It was in the spring of 1830 that the city was first divided into four wards, and an election district was established in each ward. In 1830, for the first time here, the policy of organizing a Workingmen's party and of formally nominating a county ticket was adopted. First, the Democratic Republicans assembled in convention and nominated a ticket; and second, a short time afterward the so-called Workingmen held their convention and nominated exactly the same ticket. The Democratic Republicans claimed that they were actuated by former political considerations, and the Workingmen declared that they disregarded all former party distinctions, and wished merely to have Workingmen properly represented in the various offices. At this time there was a great cry against party influences or the party lash, and in favor of a voluntary selection of candidates for office. For Congress, the Anti-Masons nominated Harmar Denny and William Ayres; the Workingmen nominated Walter Forward and John R. Shannon, and the Democratic Republicans nominated John Gilmore and James Patterson.

In 1830 the Democratic Republicans were so split up that a faction of them, among whom were Samuel Fahnestock, Owen Ashton, Charles Von Bonnhorst, Benjamin Troost, Robert Stewart, John S. Irwin, Samuel Wood and John Anderson, addressed a letter to Walter Forward, who had been nominated by the Workingmen for Congress, requesting him to resign in the interest of harmony, and thus prevent the defeat of his party. A counter request was addressed to him, signed by Charles Shaler, James Cuddy, Isaac Harris, Robert Christy, William McCandless, Samuel Hamilton, Ephraim Pentland, Robert Burke, G. W. Holdship and others, requesting him not to so resign. He determined to follow the latter course, and so notified those who had requested his withdrawal.

At the October election Harmar Denny and William Ayres, Anti-Masonic candidates for Congress, were duly elected. In the district Denny received 6,296, his majority being 1,552. In Allegheny County he received a total of

2,770. Mr. Ayres received in the county 2,062, Mr. Stewart 1,852, Mr. Gilmore 1,505, Mr. Forward 1,184. At the October election, 1830, the following number of votes was polled in Pittsburg: North Ward, 608; East Ward, 510; South Ward, 962; West Ward, 368. The principal Democratic papers at this time were the *Mercury*, *Allegheny Democrat* and *Manufacturer*, and the Anti-Masonic papers were the *Gazette*, *Advocate* and *Statesman*. In December, 1830, the Legislature chose William Wilkins for United States Senator. Ten other candidates opposed him. On the first ballot he received six votes, and on the twenty-first received 72, which was sufficient to nominate. Among the rival candidates were Messrs. McKean, Stevenson, Ingersoll, Hawkins, Denny and Dallas. The nomination of Mr. Wilkins met with approbation generally of the members of all parties in this vicinity. The *Gazette*, on December 27, said: "No election has ever given more general satisfaction." Inasmuch as Mr. Wilkins at this time had not long been a member of the Democracy, he was opposed by many Democrats of this vicinity. Mr. Craig supported him in order to secure his services in Congress in support of special legislation needed by the manufacturers of Pittsburg and the Western country generally. In January, 1831, Magnus M. Murray was elected by the City Councils mayor of Pittsburg.

On August 27, 1831, the National Republicans met in Pittsburg, and recommended Henry Clay and William Wirt for President and Vice-President. General William Marks was chairman of the meeting, and Ephraim Pentland and Charles H. Israel were secretaries. Charles Shaler and Walter Forward were appointed delegates to the general convention of the party at Baltimore, and William Marks, James Riddle, W. W. Fetterman, Thomas Gibson, Christopher Cowan, David Coon, Walter H. Lowrie, James Adams, Robert Christy, Thomas Carter, Charles H. Israel, Robert Burke, William Robinson, Jr., John Pollock and John B. Butler were appointed a general committee of correspondence. The names employed by the two principal parties during the campaign of 1831 were Anti-Masons and National Republicans. The National Republicans nominated for the State Senate Colonel James Johnston, and for the Assembly Hugh Davis, James S. Craft, Samuel Gormly and F. C. Flannagan. The Anti-Masons nominated for the State Senate William Hays, and for the Assembly David Gilleland, Francis Kerns, James Hultz and Andrew Bayne. One of the notable features of this campaign was the war waged by the *Gazette* against James S. Craft, candidate for the Assembly.

In 1832 a split occurred in the ranks of the local Democracy over the attitude of the Administration toward the Bank of the United States and the removal of the Government deposits. The seceding Jackson men formed a branch, which came out with a ticket for Clay and Sargeant. This meeting was held in September, 1832, John Tassey being chairman, Louis Peterson and Thomas Scott vice-presidents, and Samuel Gormly and John F. Greer secretaries. One resolution adopted at this meeting read as follows: "*Resolved*, That we will make use of our most strenuous exertions to defeat the reelection of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency of the United States." This meeting also passed resolutions against the election of George Wolf, a friend and supporter of General Jackson, to the governorship of Pennsylvania. The resolution favored the nomination of Ritner for governor and Harmar Denny for Congress. Previous to July, 1832, sixty-four citizens, who had been zealous Jackson supporters, renounced him publicly, owing to his refusal to renew the charter of the Bank of the United States. The following was the language of these men: "We do hereby, in obedience to the dictates of true patriotism, and in the discharge of a painful but imperative duty, forever renounce our support of him as a candidate for reelection." An invitation was extended to all others of similar views to join the ranks of this seceding faction. Soon the number reached

over 300 persons, among whom were Thomas Fairman, Louis Peterson, four of the Irwins, four of the Arthurs, Isaac Lightner, John Herron, Hilary Brunot, Allen Kramer, Samuel P. Darlington and James Park. This split in the ranks of Jacksonism was not caused by the intrigues of the Anti-Masons, but was due solely to Jackson's hostility to what the citizens here believed to be interests which vitally affected the welfare of local manufacturers. It was a genuine division of party on the question of political policy. At a large meeting of former Jackson men, of which John Irwin was chairman, held July 20, 1832, the action of General Jackson in returning the United States Bank bill without his signature was denounced; and it was declared that such an institution was necessary in business interests; that General Jackson's reasons for his course were novel and destructive; and that the thanks of the meeting should be extended to George M. Dallas, William Wilkins, Harmar Denny and John Gilmore for their steady support of the question of rechartering the Bank. At this meeting Samuel Church, John Irwin, Hugh Robertson, Henry Coulter, William Carlisle, Allen Kramer and Isaac Lightner were appointed a committee of vigilance to prepare an address to the citizens on the subject. Resolutions of a severe character concerning the attitude of President Jackson were passed at this meeting. Soon afterward 120 men of Pittsburg and Allegheny issued an address approving of the course of this meeting. Among other things the address said: "We again call upon you to say whether the enemies of the tariff shall be permitted to destroy indirectly the system which has triumphed over their open attacks—whether the American manufacturer with small means shall be deprived of that opportunity of competing with foreign capital and foreign labor which the present facilities of collecting his debts afford him—whether the face of the poor shall be ground by brokers and stock jobbers as in 1817 and 1818 and the succeeding years of general distress, when worthless paper money had usurped the place of specie and when the sound of industry was unheard in our shops, when wheat sold for twenty cents a bushel and flour at one dollar per barrel, while all the foreign articles of comfort and necessity were far higher than they now are" (c). This address was signed by the following committee: Thomas Bakewell, S. P. Darlington, John Arthurs, William Mackey, Thomas Fairman, Louis Peterson, Jacob Forsyth, Samuel Church, John Irwin, Hugh Robertson, Henry Coulter, William M. Carlisle, Allen Kramer and Isaac Lightner. In August, 1832, at an immense meeting of the seceding Jackson men, it was finally resolved to support the Anti-Masonic electoral ticket. In 1832 Allegheny County became the Twenty-second Congressional district; its vote for governor and congressmen was as follows:

	Governor.		Congress.	
	Ritner.	Wolf.	Denny.	Robinson.
East Ward.....	162	183	189	145
South Ward.....	297	334	333	295
West Ward.....	122	117	139	98
North Ward.....	289	198	303	117
Allegheny Borough.....	323	248	252	314

In 1832 the vote for Jackson was 3,321, and for the opposition 2,985.

In 1832 the question of a dissolution of the Union was called prominently to the attention of the people of this community by the action of the Southern members of Congress, particularly from South Carolina, on the questions of nullification and secession. The questions were new then, comparatively, and elicited all shades of opinion. Many here openly avowed their belief that a

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(c) Address of the Committee in Gazette, August 3, 1832.



Southern State had the right to nullify an act of Congress, and to secede from the Union in case her best interests were believed to lie in such a course. The *American Manufacturer* of this city, immediately after the second election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, stated in an editorial that in its opinion it was best to abandon the protective tariff system rather than incur the ill-will of the South and their withdrawal from the Union. The *Manufacturer* used the following language: "It is not too late to reason on this matter, and if by an abandonment of the protective policy the South can be tranquilized, their attachment to the Constitution restored and the Union preserved, let the sacrifice be made." But those of this vicinity who favored these views were comparatively few, and were opposed by the earnest remonstrances of the great body of citizens.

Among the first supporters of Andrew Jackson for the Presidency were Ephraim Pentland, John B. Butler, Robert Burke and David Lynch. These men opposed the protective tariff of 1824, and in a short time came, with others, to idolize Jackson. In 1824 the supporters of Mr. Jackson were divided in this community on the question of the tariff. The above-named men opposed such measure, while Hugh Davis, William McCandless, Mr. Scully and many others favored it. At this time there was no serious opposition to the Bank of the United States; Jacksonians, as well as Independent Republicans, were either neutral on the subject, or at least offered no opposition to it. It remained for a later date, under the stimulus of Jackson's opposition to the bank, to develop the antagonism here.

In 1832 Anti-Masonry reached the zenith of its prosperity. The *Gazette*, edited by Neville B. Craig, and the *Times*, edited by Alfred Sutton, supported this party and contended for the honor of its championship. The *Pennsylvania Advocate* was commenced here by Judge Wilson, of Steubenville, for the avowed purpose of defeating the reelection of General Jackson and of breaking down the Anti-Masonic journals here. Mr. Wilson failed signally in both undertakings.

At a large meeting held here in January, 1833, resolutions were adopted endorsing the proclamation of President Jackson against the nullification proceedings of South Carolina. The resolutions, which were presented by A. W. Foster, declared that no State had the right to secede from the Union; that the act of South Carolina was unconstitutional and revolutionary, and other resolutions, endorsed by Walter Forward, declared it unwise to sacrifice tariff principles to conciliate South Carolina. Samuel Pettigrew, mayor of Pittsburg, presided at this meeting. A resolution was introduced by W. W. Fetterman to instruct the Western representatives in Congress to oppose the Verplanck Bill, then pending, or any other that would reduce the protective duty. The principal speakers at this meeting were Messrs. Foster, Brackenridge and Fetterman.

In 1832 the National Republicans, or Jacksonians, supported in a large measure the Anti-Masonic ticket, but in 1833 they again united in support of the Administration candidates. In January, 1833, Samuel Pettigrew was reelected mayor of Pittsburg. In 1833 great division in the political parties occurred. There were Federalists, Democrats, Clay men, Jackson men, Van Buren men, Cass men, Bank men, Anti-Bank men, Reformers, Anti-Reformers, Anti-Masons, or, as the latter were sometimes called, Anti-goat men.

In June, 1833, the passage of the Irish coercion bill by the English Parliament was the occasion of a large public meeting, where resolutions were adopted expressing profound regret and horror at the extinguishment of the last vestiges of Irish liberty.

Daniel Webster visited Pittsburg in July, 1833, and was royally entertained



by the bar in a body and by the citizens generally. He delivered an eloquent speech on the public issues of the day, particularly on those of State's rights, nullification, protection to American industries, and internal improvements. He arrived here in the evening of the 4th of July, and was met on the outskirts of the city by a large cavalcade of citizens, who accompanied him through the streets. He was immediately waited upon by a committee of the citizens and given a formal welcome, and at this time a request was preferred, asking permission to give a public dinner in his honor. This committee consisted of the following gentlemen: James Ross, Benjamin Bakewell, Charles Avery, William Wade, Samuel Pettigrew, George Miltenberger, Isaac Lightner, Sylvanus Lothrop, John Arthurs, Alexander Brackenridge, William Robinson, Jr., George A. Cook, W. W. Fetterman, Samuel Roseburg, William Mackey, James Johnston, Richard Biddle, Samuel P. Darlington, Michael Tiernan, Samuel Fahnestock, Thomas Bakewell, Walter H. Lowrie, William W. Irwin, Robert S. Cassat, Cornelius Darragh, Benjamin Darlington, Neville B. Craig, Wilson McCandless, Owen Aslton, Charles Shaler, Thomas Scott and Charles H. Israel. Mr. Webster expressed his thanks for the cordial welcome, but begged leave to decline the dinner, though he publicly received those citizens who wished to meet him. While here he visited the principal manufacturing establishments, and listened to a public address in his praise, to which he made a long, suitable and patriotic reply (d). In 1833 Martin Van Buren began to attract the attention of local politicians as a possible candidate of Democracy for the Presidency. The Jacksonians at this time were disrupted over the questions of banking, protection, Anti-Masonry, nullification, etc., and began to prepare for the nominations of 1836.

In December, 1833, a strong effort was made to repeal the new election law in so far as it affected Pittsburg. This effort was headed by what was then called "the Courthouse clique." The attempt, it was claimed, was made by men who expected to reap some advantage in the confusion that was certain to ensue at elections where all the citizens of the city assembled at the Courthouse to poll their votes. At the meeting of the Anti-Masonic party in December, 1833, Cornelius Darragh received the nomination for mayor. A committee was appointed to recommend suitable men for members of the councils. This committee consisted of Christopher Magee, John Leech, James Marshall, Andrew Watson, John F. Greer, Alfred Sutton, Thomas Liggett, Samuel Stackhouse, James H. McClelland, Samuel Roseburg, John McFadden, William Irwin, David McKee and John Roseburg. The Jackson and Clay adherents, in a stormy meeting, united and placed in nomination for mayor Mr. Pettigrew. Matthew B. Lowrie was announced as a volunteer candidate. In January, 1834, after a canvass of violent recriminations, Mr. Pettigrew received 844 votes, Mr. Darragh 485, and Mr. Lowrie 96; total votes polled, 1,425.

It was charged by the Democracy in 1832-4 that the manufacturers of Pittsburg compelled their employes to vote as they directed, upon pain of dismissal. The *Mercury* of February, 1834, said: "Thanks be to General Jackson, and thanks be to the House of Congress, and doubly thanks to the statesmen in the Senate, they will not so estimate the petitions of the hard-working men. They will know that in the Birmingham of America there are now employed over 2,000 families by about twenty of these overgrown manufactories; and dare the fathers of these families refuse signing the petitions of their employers? If they do, it is at the risk of being dismissed. Wise bank monopolists well know, at this season of alarms, a father's fears for his family outweigh his other considerations, and he tamely submits to their mandates."

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(d) Niles Register, October 12, 1833.

Early in 1834, among those who favored the act of President Jackson in removing the Government deposits from the Bank of the United States were John M. Snowden, Thomas Hazleton, Francis Bailey, John S. Blakely, Thomas Wynne, Thomas Flood, James C. Cummins, John Andre, Luke Fortune, E. J. Roberts, A. Morris, J. R. McClintock, John O. Marsh, Joseph Snowden, Archibald Shaw, Robert Paul, M. Harrington, William B. Conway, William Alexander, William McCandless, Jr., Leonard S. Johns, Hugh Toner, R. Phillips, Thomas Hamilton, P. Doran, H. N. Swartz, James Taylor, James May, George Hatfield and James Armstrong. The county and the city of Pittsburg were bitterly divided over the question of the removal, a full account of which will be found in one of the chapters on banking.

In 1832 Leonard S. Johns was the most influential Jacksonian editor of the county. He supported the election of Governor Wolf. E. Burke Fisher was also connected with the Democratic press of the city, and was a supporter of both Wolf and Jackson. William Leckey was likewise a strong Wolf man, and, as a member of the Democratic party, was twice elected high sheriff of Allegheny County. In all of the elections—from 1829 to 1839—it was rarely the case that handbills of a scurrilous and libelous character were not issued the night before an election. They came to be regarded as one of the invariable accompaniments of election day, and were usually carefully anticipated on the morning of the election by long editorials advising voters to beware of traps set to catch them and of libelous statements concerning the candidates. One of the features of the elections during the presidency of Andrew Jackson was the constant reference to Mr. Jackson's previous record in the army and as a civilian. H. M. Brackenridge afterward declared that he wrote two of Andrew Jackson's farewell addresses, one on the occasion of his farewell to the army, and the other upon his departure from Florida. Mr. Brackenridge stated that, in the former, General Jackson made only one suggestion and that of an ungentlemanly character, and that he did not even read the latter (f).

In March, 1834, the remnants of several parties assembled to form a new political association to maintain the following principles: 1, Constitution and laws; 2, sound currency; 3, protective tariff; 4, a general system of internal improvements; 5, a system of general education. The object of the meeting was to merge, so far as possible, all insignificant parties into one organization based upon this code of principles. Among those who took part in this meeting were Louis Peterson, George R. White, Thomas Bakewell, William Howard, A. W. Foster, Benjamin Bakewell, Robert Burke, Thomas Fairman, Thomas Williams, Manning Hull, Jesse Lippincott, John Morrison, William Eichbaum, Isaac Lightner and John Irwin. This was the preliminary meeting for the organization of the Whig party. Immediately succeeding it a call, signed by 131 citizens, was issued for a public meeting to be held for the purpose of forming the new party. The language of the call was as follows: "The citizens of Pittsburg and of the county of Allegheny who disapprove of the lawless and arbitrary measures which distinguish the administration of Andrew Jackson, and who are disposed to lay aside for the present those party distinctions which have heretofore existed among us, and to unite under the general and inspiring name of Whigs in an effort to restore the prosperity and rescue the Constitution of the country, are requested to meet," etc.

The triumph of the Whigs in New York was the occasion of a general public celebration held in Allegheny on May 6, 1834. General William Marks was president of the day. Twenty-four vice-presidents were appointed, among

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(f) Gazette, June 18, 1834.

whom were H. M. Brackenridge, Walter Forward, John Irwin, Isaac Lightner, Thomas Fairman, John Arthurs, A. W. Foster, Sr., George Miltenberger and N. B. Craig. On the occasion of this celebration a bountiful collation was spread for the benefit of those present. The committee of arrangements consisted of Robert Burke, S. P. Darlington, Alfred W. Marks, James Arthurs, P. J. Maitland, M. B. Miltenberger, S. B. McKenzie, J. B. McFadden, G. R. White, R. M. Riddle, John Morrison, Louis Peterson, John Irwin, George W. Jackson, J. D. Davis, F. Fahnestock and Thomas Williams. At this meeting resolutions were introduced by Thomas Williams to the following effect: That the resolution recently passed, concerning the Bank of the United States, by the United States Senate, be reaffirmed; that the President had assumed authority not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both; that the executive protest was an attack upon the members of the Senate; that the Senate should resist all assumption of power not delegated to the President by the Constitution; that the thanks of this meeting were due the refractory senators for their bold and eloquent vindication of their official privileges and of the rights of the American people. Eloquent speeches were made in support of this resolution by Messrs. Brackenridge, Fetterman, Burke, Fairman, McCandless and others. This meeting was afterward called "the Whig Jubilee Celebration," and was one of the largest held in the county up to that time. Among the toasts drunk on that occasion was the following: "The Senate of the United States—The sheet anchor which has thus far preserved the ark of our liberty in the present storm. If this goes she must founder." The following ticket was placed in nomination: For Congress, Harmar Denny; for the Assembly, Robert Hilands, John Graham, William McCrea and Hezekiah Douthett. This ticket was prepared in secret previous to the meeting and was not known to Mr. Craig of the *Gazette* and many others not likely to join the movement. The leaders did not expect the coöperation of Mr. Craig, who had previously espoused with all the force of his character the principles of the Anti-Masonic party. Mr. Craig himself had supported General Jackson during a period of about one year in 1824-5, but had then transferred his allegiance to Mr. Adams. The meeting of May 6th was thus instrumental in forming the Whig party, but the county convention of that party was not held until June 11th, although previously another meeting was held on May 31st to still further unite and cement the fragments composing the new organization. At the convention of June 11th the following ticket was formally placed in the field: For Congress, Harmar Denny; for the Assembly, Robert Hilands, John Graham, Samuel Frew and Andrew Bayne; for sheriff, Hugh Davis. During the months of May and June the entire county was kept in a state of uproar by the committees and friends of the new party.

The Anti-Masonic convention was held on June 4, 1834, at the Court-house. That party placed in the field the following ticket: For Congress, Harmar Denny; for the Assembly, W. W. Irwin, Andrew Bayne, John Scott and Samuel Riddle; for sheriff, John Walsh. Resolutions condemning in the severest terms Masonry and all other secret societies, as well as Jacksonism, were introduced, discussed and adopted. On June 6th the city Anti-Masonic convention met and affirmed the proceedings of the county Anti-Masonic convention. The convention of the Jacksonians was held June 11th, and was characterized by great enthusiasm over the name and public acts of President Jackson, and the following ticket was placed in the field: For Congress, John M. Snowden; for the Assembly, William Kerr, James Scott, Robert Anderson and William B. Foster; for sheriff, Elijah Trovillo.

In December, 1834, a petition from Allegheny County, numerously signed, was presented to the Legislature by Mr. Stephens, praying for an investiga-

tion of Freemasonry and for the passage of a law to prohibit Masonic oaths. A bill was introduced which was extremely severe in its requirements and stirred up a tempest in the Legislature. It failed to become a law at that time. In January and February, 1836, the Legislature, having passed a bill to investigate Masonry, appointed a committee to conduct the investigation. The proceedings were bitterly opposed by the Masons of this vicinity, as well as by those throughout the State, and the acts of this committee were derisively called by the Masons "Star-chamber proceedings." It was asserted at this time by the *Gazette* that information of the murder of William Morgan in 1826 had been conveyed previous to its occurrence to at least one of the Masonic lodges in Pittsburg. Many prominent Masons throughout the State were called upon to testify before the inquisitorial committee, but in all instances they refused to answer questions concerning their lodges. At this time the hostility to Masonry was at its height. What purported to be all the secrets of the order were published by the press throughout the State, including the Anti-Masonic papers of Pittsburg. The results of the inquisition were far from satisfactory. About twenty Masons, who were brought to the bar of the House to testify, were permitted to go without having answered, as a matter of expediency.

At the State Whig convention, which met in Harrisburg on May 27, 1834, Thomas Bakewell, Joseph Patterson, George Darsie, Thomas Williams, Neville B. Craig and Samuel Church were chosen delegates to represent Allegheny County. Mr. Craig was appointed one of the two temporary secretaries, and was named as one of the permanent vice-presidents. Joseph Patterson was a member of the committee to prepare a memorial to Congress for a redress of grievances.

"We have three parties and three tickets contending in the field in Allegheny County. The first and best is the Whig party, which appeals to the patriotism of the people and invokes their aid in the cause of the country and in behalf of the Constitution. The second is the Jackson party, which sustains Jackson, 'right or wrong,' and 'right or wrong' denounced the United States Bank. The third and last and least is the Anti-Masonic party, which leaves measures and principles and policy out of view and goes for proscription" (g). The *Gazette* took great offense at this attempt to belittle the party whose cause it had espoused with such vigor since that party had had an existence. "It is greatly to be regretted that a man with such prejudices as govern Mr. Butler should be among us. We would ask the intelligent and unprejudiced men of the Whig party, How can you expect Anti-Masons to coöperate with you when your oracle thus calumniates and stigmatizes them" (h).

The famous meeting of June, 1834, at which the Whig party was formally organized, became known as the Whig jubilee convention. The meeting was declared by Mr. Craig to have been informal, but active participants on that occasion declared the formation of the party and the nomination of a ticket were premeditated, as was shown by the fact that cards of admission thereto read, "Whig Jubilee: admit the bearer." The *Statesman* from the start called the nominees the Whig Jubilee ticket, but the *Advocate* and the *Gazette* called them the Whig ticket. Harmar Denny was nominated to Congress, and Robert Hilands, John Graham, William McCrea and Hezekiah Douthett were nominated to the Assembly. The Anti-Masons, headed by the *Gazette*, steadfastly refused to be reconciled to the Whig party, or to the jubilee nominees. They deprecated any division of the Anti-Masonic strength, and endeavored to cement all factions of the party under the doctrines of eternal hostility to Masonry and all other secret societies; support of a protective tariff; opposition to

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(g) *Statesman*, June, 1834.

(h) *Gazette*, June 18, 1834.



the nullification views of South Carolina, and friendship for the United States Bank. The Anti-Masons made great efforts to crush the Whig party at the outset, but such was not to be the case, for the party became strong and self-reliant from the start, and thus opposition to Jacksonism was hopelessly divided in Allegheny County. In June, 1834, William Wilkins was appointed by President Jackson Minister to Russia, and accepted the appointment.

## FOR CONGRESS, 1834.

	Harmar Denny. Whig and Anti-Mason.	John M. Snowden. Democrat and Anti-Bank.
East Ward.....	275	195
West Ward.....	273	135
North Ward.....	279	111
South Ward.....	165	132
Northern Liberties....	133	151
Lawrenceville....	45	42
Birmingham .....	63	121
Allegheny.....	354	261

Mr. Denny was thus elected, his total vote in Allegheny County being 3,428, while John M. Snowden's was 2,976. The Anti-Masonic ticket in 1834 was as follows: For Congress, Harmar Denny; for the Assembly, Andrew Bayne, W. W. Irwin, John Scott and Samuel Riddle. The Whig ticket was as follows: For Congress, Harmar Denny; for the Assembly, Andrew Bayne, Robert Hills, John Graham and William Frew.

In January, 1835, Samuel Pettigrew, Democratic and Workingmen's candidate for mayor, was elected by a majority of 46 over Matthew B. Lowrie, the Anti-Masonic candidate, the vote standing Lowrie 598 and Pettigrew 644. Mr. Pettigrew promised great reforms in the city administration. He advocated many public improvements, among which was that of planting trees along the river front on Duquesne Way, and a reform in the management of the police department. His supporters secured the greater number of votes among workingmen by uniting the two tickets and no doubt promising favors to the working classes. At this election for mayor it was conceded that the Anti-Jackson majority in Pittsburg was between 400 and 500, but the Democratic party, by superior generalship, managed to elect their candidate. Many Whigs voted the Democratic ticket, owing to the hostility of Mr. Craig and his supporters to the Whig organization.

The campaign for the mayoralty candidates in December, 1835, and January, 1836, was extremely violent and bitter. The Democrats placed in nomination Mr. McClintock, and the Anti-Masons Mr. Lowrie. The Whigs united with the Jacksonians, with the agreement that the latter were to name the candidate for mayor, and the former a majority of the candidates for City Councils. At this time all the other city offices were appointive only. The Anti-Masons called themselves reformers, and had in view principally the correction of abuses in the police department, but the contest was really fought over the question of the policies of President Jackson. So severe were the strictures employed during this contest that the notice of many localities in distant parts of the United States was called to Pittsburg. The election in Pittsburg resulted as follows: Mr. McClintock, 849; Mr. Lowrie, 598. Of the 21 councilmen, ten were Masons and the majority were Whigs.

In 1835 occurred an important division in the ranks of the Democracy. It was recognized that President Jackson's official career was drawing to a close, and his supporters sought a new organization that would insure party success

much on the old lines. Martin Van Buren was recommended by President Jackson as his most suitable successor, and soon the party, which had but recently been known as Jacksonians, came to be known as Van Burenites. In Pennsylvania the Van Buren wing cut loose from Governor Wolf and advocated the election of Henry A. Muhlenberg to the governorship. The organ of this movement here was the *Manufacturer*. Forty-three men signed an address to the public calling attention to the great increase in the State debt, declaring that public money had been injudiciously squandered, and that official oppression had become unbearable. Thus in 1835 four parties contended in Allegheny County for supremacy. Among the leaders of the Muhlenberg movement was David Lynch.

The Whig party in 1835 was composed of men who had formerly been members of the National Republican, Anti-Masonic, and Jackson parties. The objects of the Whig party were to unite all minor considerations and party distinctions in the maintenance unimpaired of the fundamental principles of Republican institutions, which, it was alleged, were seriously threatened by President Jackson and by the South. They recommended the nomination of Joseph Ritner for governor and Daniel Webster for President.

In March, 1835, the Democrats met in Harrisburg for the purpose of nominating a state ticket and formulating the policy of that party. The Allegheny County delegates at this convention were William Robinson, Jr., E. J. Roberts, J. Gallagher and Thomas Hamilton. From the commencement the convention was bitterly divided upon party issues. The various factions contended with desperation for the control of the convention, and finally the Allegheny County delegates withdrew from that body. This convention, owing to its hopeless division on old and new issues, became popularly known as the "chaotic convention," and this division in the Democratic party ranks became known in history as the Muhlenberg Rebellion. The Allegheny County delegates were instructed to support Van Buren for the Presidency and Muhlenberg for the governorship, and when they learned that the Van Buren wing of the party would be unable to control the convention, they withdrew in company with other supporters of Mr. Muhlenberg. The *Statesman*, though opposed to the Administration, supported Governor Wolf for reelection, but later in the campaign changed and supported Mr. Muhlenberg. At this time Mr. Butler, editor of the *Statesman*, was one of the ablest editors in Western Pennsylvania, and the enmity between himself and Mr. Craig, of the *Gazette*, was bitter and acrimonious in the extreme.

It was during the campaign of 1835 that the Catholic question was brought into unusual prominence in this county. Their hostility to the public school system, and their position concerning the temporal power of the Pope, were combated with great vehemence and ability by the Protestant denominations, and by the two newspapers, the *Gazette* and the *Times*, both of which favored severing the Catholics of the United States from their foreign head. The subject was taken into politics and discussed with much bitterness.

During this year the war reached its height. The Whig newspapers of Pittsburg stigmatized Mr. Wolf as "the priest-ridden Governor," and claimed that he was the candidate of the Catholics. It was asserted that his most intimate friends were Michael Curran and Thomas O'Neil, both Irish Catholics. It was declared in many issues of the *Times*, *Gazette* and other newspapers of Pittsburg that "Catholicism, Masonry and Infidelity were combined to crush the liberty of the republic." In 1836 it was asserted that during the Presidential campaign fifteen Masons were on the Van Buren electoral ticket. It was also declared that Martin Van Buren was the correspondent and eulogist of the Pope of Rome, and it was known that he had nominated for Chief Justice



of the Supreme Court Roger B. Taney, a Roman Catholic, to succeed John Marshall.

In 1835 business had become so much better that the citizens generally invited Honorable Thaddeus Stevens to visit Pittsburg and deliver an oration on the 4th of July. Mr. Stevens at this time was popularly known as the "father" of the common school system. In answer to the letter of the citizens he replied that he would be present on that occasion. In 1835 and 1836 the *Mercury* and the *Democrat* supported Mr. Wolf, while the *Manufacturer* and the *Statesman* supported Mr. Muhlenberg. The *Gazette* and the *Times* were Anti-Masonic, while the *Advocate* was the organ of the Whig party. The following was the vote for Governor in 1835:

	Ritner.	Wolf.	Muhlenberg.
North Ward.....	231	142	10
West Ward....	267	155	24
East Ward.....	227	192	42
South Ward.....	162	143	26
Northern Liberties.....	138	178	16
Allegheny.....	404	259	63
Birmingham.....	34	29	15
Lawrenceville ....	46	42	1

The county vote was: Ritner, 3,848; opposition, 3,232. It is difficult to describe the vituperation resorted to during the campaign of 1835 and 1836 by the various party factions. After having exhausted themselves in denouncing party politics, principles and methods, the newspapers and the candidates descended to outrageous personal abuse. Several citizens who had participated during the war of 1812 in the affair at Black Rock were brought before the people at this time as candidates for office. The newspapers, in referring to their public careers, called them in derision the "heroes of Black Rock." Handbills of a libelous character were circulated, and all the newspapers contained intense abuse of some of the candidates. It was a desperate struggle for political supremacy amid the shifting issues of the day. So severe became party antagonism that in many instances proscription was resorted to by the friends of some candidate or the supporters of some public measure. This feature of the campaign became so prominent that in April, 1837, a large meeting was held in Pittsburg by those who claimed to be the friends of the Union, of free speech and of free discussion. Benjamin Bakewell served as chairman. A long list of resolutions was adopted, declaring that attempts which had been made here by some politicians to prohibit free speech must be met with emphatic opposition by all free men, and that the right of free discussion and of petition were guaranteed by the Constitution and must not be abrogated. At the election for President in 1836 the vote stood as follows:

	Harrison.	Van Buren.
East Ward.....	252	256
South Ward.....	204	195
West Ward.....	284	233
North Ward.....	388	217
Northern Liberties.....	187	227
Lawrenceville.....	49	46
Allegheny.....	487	283
Birmingham.....	31	50

In the autumn of 1836 Richard Biddle, Anti-Masonic candidate for Congress, received 3,155 votes in the county, and Trevanion B. Dallas, Van Buren

candidate, 2,984. For President, Harrison received in the county 3,623, and Van Buren, 3,074.

On October 19, 1836, General W. H. Harrison arrived in Pittsburg. He was met by a committee of the citizens at East Liberty and reached the Exchange Hotel about 1:30 in the afternoon, where he was welcomed by a large assemblage and by an eloquent speech from William B. McClure. Mr. Harrison responded in an address of about an hour in length on the issues of the day, and was frequently interrupted with applause.

During the campaign of 1836 William Wilkins, who seemed to have formed a great liking for the South and its institutions, took the strong position substantially that a State had the right, under certain limitations, of seceding from the Union. For this declaration he was denounced in the severest terms by the Whig and Anti-Masonic organs of this county. It was declared that he had forfeited his right to be called "The Iron Knight," which title of honor had been previously bestowed upon him by his friends and admirers here for his able advocacy of all measures likely to benefit the commercial enterprises of Pittsburg. As a matter of history, the declaration made by Mr. Wilkins was to the effect that the Constitutional Convention which convened in May, 1837, was unlimited and uncontrollable, and that it might, therefore, establish a monarchical form of government in this State. In other words, he maintained that the convention was independent of fealty to the General Government, and could establish a monarchy in Pennsylvania if it so desired. For this statement he was criticised and denounced by his enemies almost as long as he lived; at any rate as long as he remained in public life. George M. Dallas and others made statements of similar import concerning the Constitutional Convention of 1837. Mr. Dallas went so far as to declare that the convention could introduce slavery into Pennsylvania and make it a part of the organic law. These ultra statements gave the opponents of Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Dallas abundant opportunity for harsh criticism, of which they did not fail to take advantage. The Jacksonians were called Tories, because it was concluded that Jackson represented a form of arbitrary power repugnant to the sense of justice of Americans. For an opposite reason the Van Buren party were called Jacobins, because they represented, or were supposed to represent, the humbler elements of American civilization.

In 1832 a faction of the voters in favor of Masonry, but neutral on the subject of Jacksonism, had succeeded by artifice in securing the nomination of Charles Shaler for Congress. At that time Mr. Shaler and his followers were the advance advocates of the Whig party. The Jacksonians became dissatisfied with the standing of Mr. Shaler on the question of Masonry and Whigism and compelled him to withdraw. In 1836 a faction of Whigs and Masons nominated for Congress George Darsie, and, notwithstanding the fact that the candidate had opposed Jacksonism, he was accepted by the Democrats. In other words, the Jacksonians in 1836 were not so independent as they had formerly been, and were glad to receive assistance from Masons, Whigs or any other political faction.

At a large public meeting held at the Courthouse on Saturday, January 21, 1837, at 3 o'clock p. m., pursuant to a call of the Board of Trade, Mayor J. R. McClintock was called to the chair, John M. Snowden, Benjamin Bakewell, George Miltenberger, William Bell, John Arthurs and William Porter were chosen vice-presidents, and Samuel P. Darlington, William McCandless, A. McN. Semple and Isaac E. Wade were appointed secretaries. Richard Biddle, president of the Board of Trade, stated that the object of the call was to consider the proposition that had a short time before been presented to Congress, and strenuously urged by a strong following, to withdraw the pro-

tection which, since 1824, had fostered American manufactures. It was declared that the policy of Pennsylvania was to protect domestic manufactures; that a resolution of the Assembly, adopted June 6, 1832, asserted "that we view with the most serious apprehension any attempt to lessen the restrictions upon the importation of any article of foreign manufacture or production which may compete with articles of similar growth, production or manufacture of the United States;" that the Assembly again in January, 1833, declared "that the bill now under consideration by the House of Representatives in Congress ought not to become a law, and that no reduction of duties ought to be made, calculated to affect the successful prosecution of our domestic manufactures;" that in spite of this protest from Pennsylvania such bill became a law in March, 1833, and provided for a gradual reduction of duties, to which the Assembly finally gave its assent, to preserve the harmony of the Union; that now it was manifest that intense distress must ensue and death to domestic manufactures result from a continuance even of the compromise law of 1833, requiring a gradual reduction of the duty; that now (in 1837) a new proposition was pending to violate the compact of 1833, bad as it was, and at one sweep abruptly withdraw all protection; and that the proposition was an insult and a mockery to Pennsylvania. After some discussion and after several resolutions had been offered, a memorial presented by Mr. Wade and addressed to the Assembly was unanimously adopted. The memorial recited "that the proposition to reduce the duties on all imports to 20 per cent. by September 1, 1838, instead of the time fixed by the compromise act of March, 1833, was both unjust and unnecessary; that manufacturers had consented to the act of March, 1833, to allay the extreme violence which characterized the discussion of the subject and to prepare for the adoption of such measures as would enable them to meet the crisis in 1842; that manufacturers, relying on the act of March, 1833, had enlarged their operations and establishments, and must suffer absolute prostration should the proposed change take place; that, therefore, the Assembly should instruct the Pennsylvania representatives in Congress 'to oppose to the utmost all attempts to pass a law to reduce the duties on protected articles beyond the provisions of the act passed March, 1833.'" A committee consisting of Richard Biddle, Walter Forward and William Wade was appointed to prepare a remonstrance to Congress, and another, consisting of a large number of citizens, was appointed to prepare a memorial to the Assembly and secure signatures to the same. Twenty-seven prominent citizens were thus appointed. Richard Biddle and Walter Forward were publicly thanked by the meeting "for their able exertions in behalf of the manufacturing interests of Pittsburg." Mr. Forward "addressed the meeting in a very happy and eloquent manner." On motion of W. M. Shinn, those members of Congress from the Southern States who had avowed their intention not to disturb the law of March, 1833, received an expression of warm approval from the meeting (j).

The Whig convention of June, 1837, was a notable assemblage. William D. Wilson served as president, William M. Shinn vice-president, Thomas J. Maitland secretary; and John Shipton, J. K. Henderson, T. M. Howe, Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Brown were appointed a committee on resolutions. One of the resolutions adopted was as follows: "*Resolved*, That the present system of misrule, which has cast such a gloom over the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country, and disorganized all our foreign and internal relations, imperatively calls upon the National Republican, or Whig, party, immediately to reorganize, that they may be able by concert of action more effectually to resist the encroachments of the party now in power, and to restore the country

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(j) Gazette, January 24, 1837.

to the same healthy condition in which it was at the time of the first election of General Jackson to the Presidency."

It was in this year that the first gold party in Allegheny County was organized. It was a movement against banks of all kinds, and naturally took the course of a support of all kinds of specie, with gold as the leading metal. Among the leaders of the party were Zantzinger McDonald, Dr. L. Callahan, James Anderson, Thomas Hamilton, Orin Newton, Patrick McKenna, J. P. Avery and Henry Wagoner. This party, at its convention in June, 1837, declared its hostility to all banks, and favored the issuance of all money by the Government. It was at this time, in one of the public meetings held after the banks of the city had suspended specie payment, that Dr. Callaghan uttered his famous declaration that if he had charge of the Arsenal he would compel the city banks to resume specie payments.

Soon after the banks suspended in May, 1837, David Lynch, postmaster, was directed by the postal authorities to receive nothing but coin in all payments to the Government. A great cry arose against this procedure, and the post-office was denominated a deposit bank, or a pet bank of the Administration. The *Manufacturer* was the organ of the anti-bank people, and of the postoffice faction, of which David Lynch, as postmaster, was the head. This paper, edited by Mr. McDonald, brought down upon its head the wrath of the religious denominations, by its support of various ultra movements, among which were the improvement in the social and political condition of women, as advanced at that time by Frances Wright, the advocacy of various liberal and infidel views, and the continued celebration of the birthday of Thomas Paine. It published a work in three small volumes, entitled "The Christian's Manual," which comprised a scurrilous attack upon the Scriptures, more violent and less reasonable and justifiable than Paine's "Age of Reason." The paper itself and its course in politics and in the so-called reforms were denounced with great persistency by the religious denominations, and, in fact, all the friends of Christianity.

In the spring of 1837 the new Constitution of Pennsylvania was framed. The candidates to the Constitutional Convention from Allegheny County were Harmar Denny, Matthew Henderson, Andrew Bayne, Walter Forward and Henry G. Rodgers.

In 1837 Jonas R. McClintock, a supporter of Van Buren, was elected mayor of Pittsburg. At this time the parties were seriously split in this vicinity. Mr. McClintock was the so-called no-party candidate for mayor. The Democracy had adopted this unique method of catching the popular vote, and the method was eminently successful. On more than one occasion the Democrats succeeded in electing their candidate by resorting to this dodge, in spite of the utmost efforts of the opposition. While, in 1837, their nominee was styled the no-party candidate, in 1838 he was styled the city improvement candidate, and in 1839 the workingmen's candidate. It was in the latter year that the firemen of the city were induced for the first time to hold a separate convention and nominate a candidate for mayor, Mr. Little receiving that honor. In 1840 their candidates were known as the citizens' ticket. The Anti-Masonic candidate was called in derision the anti-goat candidate.

In 1837, for the first time here, there was a general union of the Whigs and Anti-Masons, in opposition to the alleged usurpations of the President of the United States. This question outweighed the one of Masonry, and was the means of cementing all opposition to the Van Burenites, and the means of securing the election of the fusion candidates. At the special election for delegate to the convention to revise the Constitution, the Whigs and Anti-

Masons were united, Hays, the fusion candidate, receiving in the county 4,000 votes, and Stevenson, the Democratic candidate, 3,194 votes.

At the Whig county convention, in September, 1837, General William Marks presided. All evils of the day in the political field were ascribed to the ruinous policies of Jackson and Van Buren, and it was declared that the Whigs should be united and organized at once to resist the "wicked experiments" of the Administration and save the country from impending ruin, owing to the attitude of the Administration toward the Bank of the United States and toward the American system of protection. The small party of anti-bank people took a strong position on the question of National money, and the Democrats came forward with their positive declarations in regard to the prosperity of the country and the wisdom of the course pursued by the Administration. The anti-bank party here denounced in the severest terms the proposed issue of \$10,000,000 of treasury notes, and stigmatized them as shinplasters, the circulation of which should be emphatically repudiated. The immense appropriation bill pending in the Legislature was sufficient to stagger the views of all parties. While all people favored internal improvements, they were regarded at this time, in view of the prevailing panic and distress, as unwise, and when the "mammoth bill" was finally vetoed by Governor Ritner in 1837, the act met the wishes of a majority of the people of this vicinity. The State debt at this time was about \$24,000,000. The mammoth bill proposed to increase this indebtedness to about \$43,520,000.

Late in 1837 the *Mercury* came out as an advocate of the nomination of William Wilkins for governor. In 1837-8 the *Daily Bulletin* was the principal organ of the Van Buren faction of the Democracy. After that paper was discontinued they had no daily organ. Both the *Democrat* and the *Manufacturer* had renounced many of the views of Van Buren, and were working on new political lines. In October, 1837, on the morning of the election, a handbill, entitled "Anti-Masons to the Polls," was issued, designed to irritate the Whigs by making them believe the Anti-Masons had issued it. The handbill was a tirade against Masons, Odd Fellows, trade unions and all secret societies, and was expected to create a great chasm between the Whigs and the Anti-Masons. It was promptly disowned and denounced by the latter. In 1838 the vote of the county for governor was as follows: Ritner (W.), 6,038; Porter (D.), 4,505. The vote on the Constitutional Convention was: For, 4,460; against, 5,049. The votes for members of the Assembly in 1836 and 1837 were as follows:

	1837.		1836.	
	Whig.	Democratic.	Whig.	Democratic.
Allegheny County ...	1,807	1,345	1,318	1,377

In January, 1837, Jonas R. McClintock was the Van Buren candidate for mayor, and William W. Irwin the Anti-Masonic and Whig candidate. The Democrats called their nominee the city improvement candidate, as Mr. McClintock continued the tactics of his predecessor by promising numerous public improvements. In fact, this was the principal question involved in the mayoralty contest on January, 1838, and much sport was made by the newspapers of the promises made for improving the streets of Pittsburg. It was humorously contended afterward that Mr. McClintock promised slackwater navigation of the principal streets, and promised to have bridged certain streets that were usually filled with water. In 1838 the anti-bank people of this vicinity made the most of the fact that David R. Porter, Democratic candidate for governor, was one of the stockholders in the Exchange Bank of Pittsburg. At the election in January, 1838, Mr. McClintock was triumphantly elected mayor of Pittsburg, almost wholly upon his promises of public reform and improvements. As a matter



of fact, many Whigs voted for him, owing to such promises and to his unquestioned popularity. However, his majority was very small, the vote standing as follows:

	Anti-Van Buren. Irwin.	Van Buren. McClintock.
West Ward.....	298	218
South Ward.....	191	232
East Ward.....	273	331
North Ward.....	234	234
Northern Liberties.....	160	227
	<hr/> 1,156	<hr/> 1,242

Among Mr. McClintock's promises to his constituents were the following: To plant umbrageous trees on Duquesne Way, to finish the public wharf, to hasten the completion of the gas-works, to strengthen and reform the night watch and to institute certain necessary reforms in the City Councils. Although the Van Burenites elected the mayor by 86 majority, the Anti-Masons and Whigs secured the councils by safe majorities. In February, 1838, a large meeting was held here to protest against the passage of the sub-treasury bill. Suitable resolutions were adopted and forwarded to Congress. In 1838 the "family" was again brought prominently to public notice by the newspapers. George M. Dallas was Minister to Russia, Trevanion B. Dallas was judge, and William Wilkins was a candidate for Congress.

The young men's Ritner convention (as it was called) of the State met here in September, 1838. The object was to adopt such measures as would likely effect the reelection of Joseph Ritner to the governorship. In the fall of 1838 the Firemen's Association of Pittsburg and Allegheny was urged to take part as a body in the pending election contest, but that organization at first passed resolutions refusing to do so, but later entered the contest. The object of the Whigs and Anti-Masons in 1838 was to rebuke the Van Burenites by reelecting Joseph Ritner to the governorship. Mr. Van Buren had tried to secure Pennsylvania by pensioning two of its most prominent candidates, in order to secure their withdrawal from the contest. The Whigs promised a large reduction in the State indebtedness, the maintenance of the common school system, resistance to the encroachments of the national executive, and resumption of specie payments. These were the principal planks in their platform. The *Democrat* at this time was anti-sub-treasury; the *Mercury* had lost caste with the Democracy of the county by supporting Mr. Muhlenberg in 1835, while the *Manufacturer* claimed to be the only strictly Democratic journal in Pittsburg. However, the *Mercury* sustained the Democratic nominees and platform, and had a large circulation. The campaign of 1838 was characterized by great spirit and constant charges and counter-charges by the opposing candidates. In more than one instance the opposite party on election day issued tickets with the name of some opposing candidate slightly changed, hoping thus to win a few votes at the expense of its enemy. About this time Richard Biddle was making his mark in the halls of Congress. The vote for governor in 1838 was as follows :

	Ritner.	Porter.
First Ward.....	374	233
Second Ward.....	295	226
Third Ward.....	376	320
Fourth Ward.....	361	204
Fifth Ward .....	339	220
Allegheny.....	723	382
Birmingham.....	93	62
Lawrenceville.....	55	72



On December 5, 1838, the firemen of Pittsburg, for the first time, took political action as a body and nominated William Little for mayor. He was notified by the following committee: William H. Shinn, Hugh Arthurs, A. Richardson, Thomas R. Holmes and M. W. Beltzhoover. It was called the firemen's and citizens' meeting. J. M. Brushfield was chairman of the meeting, and W. J. Wilson secretary. The following action was taken: "*Resolved*, That *as firemen* we have as deep an interest as any class of our fellow citizens in securing the efficiency of our city police, and an equal right to express our preferences and to designate the individual whom we should prefer to see at the head of that police. *Resolved*, That the office of Mayor of Pittsburg was not created to subserve the interests of any political party, nor to be made a stepping stone to political power, or a temporary convenience for those who are patiently waiting the 'moving of the waters' to be cleansed from some political leprous spots." The *Gazette* said: "Thus, then, our city presents this remarkable spectacle of the firemen of the city, most of them very young, and some of them little better than boys, nominating a candidate for the chief magistracy of the city, and that candidate accepting" (k). Previous to this date Mr. Little had been a zealous Whig, but at this election the Whig party was divided, part of them voting with the Anti-Masons and part with the Democrats. The old opposition to Democracy was divided between Anti-Masons and Whigs. It was only necessary for the Democrats, in order to secure the election of their candidate, to widen the breach between the Anti-Masons and the Whigs, and this they invariably did when such a course seemed possible. Pittsburg at this time was an Anti-Van Buren city, but in spite of that fact the Democrats were often successful, owing to the division in the ranks of the opposition. The firemen's nomination of Mr. Little was such a partisan affair that many Democrats, Whigs and Anti-Masons held a convention, which nominated William W. Irwin. This meeting became known as the joint convention, owing to the fact that it was wholly Anti-Van Buren, and was composed of fragments of the other parties, all of whom opposed Mr. Little, the firemen's nominee.

When it became known that the Democrats, in the fall of 1838, had succeeded in electing Mr. Porter over Mr. Ritner for governor, all of his supporters of this vicinity made arrangements for a huge celebration of the event. Hickory poles were erected in various parts of the city, and David Lynch, the principal supporter of Governor Porter, was placed in the small ship, designed, evidently, to represent the ship of state, and hauled triumphantly through the streets, followed by a large procession, filling the air with cheers and carrying flags and mottos to glorify the hour of their triumph. On the sandbar in the Monongahela River a huge barbecue was held, where many people partook of roast beef and other viands. In January, 1839, William Little was elected mayor by the combined vote of the Whigs and Locofocos, as against the opposing ticket, headed by Mr. Irwin, the Democratic Anti-Masonic candidate. The vote stood as follows:

	Little.	Irwin.
First Ward.....	247	234
Second Ward.....	232	218
Third Ward.....	330	269
Fourth Ward.....	263	183
Fifth Ward.....	222	146
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,294	1,050
Little's majority.....	244	

It was at this time that Joseph Barker first became conspicuous by reason

(k) *Gazette*, December 7, 1838.

of his ardent advocacy of the cause of temperance. Charles J. Avery and H. H. Van Amringe were equally outspoken in the cause of temperance, as well as other reforms, and all three were abused without stint by the liquor element and by one or more of the newspapers which were opposed to such reforms. Mr. Barker was a hard-working, rough-dressed mechanic, but the other two were lawyers and were well to do. The *Manufacturer* poured its vials of wrath upon the head of Mr. Barker for his course on the subject of temperance, but, although Messrs. Avery and Van Amringe took the same course, they were not molested by that paper. In 1839 the parties were more hopelessly split in Allegheny County than ever before. Numerous tickets were presented for the suffrages of the people. There were the Democratic, the Anti-bank, the People's, the Hard Money, the Editorial, the Buckshot and Ball, the Imbecile Office Holders', the Coffin Handbill, the Masonic, the Anti-Masonic, the United States Bank, the Whig and others, all representing particular factions and interests, and all sustained by the unswerving and determined advocacy of small followings. Edward D. Gazzam was the Locofoco candidate for the State Senate, and Thomas Williams the Anti-Masonic candidate. Mr. Gazzam received a total of 3,557 votes, and Mr. Williams 3,902. The Anti-Masonic Assembly ticket was elected and consisted of Messrs. Darsie, McDowell, Carothers and Penniman.

The Whig and Anti-Masonic papers severely criticised William Wilkins for his change of methods and principle. It was declared that he had white-washed William Findley, and was rewarded with an appointment to the judgeship; that in 1824 he had been the personal and political friend of Henry Clay, but when the current had set in toward Andrew Jackson he awoke one morning a Jacksonian, and was sent as a delegate to the Jackson convention at Harrisburg; that he had been elected to Congress over Mr. Stevenson for no other purpose than to defeat a faction of his party which opposed him; that his support of Andrew Jackson and his withdrawal from an advocacy of the protective system had secured for him the appointment to Russia; that he had then become a candidate for the State Senate, but had been defeated by Mr. Rodgers; and that now, in 1838, he was a defender of the sub-treasury system and a candidate for the United States Senate. His apostasy as a politician was dwelt upon in lurid colors by the opposition newspapers. He was abused for his statement concerning the monarchy at the State convention, and was even twitted about the extent of his property interests in Pittsburg, particularly at the corner of Smithfield and Water streets, where the Monongahela House was in process of erection. It was stated that in 1828 he had loaned himself to the Whigs and Anti-Masons in order to break down that faction of the Democracy which supported Mr. Stevenson, and that when elected he had resigned, and that soon afterward he had again loaned himself to President Jackson and to the South, and that he had doffed his cap as "iron king" in order to break down the tariff and secure the favor of John C. Calhoun. In 1839 he was called the "bashaw with three tails," owing to the fact that he was a candidate on the electoral ticket, was a candidate to the Twenty-sixth Congress and a candidate to the Twenty-seventh Congress. It was further declared that Mr. Wilkins, many years before, though an avowed Federalist, served as secretary at the famous Carlisle convention, which passed resolutions denouncing the prosecution of the War of 1812; and it was further stated that at the same time he was captain of a troop of cavalry in Pittsburg, and that immediately after his return from the convention the troop was dissolved, whereupon he applied to the Governor for a colonel's commission, which was granted him, but the Senate refused to confirm the appointment, owing to his action in the Carlisle convention and to his course in dissolving his troop of horse (1).

(1) Daily American, September 1 to 3, 1840.

In January, 1840, the Whigs and Anti-Masons presented William W. Irwin as candidate for mayor, while the Anti-bank people, supported by the *Constitutionalist*, presented John Birmingham. Mr. Irwin was elected, as shown by the following vote. This was the first occasion that the Third Ward gave a Whig majority, and the newspapers spoke of it as "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled."

	Irwin.	Birmingham.
West Ward.....	340	117
South Ward.....	264	183
East Ward.....	353	225
North Ward.....	307	99
Bayardstown.....	262	176

In January, 1840, the *Gazette* said: "Two years ago and three years ago a Locofoco mayor was elected, and one year ago the Locofocos, by uniting with the Whig party, got in a Whig mayor, to the sorrow of the Anti-Masons; but the nomination of Harrison cemented the whole Anti-Van Buren party, and it nominated and elected a mayor by over 700 votes here in Pittsburg." In fact the Whig party, at the election in January, 1840, for mayor, carried every ward, electing seven candidates to the Select Council and twenty-five to the Common Council, and completely snowing the Locofocos under. In the five wards then constituting the city Mr. Irwin, Whig, received a total of 1,526 votes, and Mr. Birmingham, Democrat, received 800. In this election the Democracy called their ticket the Citizens', and Mr. Birmingham was called the citizens' candidate. But despite their efforts thus to divide the Whigs and Anti-Masons, party lines were strictly drawn and the Whigs swept everything before them.

On February 11, 1840, an immense meeting was held in the Courthouse to support the nomination of General Harrison for the Presidency. Harmar Denny was president of the meeting, and delivered an eloquent speech on the issues of the day. The house was filled to overflowing, many being unable to gain entrance. All the old surviving soldiers of the War of 1812 were present and were honored with seats on the platform. Among them were Messrs. Willock, John Davis, John D. Davis and John Park. Among the speakers were John W. Lynch, who had been with Harrison at Fort Meigs, General Marks, Moses Hampton and others. It was said of this assemblage that no such meeting had been held in Pittsburg since the immense Jackson meeting of August, 1823. Among the supporters of General Harrison in 1840 were the following: John D. Davis, Harmar Denny, William Leckey, George L. Reis, Colonel Peter Klingensmith, William Mackey, Nicholas Voightley, Jacob Fedder, Christian Sniveley, John Laughlin, William E. Noble, P. J. Maitland, E. J. Brooke, Jacob F. Wall, H. Mitchell, Josiah King, W. W. Irwin, General William Marks, Hugh D. King, John Parke, John Davis and John Willock. In the summer of 1840 the Whigs organized a Tippecanoe club, having among others the following members: N. B. Craig, Thomas Williams, Robert M. Riddle, Francis Reams, H. P. Schwartz, James Stewart, Harmar Denny, George Darsie, Daniel McCurdy, John Park, James Marshall, Lewis Hutchison, W. W. Irwin, Thomas Bakewell, Alexander Jayne, Alexander W. Foster, Jr., W. B. McClure, James A. McClelland, William Elder, C. L. Magee, W. B. Robinson, John P. Bakewell, William J. Howard, John Laughlin, Samuel Fahnestock, D. P. Ingersoll, John Morrison, O. O. Gregg, George F. Rauhauser, Josiah King, Andrew Wiley, Walter H. Lowrie, Moses Hampton, George Norton, J. H. Sewall, Jr., James Mellinger, Edward Rissick, Charles Avery, H. D. King, Benjamin Weaver, George Stewart, William W. Wallace, David Chess, Joseph Wainwright, Thomas Liggett, Jr., Hugh Arthers, John Jack, John B. McFadden, J. H. Shoenberger, N. P. Pearson and Benjamin Darlington.

Pursuant to notice a meeting of "those favorable to protecting the industries of the land and taking into consideration the present embarrassed condition of the country" was held at the Courthouse March 17, 1840, on which occasion Thomas Bakewell was made chairman, John Freeman, P. Mulvaney, L. Peterson, Robert Knox and John Arthurs vice-presidents, and P. J. Maitland and W. M. Shinn secretaries. Upon motion a committee was appointed to prepare a set of resolutions to be submitted to an adjourned meeting to be held at the Courthouse on March 24, 1840, at 3 o'clock p. m. On that occasion Mr. Bakewell was again made chairman, and William M. Shinn, from the committee, reported a series of resolutions and delivered an argumentative speech bearing upon the same. These resolutions, after declaring the dignity of labor and the great importance of protection to domestic manufactures, reviewed the history of tariff legislation in this country. They recited that the unvarying policy of the country, from the first tariff, July 4, 1789, to the last Compromise Bill of 1833, had been found by practice to be eminently useful and conducive to the general welfare; that the period from 1824 to 1832, when the tariff was highest, was the most prosperous; that the gradual reduction of the tariff by the law of 1833 was already manifest in the present deplorable condition of business; that the evident design of legislating the working classes down to the wages prevailing in Europe was manifest; that the bill of 1833 was a compromise made to conciliate the South, and not a surrender of the right of protection to the dictation of South Carolina, as asserted by one of her senators; that the country could never prosper until a protective tariff to countervail the restrictive systems of foreign nations should become the fixed policy of the Government; that any effort to encourage home manufactures by depressing the price of labor was unworthy of American statesmanship, and that the suggestion to hold a national convention of the friends of the American system met the approval of this meeting. George W. Jackson submitted substitute resolutions deprecating any action on the subject at the present time, on the ground "that the Compromise Act of 1833 had settled the question definitely up to the year 1842, and that we were bound in good faith not to disturb the arrangement until then." Mr. A. Wylie addressed the meeting at considerable length in support of the Shinn resolutions and in opposition to those offered by Mr. Jackson, and ended by reading a strong letter written by Andrew Jackson in 1824 in support of the American system. Charles Shaler was loudly called for, and, consenting, made a brief speech in support of the Shinn resolutions. Among other things he said that after investigation he had become convinced that "we were not bound to avoid disturbing the arrangements of the law of 1833," and that a protective tariff was evidently the true policy of the whole country, and of this vicinity in particular, though the "bloated currency should also be curtailed and regulated." A resolution offered by J. Knox, declaring that the law of 1833 was not so far binding upon the manufacturers of the North as to prevent them from seeking a modification of the same, was unanimously adopted (m).

"From Pittsburg the delegation was large, and consisted of substantial-looking men, the iron of Pennsylvania. They carried a banner, consisting of a handsome painting representing Harrison and his staff, and on the reverse, a log cabin, with Harrison at the plow in the foreground" (n).

"Glorious Victory.—The most complete and decided victory which has yet been achieved under the banner of Harrisonism was that of Tuesday last in our neighboring city of Allegheny. The city is divided into four wards; in each

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(m) Advocate and Emporium, March 26, 1840.

(n) Baltimore American's description of the Allegheny County delegation to the convention which nominated Harrison and Tyler, May, 1840.

ward there were three Select councilmen, four Common councilmen, six school directors, one judge and two inspectors, being sixty-four officers; and in the whole city one mayor. Of these sixty-five officers, sixty-one are decided Harrison men, including the mayor. Four are suspected of being tinged with Locofocoism. There were three candidates for mayor—all Whigs. Indeed, so conscious were the Locofocos of the utter prostration of their party that they only hoped to elect one judge—R. A. Campbell—and he was defeated by a majority of ninety-nine votes” (o).

The nomination of General Harrison for the Presidency met the unqualified support of the opposition to Van Buren in this vicinity. A thorough organization was instituted, and one of the most spirited campaigns that ever occurred in the county followed. The political assemblages rivaled those which had turned out by the acre in 1829 to support Andrew Jackson. The most intense enthusiasm prevailed, and, in fact, swept everything before it. Hard cider and log cabins were the watchwords of the party. The citizens of the county supporting Mr. Harrison met in Allegheny on August 12, 1840, and erected a large log cabin, to be used during the remainder of the campaign as a wigwam. Country folks came in by the hundreds to assist in erecting the cabin. A pine pole, seventy feet long, was brought from the Alleghany Mountains and presented by the Harrison men of Bedford County to the Whigs of this vicinity, and erected in front of the cabin. Among the leading Democrats in 1840 were William Wilkins, Charles Shaler, Wilson McCandless, Edward D. Gazzam, Thomas Hamilton, Robert Galway, Rody Patterson, Thomas Phillips, John B. Butler, William Jack, Robert Porter, Henry McCullough and Robert H. Kerr. The larger meetings of the Whigs were held in what was called Tippecanoe Hall, in Pittsburg, while informal meetings of various kinds were usually held in the log cabin in Allegheny. During this campaign Harmar Denny was a candidate for elector on the Harrison ticket. In 1840 Richard Biddle, Congressman, resigned, and H. M. Brackenridge and William W. Irwin were presented as candidates by their respective parties for that position. One of the important questions discussed during this campaign was the labor problem, which had been brought prominently to the notice of politicians throughout the State by the hostile action of the South and the derogatory remarks of Mr. Buchanan. In July, 1840, William Robinson, Jr., was elected mayor of Allegheny, the first under the city charter.

During the Presidential campaign of 1840, 5,000 Harrison medals were struck and distributed in this vicinity. On October 6, 1840, a Whig mass meeting was held in Pittsburg—the largest gathering ever convened in the city up to that time. The *Gazette* and the *Advocate*, in their enthusiasm, placed the attendance at from 27,000 to 60,000. Walter Forward was president of the day. John Tyler, candidate for Vice-President, was present and delivered an eloquent speech on national issues. Mr. Forward also spoke, as did Messrs. Briggs, Weston, Griswold and Loomis. The principal speaking was held during the afternoon, but the celebration was continued late at night, a torchlight procession parading the streets. It was called a convention, but was more properly a mass meeting, and all conceded that it surpassed anything of the kind ever before witnessed in Allegheny County. The *Pittsburgher* of the 7th of October said: “Yesterday afternoon the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny looked like a couple of spacious harbors, in which the hulls of 10,000 ships lay almost invisible amidst a forest of masts, adorned with cider barrels, streamers and flags.” The *Advocate* of the same date said: “A more gallant display it was never our fortune to witness, and what is more, almost every flag and every banner

(o) Gazette, July 18, 1840.



bore an inscription that gave the lie to the charge that the Whigs had no principles." It was claimed that one who roughly counted the number present found 27,700. On the contrary, the *Mercury* said that the procession, by actual count, consisted of but 4,200. On this occasion Mr. Tyler was presented by the Bakewells with a miniature log cabin in glass, and by the Curlings and Robinsons with a glass canoe and glass cider-barrel.

At the October election Mr. Brackenridge, candidate for Congress, received in Pittsburg 1,855 votes and in Allegheny 880 votes; and Mr. Wilkins, candidate for the same office, received in Pittsburg 1,165 votes and in Allegheny 412 votes. Allegheny County in November gave Harrison 7,620 votes and Van Buren 4,573 votes.

In December, 1840, the Whigs nominated James Thompson for mayor and called him the Democratic Harrison candidate. As a matter of fact, the Whigs were so popular at this time that several candidates purporting to represent the Harrison ticket were nominated for mayor. The *Mercury* recommended the Democrats not to nominate a candidate of their own party, but to select and vote for that one of the Harrison candidates who would be most likely to further their interests. At this election the Democrats represented that party politics should not be brought into local elections, although previously, particularly in January, 1840, they had nominated and vigorously supported John Birmingham for mayor. The result for mayor was as follows: Mr. Thompson, the Harrison regular candidate, 1,148; Mr. Graham, Independent Harrison, 602; Mr. Marshall, Independent Harrison, 124; Mr. McKelvy, the only Democratic candidate, 567. The result in Allegheny for mayor was as follows: Mr. Sample, Whig, 541; Mr. Riddle, Democrat, 419. The Anti-Masons in Pittsburg had nominated Mr. Thompson, and then proceeded to whip the Whigs into line for that candidate. They were not wholly successful, and consequently two Independent candidates were nominated. However, the Anti-Masons had strength enough of their own and drawn from the Whigs to easily elect their candidate.

In January, 1841, great preparations were made here to formally receive President-elect Harrison while on his way to Washington. The Whigs determined to make it the most dazzling display ever conducted in Pittsburg. All the leading Whigs were appointed on some one of the numerous committees of reception, arrangement, etc. The steamboat *Fulton* was dispatched to Wheeling to meet the steamboat *Ben Franklin*, which was to convey Mr. Harrison to Pittsburg. Upon landing at the wharf on Saturday afternoon he was conducted in an open carriage to the Pittsburg hotel, accompanied by all the dignitaries of the two cities. In the evening he addressed an immense assemblage of citizens from the front of Iron's Hotel. Mr. Harrison remained here over Sunday, the guest of the twin cities, and on Monday sailed up the Monongahela to Brownsville. He was escorted to the boat by the city officers, the various militia companies and a large assemblage of citizens.

In June, 1841, the Anti-Masons nominated for State senator George Darsie; the Whigs nominated William Little, and the Democrats nominated Edward D. Gazzam. The *Gazette* supported Mr. Darsie, the *Advocate* Mr. Little, and the *Mercury* and *Democrat* Mr. Gazzam. The *Gazette* and *Advocate* supported John Banks for governor. The death of President Harrison, early in his first few months of office, occasioned great sorrow in Pittsburg. In July his remains passed through here under the escort of Colonel Henderson and a guard of honor. Fitting memorial services were held on that occasion.

At the October election, 1841, for senator, Mr. Darsie received 4,267 votes, Mr. Gazzam 4,314, and Mr. Little 766. For governor, Banks 5,068, Porter 4,281. In 1841 Walter Forward, the idol of the Whigs and Anti-Masons, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury.

At this time a strong sentiment in favor of dropping the Anti-Masonic party as such prevailed in the community. This sentiment was vigorously opposed by the *Gazette*, which, by this time, had come to hate all secret societies. In fact the *Gazette*, at this time, published what purported to be all the secret words and signs of the Masonic order. It is within the bounds of probability that had it not been for the persistency of Mr. Craig, the Anti-Masonic party of Allegheny County at this time would have been merged into the Whig party. All the Whigs desired it and many Anti-Masons favored it, but the Anti-Masons, as a party, refused emphatically to yield the principle which they contended was the paramount one of that organization. The Whigs, by this time, saw the uselessness of the contention of the Anti-Masons, and realized that to annihilate the Masonic order was out of the question. In fact Masonry at this time enjoyed a period of revival and greatly increased throughout the United States in numbers and in strength. But the union of the two parties, Whig and Anti-Masonic, was destined not to take place yet in this community. The *Gazette* continued its warfare. Listen to the following from the issue of September 29, 1841: "After all that Anti-Masonry has done to break down these unhallowed combinations of men for unlawful purposes, yet Masonry still rears her horrid front through the length and breadth of the land, and by its audacity seems to bid defiance to all attempts to overthrow it. Even in our own county the attempt is now made by haters of the 'Blessed Spirit' to break down our organization and destroy the influence that Anti-Masonry has hitherto exerted for the welfare of the body politic. But we do not despair of final success, even throughout our whole beloved country." . . . . "The citizens of Allegheny County, however, need not look to New York for evidences of the evil nature of the Masonic institution. The hailing sign of distress has been thrown in the course of judicial proceedings in the city of Pittsburg; and our fellow citizens will long remember that the notorious scoundrel Pluymart, who had robbed a bank in our city, and who was running at large in contempt of the law and of the judgment of a court, was pardoned through the influence of Masons in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Columbus. . . . . More than twenty years ago a Presbyterian synod in this very city condemned and denounced that institution, its blasphemous ceremonies and its evil tendencies, and at a late day twenty-seven of the most respectable Masons in this vicinity declared that its practices were calculated to weaken all the securities of life, liberty and property" (p).

At the January election of mayor in 1842 a faction of the Democracy nominated Patrick McKenna. This nomination was denounced by the great majority of Democrats, who declared it unwise and unpopular to thus nominate a man who had reviled Andrew Jackson. A list of 250 names was published, denouncing the nomination on this ground. William M. Shinn was the regular nominee of the Democracy for mayor in January, 1842. He said: "If the use of my name as a candidate for the office of mayor is thought likely to subserve the purpose of separating the administration of our city affairs from the exciting conflicts of party politics, you are heartily welcome to it." Alexander Hay was the nominee of the united Anti-Masons and Whigs. During the canvass he ridiculed the so-called no-party ticket of the Democrats.

An immense meeting of the people of this vicinity was held in Pittsburg February 5, 1842, for the purpose of taking some action concerning the proposed tariff. Resolutions were offered by Richard Biddle and adopted. They recited that in 1785 an act was passed by Pennsylvania "to encourage and protect

(p) Extract from an address to the citizens of the country from the Anti-Masonic Committee of Correspondence, November, 1841.

the manufactures of this State by laying additional duties on the importation of certain manufactures which interfere with them; that others of a similar import were passed December 24, 1785, and April 8, 1786, and March 29, 1788, the latter entitled, 'An act to encourage and protect the manufactures of this State;' that Mr. Jefferson, who was sent abroad, confirmed the necessity of a discriminating tariff law against Great Britain, as did also Mr. Adams and Mr. Madison; that upon the adoption of the Constitution, Pennsylvania yielded her policy of protection to the General Government, with the understanding that the power could be more effectively wielded by Congress; that this sacred right was now denied the State—the right of encouragement and protection apart from the collection of a revenue; that the law of July 4, 1789, distinctly recognized the right of encouragement and protection; that the policy of Mr. Jefferson, which "places the manufacturer alongside of the agriculturist, is the only correct one; that the question now is not whether we shall enter on a system of protection, but whether we shall withdraw the protection already afforded; that the course of England has ever been, by means of trashy reviews and lectures on political economy, to propagate the doctrine of free trade abroad, while adopting an opposite course at home; and that the proposed law is necessary for the prosperity of the country" (q).

In 1843 Allegheny County voted as follows on Congressman: Brackenridge (W.), 1,884; Craig (W. and A.-M.), 2,237; Wilkins (L. F.), 4,438; Penniman (Abol.), 379. At the special election held in the spring of 1844, to choose a candidate for Congress to take the place of Mr. Wilkins, who had resigned, the vote stood as follows: Mr. Darragh, Whig, 4,315; Mr. Gazzam, Van Burenite, 3,541; Mr. Craig, Abolitionist, 634. Mr. Wilkins had been appointed Secretary of War. At the election for governor in 1844 the vote in Allegheny County stood as follows: Shunk, Democrat, 5,863; Markle, Whig, 8,105. In 1844 the vote for President in Allegheny County was as follows: Clay, 8,083; Polk, 5,740; Birney, 435.

In January, 1846, six wards were represented at the mayoralty election. In that contest William J. Howard was the Whig and Anti-Masonic candidate for mayor of Pittsburg, and Robert S. Cassat the same candidate for mayor of Allegheny. The Democrats nominated Dr. Kerr. In Pittsburg the vote stood as follows: Howard, Whig, 1,425 votes; Dr. Kerr, Democrat, 1,532. It was stated at the time that Mr. Howard's unsatisfactory police management and disposition of the fire relief fund were the cause of his defeat. Mr. Cassat, in Allegheny, carried every ward and had about 412 majority. It was contended that Mr. Howard was too strict and did not favor the politicians sufficiently to secure their favor, which further fact contributed to his defeat. Mr. Campbell was the nominee of the Democrats for mayor of Allegheny. Mr. Stodart, Native American candidate, and Mr. Benny, Abolition candidate, received less than 100 votes each.

"Nothing has more surprised us than to learn that persons who had been among the most bitter Anti-Masons in this county had united themselves with the Sons of Temperance, a secret institution, which, however worthy in its original object, is liable, from its very feature of secrecy, to be prostituted to improper purposes" (r).

A meeting was held February 5, 1846, in the rooms of the Board of Trade to consider the proposed change in the tariff of 1842. Thomas Bakewell was made president, James S. Craft and L. S. Waterman vice-presidents, Hart Darragh and Morrison Reppart secretaries. Resolutions expressing strong

(q) Commercial Journal, February 11, 1846.

(r) Gazette and Advertiser, February 22, 1846.

opposition to the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and providing for the preparation of a memorial to be sent to Congress were adopted. Among the speakers were Morgan Robertson, W. M. Shinn, James S. Craft, J. B. Sheriff, Charles Shaler, Richard Edwards, Walter Forward, Judge Baird, Henry S. Megraw and others. Another meeting was called to be held the following Saturday at 3 o'clock p. m. The meeting of Saturday was largely attended. John B. Butler was chosen chairman and James S. Craft and E. D. Gazzam appointed secretaries. "The resolutions which were adopted were offered by two different persons, Charles Shaler and John B. Sheriff. Mr. Shaler's resolutions alleged that a tariff looked *primarily* to revenue. These were first offered and passed. But the meeting immediately afterward, on motion of Mr. Sheriff, adopted his resolutions as additional to the others. It was thought that the first resolutions were not explicit enough upon the right of protection *as protection*; and for this reason Mr. Sheriff urged the passage of his. His arguments and declarations were heard with much approbation, and the votes of the meeting leave no doubt of the sentiments of Pittsburg, not only in relation to the tariff of 1842, as a tariff for revenue with discrimination for protection, but a tariff for protection itself. We are glad that the protective principle asserted in the resolutions moved by Mr. Sheriff was adopted. . . . The passage of the protective resolutions was not achieved by the force of eloquence nor the power of ingenious argument. The mover and advocate of them—for Mr. Sheriff alone spoke in favor of his resolutions—is a plain mechanic. But his simple sentiments had their response in the hearts of his hearers". (s).

The gist of the Shaler resolutions was that the primary object of a system of duties was revenue; that any legislative action seriously injuring the tariff of 1842 would be greatly deplored, and that, while the wisdom of protection to home industry had been proved, free trade had not received the sanction of a solitary experiment. The Sheriff resolutions were more pronounced in the principles of protection. Three of them were as follows: "*Resolved*, That the adoption of free trade in theory has been followed by national beggary in practice. *Resolved*, That we can never consent to put the honest exertions of American freemen on the same footing as the labor of the white slaves of European aristocrats or the black slaves of Southern cotton-planters. *Resolved*, That self preservation is the first law of nations as well as individuals, and the first duty of government is to render its citizens able to feed, clothe and protect themselves" (t).

The argument of the free traders here was that protection as a principle sanctioned by the Constitution was an absurdity. The advocates of protection opposed this declaration with all their power. Pittsburg, however, occupied the unique position of being, of all cities in the United States, the one most in need of high protection. So manifest was this fact (that the prosperity of the city and environs was absolutely dependent upon protection) that few men who hoped for political preferment or political prominence dared offer any opposition. It is thus found that prominent Democrats here supported the protective system—were forced to do so by the almost overwhelming sentiment of the community. Of course there was pronounced opposition to the system, but it could never hope for much support and might expect strenuous opposition in this vicinity. The *Post*, in 1850, complained of the persecution to which it was subjected by opposing protection and favoring free trade. More than once it occurred that the manufacturers of Massachusetts joined the South in opposing protective measures, of which Pennsylvania, particularly Pittsburg, stood so much in need. The free traders here declared that in no case, no

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(s) Commercial Journal, February, 1846. (t) Commercial Journal, February 10, 1846.

matter how high the protection, did manufacturers of this vicinity increase the wages of employes. This was strongly advanced by the *Post* during the factory strike of 1848. This paper and its supporters also insisted that high protection favored manufactures at the expense of other branches of industry.

There was much excitement here when the news was received in July, 1846, that the new tariff bill had passed the House. People generally did not disguise the fact that they regarded the change as a national calamity, and all felt that ruin of local manufactures was impending. Even the *Post* said the change was very objectionable. "When, in 1842, the tariff bill was adopted there was universal gloom hanging over our country. Not six months had rolled away after its adoption before a change most welcome was observable. Commerce, manufactures and the mechanic arts began again to prosper. The partisan catchwords of 'Two dollars a day and roast beef' were literally realized. We have now scarcely a hope left" (u). Mr. Forward, in reply to a public letter of inquiry in 1846, took the position that in a tariff for revenue, revenue was the primary object and protection incidental. This was the view also of Judge Shaler. But this view did not prevent either from favoring a primary protective policy. Both took the ground that in case the tariff was so high as to keep importations from passing the custom-house, a tariff primarily for revenue would have to be enacted and could be made to embrace incidentally a tariff for protection (v).

In June, 1846, the Native American party nominated Thomas Howard for Congress, while the Anti-Masons and Whigs nominated Moses Hampton, and the Liberty party John A. Wills. The Whig and Anti-Masonic convention of June, 1846, declared that the tariff of 1846 was an unwise measure, and favored its repeal and a return to the schedule of 1842; that Congress should vigorously prosecute war with Mexico in order to settle the claims of the United States against that government; that the pay of soldiers should be increased to from \$8 to \$10 per month, with a bounty of 160 acres of land; that the rights of the United States concerning the Oregon question should be maintained against Great Britain; that a better state of navigation should be kept up in the rivers; that all secret, oath-bound societies should be made to disappear; that the course of the Allegheny representatives in the last Legislature in voting to charter Odd Fellows' societies was unwise; and that the course of Mr. Darragh and Mr. Darsie in the last Legislature should be discountenanced.

In July, 1846, the Democrats held a large convention, on which occasion William Wilkins presided. He delivered a short but characteristic speech, outlining the course and cause of Democracy. Charles Shaler was called for uproariously, and responded with an eloquent speech, which apparently tore to tatters the claims and pretensions of the Whigs. He declared that the tariff should not be a party question, and that if the subject was placed in the keeping of the Whigs they would kill it. At the conclusion of his speech he was given rousing applause. E. D. Gazzam, chairman of the committee on resolutions, declared that the prosperous times had not come until after the passage of the tariff of 1842, and insisted that the Democracy of the State had pledged themselves, in 1844, not to repeal the tariff of 1842, but that Dallas, as presiding officer in the Senate of the United States, had deserted Pennsylvania and cast his deciding vote against the tariff and in favor of Southern interests. Benton Kerr delivered a strong speech, as did also Mr. Watson, who declared that the cotton factories of Allegheny County were veritable slave shops, and asked what benefit the tariff of 1842 was to the workingman. He insisted that the iron manufacturers and the capitalists generally were the only persons benefited by the tariff

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(u) Commercial Journal, July 7, 1846.

(v) Commercial Journal, February 18, 1846.



of 1842, and that the law made the poor poorer and ground down wages with long hours and other unbearable exactions. He was a young man, but delivered one of the strongest speeches in the convention, and, apparently, his views were received with the greatest favor by the audience. He was answered by Mr. Gazzam, who spoke sarcastically, but in a second speech Mr. Watson upheld with great eloquence the cause of the workingman, and assailed the course of manufacturers with a fierceness rarely surpassed here. Mr. Callan delivered a rousing speech amid great uproar, and Mr. Wilkins, the presiding officer, was compelled to interfere again and again to calm the storm. It was, all in all, one of the most exciting conventions ever held in Allegheny County.

The various parties and factions of parties in this vicinity at that time were Democrats, Whigs, Anti-Masons, Tariff Advocates, Anti-Tariff, Abolitionists, Free Soilers, National Reformers, etc. In 1846 Wilson McCandless was the candidate of the Democracy for Congress. All the members of that party in Allegheny County believed that the tariff of 1846 was not strong enough to be of satisfactory benefit to the manufacturing interests of Pittsburg. They supported it because it had been brought forward as a party measure. As a matter of history, the tariff of 1846 was largely devised by Robert J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, who had previously practiced law in Pittsburg and Western Pennsylvania. In August, 1846, when it became known that George M. Dallas was responsible for the passage of the tariff bill of that year, he was burned in effigy in Pittsburg and in many other cities throughout the State. At the Congressional election in 1846, in Allegheny County, Moses Hampton, Whig, received 5,461 votes; Wilson McCandless, Democrat, received 4,047; John A. Wills, Liberty, received 487; and Thomas Howard, Native, 506.

In December, 1846, William J. Howard was brought forward again by the Whigs as a candidate for mayor, but withdrew, whereupon Gabriel Adams was nominated. Alexander Jaynes was the Native American candidate for mayor. The Democrats nominated Andrew McIlwaine. The principal issue was advocacy or opposition to the war with Mexico. In addition to that, the Democrats made a strong and successful attempt to win the workingmen's vote. However, the strength of the Whigs was too great to be overcome, and Mr. Adams was duly elected. Mr. McIlwaine stood second, and Messrs. Jaynes and Cook were far in the rear. In Allegheny, Mr. Campbell, Whig, was elected, and Mr. Whiston, Democrat, defeated. At this election the Whigs carried every ward in Pittsburg, and the new license law was sustained by a majority of about 1,200.

On April 17, 1847, a large meeting convened in the old Courthouse to publicly celebrate the victories of Monterey, Buena Vista and Vera Cruz. Dr. Josiah Ankrum was chairman of the meeting. Messrs. Guthrie, Shaler, McCandless, McKibben and Snowden were appointed a committee on resolutions. This demonstration was wholly Democratic in character, although the resolutions adopted concerning the war with Mexico reflected the sentiments of the community generally, but the meeting should be regarded as political. The principal speakers were Samuel Hamilton, Charles Shaler and Wilson McCandless, all of whom warmly advocated a continuance of the war and the maintenance of the rights of the United States (w). The Democrats favored the war with Mexico. All others, particularly the Reformers, among the leaders of whom was Mrs. Swisshelm, opposed it, owing to the small pay given to the soldiers, and to the fact that the soil to be acquired as a result of the war was destined to be slave territory. The Democrats favored, as it was said, the three K's—Kalifornia, Kuba and Kanada. At this time the slave power in

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(w) Post, April 19, 1847.

America was dominant, and was pressing forward to acquire new territory for its particular institution in California, Cuba, Texas and Canada. In 1847 the vote for governor was: Irvin (W.), 5,753; Shunk (L. F.), 4,453. In December, 1847, an immense war meeting was held in Pittsburg, and was chiefly attended by the Democrats. The principal speakers were Thomas Hamilton, Mr. Watson, Wilson McCandless, Charles Shaler and R. H. Kerr. All delivered strong speeches upon the various questions then agitating the country, and particularly upon the subjects of the war, slavery, the tariff and the labor question. Resolutions setting forth the general views of the meeting and of the Democrats of Allegheny County were adopted. The committee on resolutions were J. B. Guthrie, C. B. Scully and L. Harper. This committee violently disagreed on the measures presented in the resolutions, Mr. Scully submitting a minority report. The meeting was conducted in an uproar, although peace was finally secured and the resolutions of the majority were duly adopted. The *Post* advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war, while all the Whig papers, with various degrees of lukewarmness, opposed it, and a few came boldly out with severe strictures against the Administration for levying such an unnecessary and unholy war. Mrs. Swisshelm in her paper, the *Weekly Visitor*, was particularly severe against the Administration in declaring war and in continuing it.

In January, 1847, Mr. Adams was renominated for mayor by the Whigs and Anti-Masons. A. C. Alexander was nominated as an Independent Whig candidate against Henry Campbell, regular candidate for mayor of Allegheny. Mr. Campbell received 532 votes and Mr. Alexander 367. In the nine wards of Pittsburg, Mr. Adams, Whig, received 1,642 votes; Dr. Kerr, Democrat, 1,555, and Mr. Stackhouse, Native American, 312. "Well, Mayor Adams is re-elected. The rigid impartiality which has characterized the administration of the police during the last year will be repeated during the present, and we are heartily glad of it. We like to see the genteel 'rowdy' punished with the same severity as the 'loafer' and the 'rat,' and Mayor Adams has his name up for this species of justice" (x).

In February, 1848, an immense meeting of the Whigs was held in McFadden's warehouse to recommend the nomination of General Scott for the Presidency. Many interesting speeches were made by the leading Whigs, and great enthusiasm prevailed. A fine portrait of General Scott, under which were enrolled the names of his principal battles—Fort George, Lundy's Lane, Chippewa, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, etc.—was suspended over the speaker's stand. This meeting gave an emphatic and unqualified endorsement for the nomination of General Scott for the Presidency. In February, 1848, another branch of the Whigs held a meeting, which advocated the nomination of Henry Clay for the Presidency. A resolution was adopted to secure the services of Trevor McClurg, artist, to go to Ashland, Kentucky, and there paint, in oil, the portrait of Mr. Clay, and pledged \$600 for the services of the artist. Of this meeting William J. Howard was chairman. In March, 1848, upon the passage through here of Mr. Clay, he was given a magnificent reception, Mr. Loomis delivering a most eloquent welcoming speech.

In June, 1848, the Whig and Anti-Masonic county convention was large and enthusiastic. Moses Hampton was nominated for Congress, but coupled with the nomination was a request that he should give his views concerning the Wilmot Proviso, and his nomination was understood to depend upon his answer. It was clearly the sentiment of the convention that no man who opposed the Wilmot Proviso could receive the nomination or the support of the party. The reply of Mr. Hampton was satisfactory, and he was accordingly nominated.

(x) Commercial Journal, January 13, 1848.

At the Whig ratification meeting in June, 1848, Cornelius Darragh and Walter Forward were the principal speakers, dilating at length upon the merits of the Whig candidates, Taylor and Fillmore. At this time the Whigs opposed, as one of their party measures, the excessive use of the veto power by the President of the United States. On June 16th John J. Crittenden spoke in Pittsburg on the issues of the day. At this time a Rough and Ready club was formed. Opposing factions of the Democratic party had strong followings here in 1848. The most of them had previously been Democrats, but had recently come out against slavery and in favor of the election of Martin Van Buren to the Presidency. In July, 1848, the *Visitor*, edited by Mrs. Swisshelm, favored the coalescence of the Liberty men and the Barn Burners. Much was made of the announcement that Mr. Cass had stated that, if elected President of the United States, he would consider as unconstitutional an act similar to the Wilmot Proviso and veto it accordingly. The officers of the Rough and Ready Club for the county of Allegheny were as follows: P. A. Madeira, president; Messrs. Dumars, Washington and Leslie, recording secretaries; Messrs. Woods, Boyd and Parmer, corresponding secretaries; and among the members were Messrs. Bigham, Ritchie, Singer, Crossan, McKnight, Allen, Buckmaster, Rea, Beck, McKee, McCauley, Bell and Walker.

At the election for governor in 1848, William F. Johnston, Whig, received 8,856 votes; Painter (L. F.), 6,130; Morris Longstreth (Democrat), 6,164; Cleaver (N. A.), 523 votes in Allegheny County. At this time Moses Hampton, Whig candidate for Congress, was elected over Samuel W. Black, Democrat. Mr. Jackson, the Free Soil candidate for Congress, received about 440 votes in the county, while Mr. Cullen, Native candidate, received about 260 votes for the same office. Allegheny also gave a majority for Moses Hampton. Manchester, Lawrenceville and South Pittsburg gave a majority for Colonel Black, while Birmingham gave a majority of five for Mr. Hampton. At the Presidential election in 1848 Taylor received in Pittsburg 3,158, Cass 1,977, and Van Buren 230. In the county Taylor received 10,112, Cass 6,591, Van Buren (F. S.) 779. Seven votes were polled in the First Ward, Allegheny, for Gerrett Smith, candidate of the Abolitionists for President. John Herron was elected mayor of Pittsburg in January, 1849, and it was due to his good management that "the reign of terror from incendiaries" was ended. Thousands of dollars' worth of property had previously been destroyed.

In August, 1849, great preparations were made here to receive Zachary Taylor and W. F. Johnston. Walter Forward was appointed to make the welcoming speech. President Taylor was met at Turtle Creek, twelve miles from the city, by General Darragh and other dignitaries, where he was welcomed in a short speech, and then conveyed in a buggy by Colonel Rody Patterson to the city, passing along to the Hand Street bridge, thence to Allegheny, thence to the St. Clair Street bridge, and again to Pittsburg, finally stopping at the Monongahela House. Here the welcoming speech of Mr. Forward was delivered—one of the most eloquent ever uttered in Pittsburg. In October, 1849, Salmon P. Chase, the new Free Soil United States Senator from Ohio, delivered a two-hour Free Soil speech in the Market-house, Allegheny, to an immense crowd.

It was in 1849 that Joseph Barker was again brought into prominence by his arrest and conviction upon the charge of obstructing the streets, using indecent language and causing a riot. In spite of the commands of the officers Mr. Barker had insisted upon delivering his harangues from the Courthouse steps and other public places, and in one of his speeches the court was derided and the judge even menaced with hanging to a lamppost. During the trial Mr. Barker reviled the counsel for the prosecution, and finally consigned the jury to

utter condemnation. The motion of Mr. Barker's counsel for a new trial and arrest of judgment was overruled. It should be stated as a matter of history that Mr. Barker was not insane, as many claimed, but was a reformer of the violent class to which old John Brown belonged. Revs. Kirkland and Sharp were reformers a little less violent than Mr. Barker, and were convicted for the same offense. They persisted in delivering reform lectures, or sermons, on the streets on Sundays, and always succeeded in drawing immense crowds and in creating great disturbance. The remarks of these men covered all questions then before the people, such as slavery, Catholicism, the social evil, the observance of Sunday, the rights of labor, Fourierism and other prominent subjects; but the addresses were delivered with such violence and such a destruction of established custom that they did not meet the approbation of the majority of this community. Besides, the course adopted by the speakers was usually more or less a violation of municipal laws. The sentence passed upon Mr. Barker was that he should pay a fine of \$250 and be confined in the county jail for twelve months, to pay the costs of the prosecution and stand committed until the fine was paid. The case was tried before Judge Patton. Many persons believed in the visionary principles advocated by Mr. Barker and other violent reformers, and, accordingly, they were not without friends. It came to be believed that Mr. Barker was a persecuted man, in fact, was a martyr, and soon his supporters outnumbered any other political faction. He was brought forward in November, 1849, as the no-party candidate for mayor, and received, in January, 1850, a total of 1,854 votes in Pittsburg, while Mr. Guthrie, Democratic candidate, received but 1,584, and Mr. McCutcheon, Whig candidate, but 984. At the time Mr. Barker was thus elected he was still in the county jail, and was pardoned by the Governor, and immediately thereafter was inaugurated mayor of Pittsburg. The following extracts explain themselves: "Barker leaves jail to go most triumphantly into the mayoralty. If there is any relish of salvation in the fellow he has now a chance to triumph over us by proving himself adequate to the duties of the office, and disclosing traits of character which heretofore have not marked him—moderation and prudence. We are entirely disposed to give Joe a chance, although we cannot but deplore his election, and desire to be understood as regarding the result as a severe but just chastisement of both parties" (y). . . . "The mail of yesterday did not bring the pardon of Barker, as was expected. The sheriff, however, very properly permitted the mayor-elect to leave jail and be inaugurated. The ceremony was performed in the presence of councils, the oath being administered by Judge Patton, who so lately sentenced Barker to a year's imprisonment in the county jail. . . . Whilst we regard the election of Barker with keen disappointment and chagrin, as the result of one of those popular vagaries which, springing from error all round, is as madly wrong as ever 1,800 voters out of 4,400 can be, we yet recognize it as the legal expression of a majority, which every good citizen is bound to obey. . . . Some who voted for him were prompted by religious prejudice, some by a decided belief that Barker was wrongfully convicted, some by the feeling that he was excessively punished; and ultimately some Whigs went to his support as a choice of evils, fearing the consequences of a triumph of the Democratic party in the election of Mr. Guthrie" (z).

In May, 1850, a petition signed by nearly 600 Whigs and Anti-Masons was presented to Thomas M. Howe, requesting him to become a candidate for Congress. This action was taken, owing to the well-known views of Mr. Howe on all public questions affecting Pittsburg, besides which the citizens had

(y) Commercial Journal, January 9, 1850.

(z) Commercial Journal, January 12, 1850.







implicit confidence in his integrity and ability. At this time the Democrats adopted the successful artifice of refraining from nominating any candidate for mayor, but of simply recommending one, whom they called the citizens' candidate. The Whigs nominated Robert McCutcheon, and for mayor of Allegheny, Hugh S. Fleming. Mr. Barker was also presented as a candidate for reelection. The *Ledger* was Mr. Barker's special organ, and to it he gave exclusively his inaugural address for publication. The vote for mayor in Allegheny in January, 1850, stood as follows: Mr. Fleming, Whig, 709; Mr. Karns, Independent, 502. At the October election, 1850, the vote in Pittsburg stood as follows: Mr. Howe, Whig, 1,536; Mr. Salisbury, Democrat, 1,211; Mr. Cullen, Native, 168; Mr. Jeffrey, Protestant, 150. At the same election the vote in Allegheny was as follows: Mr. Howe, 757; Mr. Salisbury, 376; Mr. Cullen, 190, and Mr. Jeffrey, 59. In January, 1850, many Whigs invited Charles B. Scully to become a candidate for mayor of Pittsburg, but he refused the honor. One of the measures of Mayor Barker was to oppose the police committee of the councils, and seek, through independent appointments, to gain absolute control of the police functions of the city. This measure was vigorously opposed by the councils. In January, 1851, there were many tickets in the field. Parties were greatly divided, among the factions being Whigs, Democrats, Natives, Masons, Odd Fellows, Protestants, Firemen, Workingmen and Barkerites, but what should be noticed is the fact that the Anti-Masons had almost wholly disappeared and had become Whigs, or members of the other parties. John J. Roggen, a self-made mechanic, was the Whig candidate for mayor in January, 1851. John B. Guthrie was the Democratic candidate, and Joseph Barker the Reform candidate. It was soon found that the nomination of Mr. Roggen was a mistake. The election resulted as follows: John B. Guthrie, Democrat, 1,911; John J. Roggen, Whig, 1,026; Joseph Barker, Reformer, 924; Thomas Cullen, Native, 9; Jane G. Swisshelm, Independent, 3; scattering, 7. Late in 1850 and early in 1851 occurred the conspiracy case of Mayor Barker and others, among whom were Luke H. Dwyer and John Lowe. Messrs. Black and Burke prosecuted, and Messrs. Magraw, Mahon, Snowden, Fetterman and Naylor defended. They were charged with the abduction of several children and with riot. This case attracted much attention at the time. It was disclosed during the election that Mr. Roggen had been irregularly nominated, or at least it was so alleged, which, in any event, gave the Whigs an excuse to cast many votes for the more popular candidate, Mr. Guthrie. It was asserted at this time that the Whig candidate for mayor of Allegheny, Hugh S. Fleming, who was renominated in January, 1851, but had served the previous year, was the best mayor that city had ever had. He was a good judge and an excellent executive, and no united opposition was made to his election, although two or three Independent candidates were nominated and voted for. Mr. Fleming received 914, Mr. Semple 457, and Mr. Scott 206.

At the county convention, in June, 1851, the Whigs nominated for district judge Walter Forward, over Moses Hampton, by a vote of sixty to fifty. The *Commercial Journal* of June 10, 1851, said: "The popularity of Hon. Walter Forward is not confined to this county alone, but throughout the whole Union is he held in the highest estimation. Even before he was nominated by the Whig party of Allegheny our exchanges began to congratulate us on the prospect of having him elected judge." In April, 1851, General Winfield Scott was formally received by the entire population with extensive, interesting and imposing ceremonies.

In June, 1851, the friends of Joseph Barker, who was still confined in the county jail, assembled and passed resolutions disapproving the course pursued by the authorities in incarcerating him for executing what he believed to be his

duty as mayor of Pittsburg. The resolutions declared that the hostility to Mr. Barker seemed to result from the disposition on the part of certain officials to obstruct him in the discharge of his duties, and further declared that there was reason to believe that a clique of aristocrats and demagogues had misrepresented the feelings of the people of this community to the Governor. Two of the resolutions were as follows: "*Resolved*, That, as citizens, we believe if the law has been broken in this case, it has been fully vindicated and satisfied, and we think, from the mitigating circumstances attending the matter, any further confinement of Mr. Barker unnecessary. *Resolved*, That we have every confidence that our chief magistrate, William F. Johnston, when he is acquainted with the facts in this matter and given them that consideration which they deserve, his conclusions will be to restore Mr. Barker to his family and fellow citizens" (a).

In July, 1851, the Native American convention of Allegheny County assembled and nominated a ticket for the Legislature and for the county offices. Joseph H. Lowrie was president of the convention. What made this convention notable were the limited attendance and an utter absence of enthusiasm.

In August, 1851, what was called a Scott mass meeting was held on a large lot in the rear of the American House. General Joseph Markle was president of the meeting. A letter from General Scott, recounting his views on various public questions, was read to the assemblage. Resolutions were adopted recommending the nomination of General Scott for the Presidency, and the renomination of William F. Johnston for governor. Protection to American manufactures was endorsed. On this occasion Governor Johnston himself was present and delivered an interesting address. About this time the Democratic county convention was held, and a full ticket was nominated. Wilson McCandless was chairman of the convention. Resolutions were passed recommending the nomination of Mr. Buchanan for President and Mr. Bigler for governor. This convention was well attended, and many interesting speeches were made.

On August 27, 1851, an immense meeting was held in Wilkins' Hall to express the sentiments of this community on the act of Spain in murdering fifty Americans in Cuba. W. W. Irwin was chosen chairman of the meeting, and J. P. Glass, James Watson, William Moorhead, W. W. Dallas and T. Scott vice-presidents. Lloyd Elliot, John Mellon and Joseph Snowden secretaries. Upon the election of these officers intense opposition to the progress of the meeting was manifested. It was called to the attention of those present that every officer thus elected or appointed was a Democrat, and it was asserted that the meeting was packed for the purpose of espousing the cause of the South in its desire to secure the acquisition of Cuba to the United States. Whether this was true or not is not certain, and subsequent events spoke for themselves. Messrs. Dunlop, Egan, Rose, Rippey and Pettigrew were appointed a committee on resolutions. While they were preparing their report Colonel Samuel W. Black delivered a speech, denouncing in the severest terms the action of Spain, and declaring it to be the duty of the United States to at once demand redress. The resolutions expressed sympathy for the insurgents in Cuba, and offered prayers for their success; asserted that the time had come when the voice of this nation should be heard and the vigor of her arm felt in the cause of liberty; that the action of the Spanish Government in its course toward Cuba was fraught with peril to the United States; and demanded that the authorities at Washington should at once seek redress and reparation. When these resolutions were presented to the meeting for their votes, great confusion ensued. The Democrats solidly voted against them, while the Whigs

(a) Commercial Journal, June, 1851.

supported them. The Democrats were in favor of all the resolutions except one, and this the Whigs supported with great energy and unanimity. It read as follows: "*Resolved*, That this meeting commend the conduct of our national administration in preserving their faith to the treaties with Spain, in their earnest effort to intercept and suppress expeditions against the government of Cuba, however odious." Several votes were taken upon the resolutions, but so much confusion ensued that it was difficult to tell the result. As a matter of fact, both parties were endeavoring to make political capital out of this meeting. The killing of the fifty men referred to was due to the filibustering expedition under Lopez, on which occasion William Niemann and John Stubbs, both of Allegheny County, were shot. The vote in the county for governor in 1851 was as follows: Johnston, 8,797; Bigler, 5,983.

In June, 1852, when the news was received here of the nomination of General Scott for the Presidency, the Whigs fired 159 guns from Metcalf's Hill to celebrate the event.

In August, 1852, the first of the many notable events of the decade of the fifties occurred when the National Free Soil convention was held in Pittsburg. Many of the most prominent Abolitionists of the United States were present on that occasion, among whom were Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio; Gerrett Smith, of New York; Frederick Douglass, Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts; Judge Spalding, of Ohio; Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois; Mr. Tappan, of New York; Mr. Payne, of Wisconsin; Mr. Wiley, of Maine; Mr. Booth, of Wisconsin, and Mr. Chase and Mr. Finney, of Ohio. Speeches of great fire and eloquence were delivered by these eminent Free Soil advocates. The following is an extract from the reporter's account of the speech of Mr. Giddings: "He had stood by and had advised a fleeing slave, in the presence of pursuers, to shoot the pursuer if he attempted to retake him. The pursuer had asked him what he should do; he advised him to go on, if he thought proper. He inquired what he supposed the fugitive would do if he was pursued; why, he supposed he would shoot him—if he was any part of a man he would. The slave-catcher went home, and he hadn't seen him since." Gerrett Smith met with a magnificent welcome and delivered one of the most telling speeches of the convention. He feared for the safety of the country, but Mr. Giddings did not. Mr. Payne, of Wisconsin, also feared that the Union might be dissolved. It was declared, and made clear, during the speeches, that in the opinion of those present the slave power was making steady inroads upon the free territory, and every speaker urged that some step to prevent this should be taken. A notable advancement was the position assumed by Gerrett Smith on the subject of the inalienable rights of woman, as well as the inalienable rights of man. John P. Hale was nominated for President, and George W. Julien for Vice-President. The vote of the county in 1852 for President was as follows: Scott, 9,615; Pierce, 7,226; Hale, 965.

From 1851 to 1855 the leading parties here were the Democrats on one side, the Whigs and the remnants of the Anti-Masons united on the other, with the Native American and the Free Soil parties, both small, struggling in the rear for a share of the suffrages. The Whigs and Anti-Masons united were strongest at first, having a varving majority in the county of from 1,500 to 3,500. The Whigs and Anti-Masons opposed at every step the aggressions of slavery, the Compromise of 1850 and the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law. The Democratic party took an opposite course on all these important questions, and in the campaign of 1852 almost completely annihilated the Whig party of Allegheny County. Torn to fragments, with varying views on all public questions, with little hope of becoming reunited, and with decreasing faith in the ability of any party to resist the encroachments of the slave

power, the Whigs and Anti-Masons struggled through the years until 1855. The Know-nothing party, or faction of a party, sprang into existence during this period to annoy the Democrats and disappoint the expectations of the Whigs. In 1854 the Whigs nominated Mr. Pollock for governor, but they soon discovered that the Know-nothing party, secret and oathbound, was an obstruction to their success. In fact, the Whig candidate for governor himself became a member of the Know-nothing organization. The opposition to the Democracy may be said during these years to have been utterly demoralized in Allegheny County. At the election in 1854 the Whigs showed a strength of 4,627, the Democrats 5,115, and the Know-nothings 5,705. Many of the Whigs would not accept the Know-nothing principles, owing to their secret character, which was a reassertion of Anti-Masonic principles; and it is notable that at this time the Whig newspapers of Pittsburg recommended the formation of all the factions opposed to the aggressions of slavery into a National Republican party.

In January, 1854, the vote for mayor in Pittsburg stood as follows: Volz, Whig and Anti-Masonic, 2,172; Pettigrew, Democrat, 1,132; Barker, Reformer, 359; Craig, Free Soil, 156. The principal issue in municipal politics at this time was the suppression of crime, which had become so frequent as to alarm the best citizens. Mr. Pettigrew was a Catholic and Mr. Volz a Protestant. Mr. Barker was induced to run in order to divide the strength of the Whig candidate. The vote for mayor of Allegheny in January, 1852, was as follows: Adams, Whig, 863; Benney, Free Soil and Temperance, 763; Sawyer, Democrat, 299; Wadlow, Independent, 273.

In February, 1854, the Whigs met at Pittsburg to nominate delegates to the State convention, on which occasion they passed resolutions denouncing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, favoring a specific duty on iron, supporting Congressional land grants to a railway to the Pacific, opposing the construction of any railway in this State without lawful authority, advocating the immediate sale of the public works, recommending a liberal system of public education, and instructing the delegates to vote in the convention for General William Larimer for governor. About this time, also, the Democrats held a meeting to nominate delegates to the State convention. Major Lynch, Judge P. C. Shannon, Dr. George L. McCook, Jr., John Coyle, Captain Ward, Mr. Calmont and Mr. McClowry were the principal speakers. The speech of Dr. McCook created a sensation in the convention, owing to its strength and eloquence. The resolutions adopted regretted the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in Congress, and deplored the fact that it would be a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In this respect the Democrats entertained the same views as the other party members of Pittsburg. At the State convention of the Whigs in March, 1854, William Larimer, Jr., although supported by the Allegheny delegation, failed to receive the nomination, which went to James Pollock. Of this convention, William F. Johnston, of Allegheny County, was president.

In May, 1854, the State Free Soil convention assembled in Wilkins' Hall, Pittsburg. George W. Jackson was temporary chairman. Resolutions were passed, declaring unceasing war on slavery, approving the platform of the Independent Democracy, adopted August 12, 1852 (except the tenth article), favoring prohibition and the redistricting of the State, denouncing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the course of the eleven representatives from Pennsylvania in Congress who had voted for its repeal. In 1856 the vote of Allegheny County for President was as follows: Fremont (W.), 13,671; Buchanan (D.), 9,062; Fillmore (F. S.), 1,488.

At the election for mayor in January, 1856, Mr. Bingham, American,



received 1,408 votes; Mr. Irwin, Democrat, 1,115; Mr. Volz, Fusion, 1,030; Mr. Long 192, and Mr. Steen 43. In Allegheny the mayoralty contest resulted as follows: Mr. Adams, 646; Mr. McDowell, 620; Mr. Otterson, 641, and Mr. Tyler, 115. In January, 1857, Henry A. Weaver, Republican candidate for mayor of Pittsburg, received 2,704 votes; Mr. White, Democrat, received 2,325, and Mr. McCurdy, American, received 242. In Allegheny Mr. Sawyer, Republican candidate for mayor, received 750 votes; Mr. Haslett, Democrat, received 681; Mr. DeHaven, bolter, received 779, and Mr. Benney, Independent, 207.

In 1857 all parties were more or less broken up over the repudiation of the railway indebtedness. A convention was held, which nominated what was called the Repudiation ticket. Colonel James A. Gibson, son of Thomas Gibson, was chairman of this convention. At this time Pittsburg, as a whole, was willing to pay its railway indebtedness, but the county, as a whole, opposed such a course. Members from all parties united with the repudiators and endeavored to defeat the holders of railway bonds in the collection of their interest. Thomas Williams became known as the father of repudiation. It was necessary for the county to levy an eight-mill tax to pay the interest on the railway bonds and establish a sinking fund to retire the principal. Mr. Williams resorted to no evasion, but came squarely out for a repudiation of the railway obligations. He opposed any taxation for that purpose, and the convention was called to sustain that position. The members were greatly divided on the subject of repudiation, but the majority favored that course, although much opposition developed during the progress of the convention. Opposers declared at the time that this convention was a body without a constituency. The speech of Thomas Williams in this convention was one of the most important ever delivered in Allegheny County. It was shown by him that the county indebtedness amounted to \$8,000,000, of which \$5,500,000 was incurred in the construction of railways. It was shown that, by reason of the fact that the railways were unable to pay interest on the bonds, Allegheny County, under the law, was expected and required to do so. Mr. Williams declared that the subscription to the stock of more than one of the railways was fraudulently obtained. It was also shown by him that the railway bonds were, in some instances, disposed of for as low as 75 cents on the dollar. The law provided that they should not be sold for less than par, but the law was evaded by exchanging the bonds for so much iron or other equipment. This convention became known to history as the County Tax Convention.

In 1857 David Wilmot was nominated by the Republicans for governor of Pennsylvania, and W. F. Packer by the Democrats. Although the State went Democratic, yet Pittsburg and Allegheny County both went Republican. In the county Wilmot received 7,687 votes, Packer 6,610, and Hazlehurst 856. It is important to note that at this time the Repudiationists held the balance of power in the county, and were therefore able to name such officers as would best carry into effect their principles, and, accordingly, the railway commissioner named by them, who opposed paying interest on the railway bonds, was elected. On September 7, 1857, David Wilmot visited Pittsburg and delivered a speech on the Diamond, in Allegheny. On this occasion Henry Irwin presided. Mr. Wilmot was welcomed with three rousing cheers, and delivered a speech one and one-half hours in length. His remarks were particularly directed toward the aggressions of slavery, and were constantly interrupted with applause. Succeeding him, Thomas M. Marshall was called out, and delivered a speech "in his usual racy vein." John Covode followed Mr. Marshall as speaker.

In January, 1858, the Republican candidate for mayor, Mr. Weaver, received in the nine wards then constituting Pittsburg a total of 3,149 votes, and Mr. Magee, Democrat, received 1,915 votes. The Republicans carried every

ward except the Third. It was contended at this time that the Republican party in Allegheny County was making steady gains, as shown by the fact that whereas, in 1856, Fremont's majority was but 974, Weaver's majority in 1858 was 1,234. In 1858, for Supreme Judge, the county cast 10,057 votes for Read (W.), and 6,508 for Porter (D.).

Early in 1858 information was received here that the office of the St. Cloud (Minnesota) *Visitor*, of which paper Mrs. Swisshelm was editor, having lately removed to that State, had been totally demolished by an angry crowd of partisans, who opposed the position taken by Mrs. Swisshelm on the subject of slavery particularly, and the subject of reforms generally. It was later learned that her friends came to her rescue, repulsed and punished the perpetrators of the outrage and permitted her to continue the publication of her journal.

In February, 1859, an anti-tax convention of large proportions was held in Pittsburg, on which occasion Thomas Farley presided. "It was by far the largest delegate convention ever held in the county." J. W. F. White, J. R. Large, Thomas Mellon, J. McConnell, S. H. Geyer, R. B. Carnahan and J. H. Bailey were appointed a committee on resolutions. Thomas Williams was invited unanimously to address the convention. He delivered a speech of great strength in opposition to taxation in aid of railways, and called the attention of the convention to the fact that throughout the country similar meetings and conventions were being held. It was stated at this time that the movement in opposition to railway taxation, which had been started by Mr. Williams, had spread to all parts of the Union. Mr. Williams declared that, so strong was railway influence, the legislators could be corrupted and the Supreme Court controlled; that he had himself appeared in the railway mandamus cases before the Supreme Court in obedience to writs issued on frivolous and unjust grounds; and declared that, no matter how groundless were the subjects presented to the Supreme Court, they always received prompt attention when presented by Philadelphia lawyers. Owing to the importance of the subject of railway taxation at the time, and to the fact that large numbers of railways were in course of construction in the State, and many others were projected, this speech of Mr. Williams, delivered as it was to an immense concourse of citizens, was one of the most notable ever delivered in Allegheny County. The speech throughout was interrupted with great applause, and at its conclusion the speaker was given three rousing cheers. Mr. Williams was followed on the stand by Messrs. Patterson and Perkins. Resolutions were passed opposing the payment of either principal or interest of the county railway indebtedness; denouncing the decision of the Supreme Court in the mandamus cases as "star chamber proceedings," alike unjust and unwarranted; instructing the county commissioners and promising them the support of the convention not to levy a tax for the payment, principal or interest, of the railway bonds; and thanking Mr. Williams for his defense of the rights of the people. The convention, upon motion, favored the repudiation of the State canal debt, should the railways be permitted to escape the payment of the tonnage tax; and upon motion certain newspapers, which had opposed the principles of the Repudiationists, were denounced and their course opposed. This was said at the time, and on more than one occasion afterward, to have been the greatest convention in the history of the city. Writs of mandamus had been served on all members of the City Councils, forty-eight in number, to appear in Philadelphia to show cause why absolute mandamus should not be issued. The convention advised the councils not to obey the writs. The tonnage tax clause had been appended to the right-of-way bill in January, 1846, and had originated in Philadelphia in 1845. Discriminations under this bill had recently thoroughly aroused this community. In 1859 nine-tenths of the people of this community favored the

tonnage tax. The railway had added the tax to its freight charges. So great was the hostility to railways that in May, 1859, a list of 207 of the leading firms and individuals, stating that they were not the holders of railway bonds, and were not subscribers of the stock, was published in the newspapers.

In 1862 the vote of Allegheny County for auditor-general was as follows: Cochran (Union), 12,323; Slenker (Dem.), 7,895. In 1863 the result for governor was: Curtin (U.), 17,708; Woodward (D.), 10,053. In 1864 the vote for President was: "Lincoln, home 19,427, army 2,092; McClellan, home 11,588, army 826. For governor, 1866: Geary (R.), 20,511; Clymer (D.), 12,795. For President, 1868: Grant, 25,487; Seymour, 14,671. For governor, 1869: Geary (R.), 17,858; Packer (D.), 13,301. For President, 1872: Grant (R.), 25,846; Greeley (Lib.), 9,055. For governor, 1872: Buckelew (Lib.), 16,490; Hartranft (R.), 25,771. New Constitution: For, 18,315; against, 1,895. For governor, 1875: Hartranft (R.), 18,707; Pershing (D.), 13,246. For President, 1876: Hayes (R.), 28,729; Tilden (D.), 19,247; Cooper (G'b'k), 769; Smith (Pro.), 117. For governor, 1878: Hoyt (R.), 20,601; Dill (D.), 13,186; Mason (Nat.), 7,724; Lane (Pro.), 396. For state treasurer, 1879: Butler (R.), 17,913; Barr (D.), 11,199; Sutton (Nat.), 1,435; Rich'n (Pro.), 78. For President, 1880: Garfield (R.), 35,539; Hancock (D.), 22,096; Weaver (G'b'k), 1,636. For governor, 1882: Beaver (Ind. Rep.), 18,679; Stewart (R.), 4,724; Pattison (D.), 16,834; Armstrong (G'k L'r), 4,587. For President, 1884: Blaine (R.), 37,865; Cleveland (D.), 19,469; Butler (G'b'k), 2,687; St. John (Pro.), 1,087. For governor, 1886: Beaver (R.), 27,779; Black (D.), 20,968; Wolfe (Pro.), 2,601; Houston (G'b'k), 193. For President, 1888: Harrison (R.), 45,118; Cleveland (D.), 24,710; Fisk (Pro.), 1,117; Streeter (Lab.), 5. For governor, 1890: Delamater (R.), 35,012; Pattison (D.), 33,170; Gill (Pro.), 546. For President, 1892: Harrison (R.), 45,788; Cleveland (D.), 30,867; Bidwell, 1,158; Weaver, 578. For governor, 1894: Hastings (R.), 53,406; Singerly (D.), 14,931; Hawley (Pro.), 792. For President, 1896: McKinley (R.), 76,691; Bryan and Sewall (D.), 28,782; Bryan and Watson (Pop.), 1,027; Levering and Johnson (Pro.), 930; Palmer and Buckner (Jeff'n), 452; Matchett and Maguire (Soc. Lab.), 267; Bentley and Southgate (Nat.), 25. The vote of Allegheny County for treasurer of Pennsylvania in 1897 was as follows: James S. Beacon (Rep.), 27,036; M. E. Brown (Dem.), 10,124; S. C. Swallow (Pro.), 1,393; W. H. Thomas (Soc. Lab.), 1,403; William R. Thompson (Indp.), 8,022; Amos Steelsmith (Lib.), 42.

The vote for mayor of Pittsburg since 1881 is as follows:

1881.	
Robert W. Lyon, Democrat.....	11,893
Miles S. Humphries, Republican.....	10,330
Lyon's majority.....	1,563
1884.	
Andrew Fulton, Republican.....	14,930
Robert Liddell, Democrat.....	7,288
Fulton's majority.....	7,642
1887.	
William McCallin, Republican.....	13,753
B. McKenna, Democrat.....	12,480
McCallin's majority.....	1,273

## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

1890.	
H. I. Gourley, Republican.....	16,723
John H. Bailey, Democrat.....	13,605
Gourley's majority.....	3,123
1893.	
B. McKenna, Democrat.....	15,530
John S. Lambie, Republican.....	14,194
F. C. Beinhauer, Independent Alliance.....	3,552
T. R. Kerr, Independent Democrat.....	353
McKenna's plurality.....	1,336
1896.	
Henry P. Ford, Republican.....	20,552
George W. Guthrie (M. L.).....	19,260
Ford's majority.....	1,292

Following is a list of the representatives in Congress from the district, including Allegheny County, for over one hundred years: First Congress, Thomas Scott, from 1789-91; second, Israel Jacobs, 1791-93; third, Thomas Scott, 1793-95; fourth, Albert Gallatin, 1795-97; fifth, Albert Gallatin, 1797-99; sixth, Albert Gallatin, 1799-1801; seventh, William Hoge, 1801-03; eighth William Hoge, 1803, resigned 1804; John Hoge, elected and took his seat November 27, 1804, ninth, John Hamilton, from 1805-07; tenth, William Hoge, 1807-09; eleventh, William Hoge, 1809-11; twelfth, Abner Lacock, 1811-13; thirteenth, Adamson Tannehill, 1813-15; fourteenth, Thomas Smith, 1815-17; fifteenth, Henry Baldwin, 1817-19; sixteenth, Henry Baldwin, 1819-21; seventeenth, Henry Baldwin, 1821, resigned in 1822; Walter Forward, elected and took his seat December 2, 1822; eighteenth, Walter Forward, from 1823-25; nineteenth, James S. Stevenson, 1825-27; twentieth, James S. Stevenson, 1827-29; twenty-first, Harmar Denny, 1829-31; twenty-second, Harmar Denny, 1831-33; twenty-third, Harmar Denny, 1833-35; twenty-fourth, Harmar Denny, 1835-37; twenty-fifth, Richard Biddle, 1837-39; twenty-sixth, Richard Biddle, 1839, resigned in 1840; H. M. Brackenridge, elected and took his seat December 10, 1840; twenty-seventh, W. W. Irwin, from 1841-43; twenty-eighth, William Wilkins, 1843, resigned in 1844; Cornelius Darragh, elected and took his seat March 26, 1844; twenty-ninth, Cornelius Darragh, from 1845-47; thirtieth, Moses Hampton, 1847-49; thirty-first, Moses Hampton, 1849-51; thirty-second, Thomas M. Howe, 1851-53; thirty-third, twenty-second district David Ritchie, twenty-third district Thomas M. Howe, 1853-55; thirty-fourth, twenty-second district David Ritchie, twenty-third district Samuel A. Purviance, 1855-57; thirty-fifth, twenty-third district Samuel A. Purviance, twenty-second district David Ritchie, 1857-59; thirty-sixth, twenty-second district James K. Moorhead, twenty-third district Robert McKnight, 1859-61; thirty-seventh, twenty-third district Robert McKnight, twenty-second district James K. Moorhead, 1861-63; thirty-eighth, twenty-second district James K. Moorhead, twenty-third district Thomas Williams, 1863-65; thirty-ninth, twenty-second district James K. Moorhead, twenty-third district, Thomas Williams, 1865-67; fortieth, twenty-third district, Thomas Williams, twenty-second district James K. Moorhead, 1867-69; forty-first, twenty-second district James S. Negley, twenty-third district Darwin Phelps, 1869-71; forty-second, twenty-second district James S. Negley, twenty-third district Ebenezer McJunkin, 1871-73; forty-third, twenty-second district James S. Negley, 1873-75; twenty-third district, Ebenezer McJunkin, 1873, resigned January

1, 1875; twenty-third district, John M. Thompson, elected and took his seat January 5, 1875; forty-fourth, twenty-second district James H. Hopkins, twenty-third district Alexander G. Cochran, 1875-77; forty-fifth, twenty-second district Russell Errett, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1877-79; forty-sixth, twenty-third district Thomas M. Bayne, twenty-second district Russell Errett, 1879-81; forty-seventh, twenty-second district Russell Errett, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1881-83; forty-eighth, twenty-third district James H. Hopkins, twenty-third district Thomas M. Bayne, 1883-1885; forty-ninth, twenty-second district James S. Negley, twenty-third district, Thomas M. Bayne, 1885-87; fiftieth, twenty-second district John Dalzell, twenty-third district Thomas M. Bayne, 1887-1889; fifty-first, twenty-second district John Dalzell, twenty-third district Thomas M. Bayne, 1889-91; W. A. Stone —.





## CHAPTER XXVIII.

POLITICS—LAW OF 1780 PROHIBITING SLAVERY—SLAVES HELD AT PITTSBURG—ADVERTISEMENTS FOR RUNAWAYS—DISCUSSION OVER THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—FIRST COLONIZATION SOCIETY ORGANIZED—LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS AGAINST SLAVERY—ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES—REORGANIZATION OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY—ANTAGONISM BETWEEN COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION DOCTRINES—NAMES OF EARLY ABOLITIONISTS—THE SUBJECT DEBATED—GROWTH OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT—THE SUBJECT CARRIED INTO POLITICS—KIDNAPING—CASES OF RESCUE—THE VANMETRE-MITCHELL OPINION—DESPERATION OF SLAVE-OWNERS—THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—EXODUS OF THE EXCITED COLORED RESIDENTS—PUBLIC MEETINGS AND RESOLUTIONS—ORATORY OF THE ABOLITIONISTS—CASES UNDER THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—OTHER SLAVE-CATCHERS—INDIGNATION OVER THE PASSAGE OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED—REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE DENOUNCED—FORMATION OF A NEW PARTY ADVISED—THE CONVENTIONS OF 1855—ALLEGHENY COUNTY REPUBLICANS ORGANIZE—FUSION OF THE OLD FRAGMENTS—CALL FOR A MEETING AT PITTSBURG—FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS—INTENSE HOSTILITY TO SLAVERY MANIFESTED—OTHER QUESTIONS TEMPORARILY ABANDONED—THE DRED SCOTT OPINION DENOUNCED—GREAT MASS MEETINGS—ELECTION OF MR. LINCOLN—EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

Nearly all of the first residents of Pittsburg and vicinity who were wealthy enough to afford the luxury were owners of slaves. The Nevilles, John Gibson, James O'Hara, Alexander Fowler, Adamson Tannehill, the Kirkpatricks and many others owned them, and several continued to do so as late as the war of 1812. The old newspapers contained advertisements for runaway slaves even as late as 1820, but the passage of the Missouri Compromise, which prohibited slavery in the United States north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, was a stroke against slavery from which it never recovered. Prior to the passage of that law no concerted action hostile to slavery had been taken by Pittsburg, but immediately thereafter colonization and anti-slavery societies sprang into existence here, and in ten or fifteen years could number their adherents by hundreds, if not by thousands. As early as 1793 Hugh H. Brackenridge succeeded in having brought back and restored to freedom a free colored woman, who had been kidnapped here and run off to Kentucky. During the subsequent years, even down almost as late as the Rebellion, such acts were chronicled here. On the other hand, particularly during the early years, many runaways were apprehended in Allegheny County and returned to their masters, who had pursued them. In July, 1804, three such slaves, who had escaped from their Virginia masters, were recaptured here, delivered to their masters and taken back to the South.

As early as March 1, 1780, Pennsylvania passed a law that no person born after that date should be a slave for life—could not be held after he had reached the age of twenty-eight years. Subsequent laws confirmed and amended the law of 1780, and in all ways steadily restricted the spread and influence of slavery. As early as 1787 a society was organized in Philadelphia, called "the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free

negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race." Of this society Benjamin Franklin was president and Dr. Rush secretary.

The early years of Pittsburg witnessed the observance of slave customs, as may be seen by the following and similar advertisements, which appeared from time to time in the *Gazette*: "To Be Sold to Any Person Residing in the Country—A Negro Wench.—She is an excellent cook and can do any kind of work in or out of doors. She has been registered in Westmoreland County. Produce will be taken, or cattle of any kind. Enquire of Col. John Gibson, Fort Pitt. May 23, 1787." . . . . "By virtue of a writ of *fieri facias* to me directed, will be exposed to public sale in Pittsburg, on Tuesday, the 16th day of next June, horses, cows, sheep, stills, negroes and household furniture, taken in execution as the property of John McKee, and to be sold by me. William Perry, sheriff. May 1, 1789." . . . . "Run away on the 19th inst., from the subscriber, living on Plumb Creek, Allegheny County, a negro man named Jack; he is about forty years of age, and his hair is not so curly nor so much like wool as the most of negroes. It is supposed he is lurking about Pittsburg. Whoever will take up said negro and deliver him to his master shall receive two dollars reward, paid by Thomas Girty. August 21, 1789." . . . . "For Sale.—The time of a smart and very active mulatto girl, one-and-twenty years old, and who has about seven years to serve. Apply to James Berthoud, merchant, Water Street, near Henderson's Ferry. Pittsburg, 24th September, 1801." . . . . "I Will Sell a Likely Negro Man.—He is about twenty-seven years of age and a slave for life, and has been brought up a farmer. For terms apply to the subscriber, living on the bank of the Allegheny River, opposite Pittsburg.—James Robinson. May 15, 1804." . . . . "A Mulatto.—Subscriber will sell the unexpired time of a mulatto boy.—George Evans. Pittsburg, November 13, 1813."

Previous to about the year 1820 advertisements similar to the above appeared from time to time in the local newspapers. At the time the Constitution of the United States was adopted a number of citizens of this vicinity, in common with members of the Constitutional Convention, discountenanced the concessions made in the organic law to the slave States. After its adoption they still favored not only the course of Pennsylvania in steadily obliterating that institution, but advocated its gradual extinction in the Southern States. From time to time the citizens here gave expression, notably on the national holiday, to this sentiment. In September, 1801, William Gazzam said that he "abhorred slavery and relied upon the constituted authorities to effect the very desirable object of the gradual abolition thereof," as he believed it to be a formidable evil.

At the time of the Missouri Compromise, in 1820, the question of the right of slavery was thoroughly discussed by James Wilson, editor of the *Steubenville Gazette*, and John M. Snowden, editor of the *Mercury*. It was contended by Mr. Wilson that as a general principle of conduct no man had the right to enslave another. The *Mercury* combated that view, and the controversy was conducted through many issues and elicited a response from numerous correspondents. From this time forward the subject of the evils of slavery was kept before the people, principally by the churches of this vicinity, and incidentally by the attitude of the various political parties.

On the 25th of September, 1826, numerous citizens assembled in the First Presbyterian church for the purpose of organizing a colonization society. Henry Baldwin was called to the chair, and Walter Forward appointed secretary. Resolutions were adopted, approving of the object and plan of the American Colonization Society, and in favor of forming a society in Pittsburg auxiliary to it. A draught of a constitution was presented, and, after some discussion, agreed to,

and the meeting adjourned to meet in the evening of the 27th. The meeting convened, agreeably to adjournment, Henry Baldwin in the chair, and M. B. Lowrie secretary, and proceeded to organize the society by selecting officers. The following persons were duly elected:

President, Henry Baldwin; vice-presidents, Francis Herron, D. D., Robert Bruce, D. D., Rev. Elisha P. Swift, John Black, D. D., Rev. C. B. Maguire, Rev. John H. Hopkins, Rev. Charles Avery, Rev. Joseph Kerr, Rev. Joseph Stockton, Walter Forward; managers, William McCandless, Neville B. Craig, Richard Biddle, Harmar Denny, Thomas Enoch, W. W. Fetterman, John McKee, Charles L. Volz, Samuel Thompson, John D. Davis; Charles H. Israel, secretary; Mathew B. Lowrie, treasurer. The following constitution was adopted: Article 1. This society shall be called the Pittsburg Colonization Society and shall be auxiliary to the American Colonization Society. Article 2. The object to which its views shall be exclusively directed is the colonization on the coast of Africa, with their own consent, of the people of color of the United States, and this society will contribute its funds and efforts to the attainment of that object, in aid of the American Colonization Society. Article 3. The officers of this society shall be a president, ten vice-presidents, ten managers, a secretary and a treasurer, who shall also be members of the board of managers, all of whom shall be elected at the annual meeting of the society, and shall have power to fill up all vacancies occurring during the year. Article 4. Every person who shall subscribe his name to this constitution and pay annually one dollar or upward, shall be a member of this society; and any person who shall at any one time subscribe and pay twenty dollars or upward shall be a member for life. Article 5. This society shall meet annually at such place as the managers may from time to time appoint, at Pittsburg, on the last Monday of October, at 7 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of electing officers and receiving the report of the board of managers. Article 6. There shall be a delegate appointed annually to attend the meeting of the parent society at Washington and report the state of this society. Article 7. A member may at any time discontinue his subscription by notifying the treasurer thereof.

As early as 1826 a resolution was passed by the General Assembly approving the acts of the American Colonization Society and instructing members of Congress from Pennsylvania to aid that organization by all proper and constitutional means. By the act of March 25, 1826, a fine of from \$500 to \$2,000 was placed upon all persons who took colored persons out of the State for the purpose of making slaves of them. By the act of January 23, 1829, the General Assembly passed a resolution directing members of Congress to procure the passage of a law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. At this time there was in Canada a well-known colony of free blacks, the president of whom was James Brown. In 1821 it was stated that there were ten slaves in Allegheny County, while in 1828 there was but one. The ten seem to have been held unlawfully. The census of 1830 showed that there were thirty slaves in Allegheny County, of whom twenty-four were under the age of thirty-six years. This was shown to be an error, as under the law of 1780 all slavery in the State by this time would have terminated. It is not known when the first formal action to organize an abolition society as such was taken in Allegheny County. It may be said, however, that the churches were the first to publicly oppose that institution.

On July 4, 1832, a meeting was held at the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Pittsburg for the purpose of reorganizing the County Colonization Society. A committee was appointed to resuscitate the Pittsburg Colonization Society, which had been organized several years previously. John Wallace, Joseph Caskey, James H. McClelland, David Drennen and James Marshall were

appointed such committee. Rev. A. W. Black was authorized to receive contributions to aid the society, and to be transmitted to the American Colonization Society, of which this was a branch. Of this meeting Gabriel Adams was president and T. L. McMillan secretary. The Pittsburg Anti-slavery Society held a well attended meeting in Dr. Williams' Baptist church on July 31, 1835, and at this time John Dickson was secretary.

In May, 1835, a meeting was held which organized an auxiliary society to the Young Men's State Colonization Society, and resolutions were passed favoring colonizing the colored people of the United States, both slave and free, on the western shore of Africa. A constitution and by-laws was adopted. Among those who took part in this meeting were Messrs. Upfold, Burke, Marks, Veech, Baird, Irwin and Shinn. This society perfected its organization and continued to hold regular meetings. Within a few years a strong anti-slavery element was developed in this vicinity. It was unfortunate that the opposition to slavery was divided between colonization and abolition. Friends of the former opposed the aggressive action of the latter, mainly in order to conciliate the Southern States, and because they believed that slavery should not be interfered with under the Constitution, where it already existed. At the meetings of the Colonization Society, and at the various abolition discussions, the enormity of the subject was laid bare before the people of this community. The question was often discussed by the leading professional men, including the faculty of the Western Pennsylvania University. These discussions took place usually either in one of the public halls of the city, in one of the churches, or in the schoolrooms of the University.

In August, 1835, a meeting of the friends of colonization and the opposers of abolitionism was held in Pittsburg, with Thomas Bakewell in the chair and Wilson McCandless and John M. Snowden as secretaries. Rev. Professor Halsey offered prayer, and James Veech, Esq., delivered a speech in favor of colonization, and ended by offering resolutions as to the best methods of banishing slavery from the United States. He was followed by A. W. Foster, Esq., who presented somewhat different views, and introduced resolutions differing somewhat in character. A committee was appointed to invite the coöperation of the Pittsburg Colonization Society, and prepare a constitution in accordance with the rules of the State Colonization Society. An important resolution adopted at this meeting was as follows: "*Resolved*, That as citizens of Pennsylvania, within whose limits slavery has been entirely abolished and its future introduction interdicted by law, we are not morally nor politically responsible for its existence in any other States of the Union" (a). This resolution precipitated a discussion of great earnestness and no little acrimony. The friends of the colonization scheme and the friends of abolitionism in Pittsburg were intensely hostile to each other, and did everything in their power, even to open rupture, to prevent accessions to the other organization. In their various meetings they not only spoke against the proceedings of the opposition, but passed resolutions denouncing the course pursued by the friends of the other cause. It was a question of principle, in which finally, as the years rolled round, the friends of abolitionism triumphed. At the meeting of August, 1835, the friends of colonization condemned the intemperate and alarming proceedings of the Abolitionists, as well as the violent conduct and extravagant claims of the slaveholders. The action of the mob at Nashville, Tennessee, in publicly whipping Mr. Dresser, the Abolitionist from Ohio, was denounced. Great interest was shown in the subject at this time. Several adjourned meetings were successively held in August. In one of the meetings it was declared that colonization did not

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(a) Gazette, August, 1835.

tend, as its opponents asserted, to perpetuate slavery, but that it had a contrary tendency. Robert C. Grier, Esq., was elected president of the society, and James Veech, J. M. Snowden, George Darsie, W. L. Lowin and G. R. White were appointed a committee to secure an increase of membership. At this time the proceedings of the Abolition societies of Cincinnati were attracting national attention. Morgan Neville was vice-president of one of the societies there.

In February, 1836, the House of Representative, Congress, by a vote of 129 to 74, decided not to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia, upon the grounds that such a course would be a violation of public faith. Messrs. Darlington and Denny, from Allegheny County, voted against this resolution.

The Colonization Society seems to have become extinct, because in May, 1836, a large meeting was held for its resuscitation. In the call for this meeting it was requested that all "opposed to the dangerous and visionary measures of certain associations calling themselves Abolitionists" should meet at the Young Men's Society Hall, corner of Fourth and Market streets, and this call was signed by the following citizens: George Upfold, Samuel Colwell, W. H. Watkins, Richard Lee, D. McDonald, R. C. Sellers, Samuel Baird, William McGookin, A. W. Marks, M. B. Lowrie, L. S. Johns, W. B. McClure, A. W. Foster, Sr., Thomas Fairman, H. D. Sellers, Alexander Hay, James Veech, George R. White, William M. Shinn, D. C. Harker, John D. Baird, Alexander Hannen, John D. McCord, D. Wagoner, Robert Burke, A. W. Foster, Jr., and Neville B. Craig. The objects of the society were stated to be as follows: "First—To aid in freeing our country from slavery and its accompanying evil. Second—To provide for stopping the slave trade by colonizing and Christianizing Africa through the direct instrumentality of colored emigrants from the United States. Third—To promote, by all legal and constitutional means, the intellectual and moral improvement of the African race." At the meeting of the Colonization Society, held May, 1836, ten individuals and firms pledged themselves to give \$100 per annum for five years to support the society. These persons were N. B. Craig, S. Caldwell, W. Palmer, William Bell, Jr., the firm of B. F. & J. Bakewell, the firm of Baird, Leavett & Co., Jacob Forsyth, C. Brewer, Mrs. C. Brewer and John Kratzer. The action of the Committee of Vigilance of the parish of East Feliciana, Louisiana, in offering a reward of \$50,000 for the abduction or capture of the famous Abolitionist, Arthur Tappan, of New York, met with severe denunciation from the citizens of Pittsburg, who assembled in public meeting to consider the subject. In April, 1836, there was published in the *Biblical Repertory* of this place a view of the subject of slavery, in which the scriptural argument defending slavery from a Biblical standpoint was set forth, and later the same article was issued in pamphlet form for gratuitous distribution. It was said at that time that "religious lovers of slavery chuckled with inexpressible delight over the article as an unanswerable proof that the Bible sanctioned slavery." However, the article was answered in a very satisfactory manner to the Abolitionists by a lady connected with the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Pittsburg. In January, 1837, the *Gazette* refused to publish an advertisement for a runaway slave, though requested to do so by the Tennessee owner and certain other newspapers in distant cities. It said: "We have reflected carefully upon the subject, and have arrived at the deliberate conclusion not to publish such advertisements." The Abolitionists continued to grow rapidly in number, and in May, 1837, the Anti-Slavery Society here purchased the *Pittsburg Christian Witness*, to be used as the organ of their association. In the autumn of 1837 an interesting series of debates was held here between Rev. J. Blanchard, Abolitionist, of Andover Seminary, Mass., and Rev. J. B. Pinney, colonization



advocate, late Governor of Liberia, in Africa, on the following question: "Is the scheme of colonization worthy the confidence and patronage of the American public?" Several evenings were spent in debate in the different churches, and R. C. Grier and Rev. Charles Avery were moderators. On each occasion the church was crowded to the doors.

On March 7, 1837, "at a very large and respectable meeting, held without distinction of political party or religious sect," at the house of George Beale, John C. Grier was appointed chairman and W. B. McClure secretary. On motion the following persons were appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting: W. B. McClure, Dr. H. D. Sellers, David Lynch, Dr. A. Hays, Chambers McKibben, Henry Bears and Leonard S. Johns. The following were presented and adopted: "*Resolved*, That Pennsylvania is not responsible for the existence of slavery in the other sovereign States of this Union, and that all discussion in favor of immediate abolition within her borders can serve no other purpose than to disturb the peace of this State and jeopardize the integrity of the Union. *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States secures to the slaveholding States exclusive jurisdiction and entire control over the subject of slavery. *Resolved*, That to intermeddle with the constitutional adjustment of the acknowledged difficulties of domestic slavery under the plea of moral obligation or abstract right, or any other plea, is contrary to the laws of God and man" (b). Strong sentiments in favor of all opposed to slavery were expressed at this meeting. Those who favored the resolutions were styled "friends of the integrity of the Union." Nearly all of the leading men of the city took one side or the other on this question. The majority favored the colonization policy, owing to its freedom from turmoil and its likelihood of quieting the South and perpetuating the Union as it then was.

On May 8, 1837, the second anniversary of the local Colonization Society was held at the Third Presbyterian church, with Mr. Grier, president of the society, in the chair, and James Veech secretary. It was reported that during the year 1836 over \$3,300 was raised by this society to aid the State society to meet its debts contracted in carrying out the policy it had formulated and put into action. In the spring of 1847 J. B. Pinney was appointed agent of the local society, and within a few months had collected nearly \$800. At this time, in a meeting of the society, it was determined to continue the course previously pursued. An annual assessment for 1838 upon the members of the society was fixed at \$770, and the same amount was also assessed for 1839 and 1840. In 1838 the president of the society was Robert C. Grier; corresponding secretary and agent, Rev. J. B. Pinney, and treasurer, G. R. White. The managers were Thomas Bakewell, George Darsie, Rev. C. Cook, Dr. J. R. Speer, James Veech, J. B. McFadden and Benjamin Patton, Jr. It should be understood that while many members of this society believed, as a matter of conscience, in the total extinction of slavery (which was abolitionism) they did not believe that the violent measures of the Abolitionists were practicable under the Constitution. They therefore favored colonization as the easiest path out of the dilemma.

Late in 1837 the Abolition societies held inflammatory meetings, denouncing the atrocious murder at Alton, Illinois, at the hands of a pro-slavery mob, of Rev. E. P. Lovejoy. Upon the death of Mr. Lovejoy the *Christian Witness* hung out signs of mourning and advised its supporters to wear crape as an evidence of their sorrow at the lamentable murder. The paper called the act "the murder of a beloved brother." The *Manufacturer* denounced the course of the *Christian Witness*, and upheld the action of the mob which murdered Mr. Lovejoy,

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(b) Gazette, March 9, 1837.

though deprecating the necessity of the killing. The other newspapers here took various views of the question. In December, 1837, a meeting to commemorate the martyrdom of Rev. E. P. Lovejoy was held in Pittsburg, on which occasion Rev. Dr. Black, Rev. Dr. Bruce, Rev. Dr. Shinn, Rev. Samuel Williams, Rev. Mr. Elliot, Rev. Mr. McLeod and Rev. Charles Avery were present. Interesting services were held, eulogizing the character and public services of Mr. Lovejoy and decrying the evils of the institution of slavery. At this time there was in existence an anti-slavery society of the county, of Pittsburg, of Allegheny, and of more than one of the boroughs, and perhaps in the townships of the county.

It was declared in resolutions adopted at the meeting of the Colonization Society in May, 1837, that friends of the Union could not, at the same time, be friends of abolitionism; that the two were incompatible; and that the support of abolitionism would inevitably force the Southern States to sever their connection with the Union. This view was taken by many members of the Colonization Society, owing to the recent course of South Carolina on the question of nullification, etc., growing out of the institution of slavery. The resolutions that friends of the Union could not, at the same time, be friends of abolitionism, were vigorously opposed at a large public meeting held for that purpose a short time afterwards. Of this meeting Benjamin Bakewell was chairman, John Hannen, S. Williams and S. Church vice-presidents, and John Dickson and H. Hannen secretaries. Resolutions were adopted denying that abolitionism meant the dissolution of the Union, asserting the right to free speech and free press and in other ways controverting the resolutions of the other meeting.

Late in 1837 Rev. Mr. Blanchard lectured here on the subject of abolitionism. His remarks took a violent course and inflamed the passions and prejudices not only of the pro-slavery element here, but of some of the members of the Colonization Society. He seems to have lectured more than once; at least, on one occasion, the pro-slavery element endeavored to break up his meeting, addressing to him insulting remarks and otherwise interrupting his lecture. At this time the *Christian Witness* was the organ of the local Abolitionists.

Early in 1838 Rev. O. Scott lectured on the evils of slavery before the Pittsburg and Allegheny Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. For the first time in a political contest in the State the question of abolitionism was raised in 1838 against Mr. Ritner. Many important meetings of the various anti-slavery societies were held here during that year. The Colonization societies also grew rapidly. It was claimed in October, 1838, that more than twenty Colonization societies had been organized in Western Pennsylvania. Late in October, 1838, a convention of all the anti-slavery societies of the western division of Pennsylvania was held in this city, on which occasion many important addresses were delivered and resolutions adopted. Nearly all the leading citizens attended this convention, and in one way or another took part in the proceedings. The convention continued to meet for several days, and in the evenings listened to lectures by Rev. O. Scott and other important anti-slavery agitators. In the State Constitutional Convention of January, 1838, an amendment, offered by Mr. Martin, confining the right of suffrage to white men, was adopted by that body. Messrs. Forward, Denny and Hays, of this county, voted against the measure, while Messrs. Rodgers and Purviance voted for it.

In 1839 the anti-slavery friends of this vicinity received the joyful intelligence that James G. Birney, who had previously lived in Kentucky, and later became Abolition candidate for the Presidency, had freed all his slaves, twenty-one in number, and had become an ardent Abolitionist. In January, 1839, the American Anti-Slavery Society boasted of having 1,350 auxiliary societies, of which thirteen were State; that it had thirty-eight traveling agents, seventy-five local lecturers, raised annually \$40,000, and distributed 646,500 books.

circulars and pamphlets. At this time the local Abolition societies scoffed and derided the impotency of the Colonization societies. In January, 1839, the Union Anti-Slavery Society of Pittsburg and Allegheny, an organization which had resulted from a combination of the various smaller anti-slavery societies of this community, was organized, many of the most prominent citizens becoming members. Ladies were admitted to membership. Samuel C. Cole was secretary of the Union Society. The first annual meeting was held January 21, 1840, in Rev. Mr. Adair's church, in Allegheny. Late in 1839 Rev. Mr. Pinney, who had been colonization agent here for several years, was removed to other fields. At the October election, in 1839, the Abolitionists throughout the State exerted a strong influence.

In 1841 Professor Greene of the Western Theological Seminary, who had come from Kentucky the year previous, and had brought with him a number of slaves, voluntarily set them free. This act was published extensively by the Abolitionists. In 1841 the *Christian Advocate*, *Presbyterian Advocate*, *Daily Advocate*, *Daily American* and *Pittsburg Visitor* were also organs of the Abolitionists. The *Gazette* supported the colonization policy of the anti-slavery people. The Democratic papers generally favored no interference with the institution of slavery. "The Abolitionists are a sturdy and determined set of fellows. We like them well enough, and if they were a little less exclusive we think they would make their cause more popular, and to them, converts are all important. They seem disposed to go for no good unless abolition is hitched to the cart" (c).

In 1840 the Abolition party in the United States, for the first time, placed a ticket in the field. The vote in Allegheny County for that ticket was so small as not to be counted. However, the anti-slavery sentiment grew rapidly from this time forward. During 1841 many societies, devoted either to colonization or to abolitionism, were organized throughout Allegheny County. Meetings for the discussion of the subject were often held. In July, 1841, a large anti-slavery meeting was held in the Baptist Church, of Pittsburg, to listen to lectures from C. C. Burleigh, of Philadelphia, and another was held soon afterward in the East Common Methodist Episcopal church, in Allegheny, to listen to Rev. Edward Smith, of Ohio. At this time the number of free colored males in Allegheny County was 1,076, and the number of free colored females, 1,042. Abolitionism continued to grow with great rapidity. "This cause is now enlisting in its service the highest order of talent and character" (d). Mr. Burleigh, who had edited the first abolition paper here, delivered several lectures, and on each occasion the church was filled to overflowing. One was held in Dr. Bruce's church. Attempts were made to interrupt the proceedings, but were repulsed. It was stated in the newspapers that Mr. Birney, the Abolition candidate for President in 1840, received in Allegheny County a total of 343 votes. In 1841, Dr. Le Moyne, Abolition candidate for governor, received 793 votes in Allegheny County. That number was returned, but it was declared that many had not been counted. Soon after this the underground railroad began to be heard of in this vicinity. In the spring of 1844, Mr. Craig, Abolition candidate for Congress, at a special election, received 634 votes. In December, 1846, a large fund was raised here by subscription, to be used in defraying the expense of capturing the kidnaper of some colored children who had been taken from Brown County, Pennsylvania. In November, 1846, the colored people of this community met and organized in behalf of the enfranchisement of their race. They took steps to circulate, as well as their means would afford, Abolition publications of all kinds. In January, 1847, an attempt was made by several white men from Virginia to kidnap a negro named Briscoe, in Allegheny. They were

(c) *Daily American*, June, 1841.(d) *Daily American*, July 30, 1841.

assisted by members of the police force, but the colored man, with the assistance of friends, succeeded in making his escape (e). Great excitement was caused here in April, 1847, by the arrest of a negro named Daniel Lockhart, by three men, one being his alleged owner, Lloyd Logan, from Winchester, Virginia. Lockhart was rescued by his colored friends, whereupon he promptly and expeditiously left for the North Star. The owner was arrested for a breach of the peace, but his case coming up on a writ of habeas corpus, he was released by Judge Lowrie (f). The performance of a negro tragedian here in November, 1847, aroused general comment, owing to its excellence. Many were surprised that a negro could perform so well (g). In March, 1847, the Legislature passing a law severely punishing the crime of kidnaping, but in April, 1852, this law was repealed, owing to the pressure brought upon the State by the friends of slavery, who had recently secured the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. In April, 1847, the owner of four slaves, in passing through Pittsburg with his property, was interfered with by the anti-slavery and colored element, and three of them were rescued and set free. Other rescues in 1847, similar to this, occurred. About this time, Frederick Douglas, the famous colored orator, lectured in Pittsburg, and surprised pro-slavery partisans by his eloquence, logic and literary ability. He lectured in Temperance Hall in defense of anti-slavery doctrines, and continued to speak for several days under the auspices of the anti-slavery and temperance elements. "The address of Mr. Douglas was characterized by sarcasm, invective, simile and argument. He spoke boldly in favor of a dissolution of the Union—this was, in fact, his theme. He denounced the Federal Constitution, and all the men now at the head of the Government. He was particularly severe on those who are now leading the American armies in Mexico" (h). Mr. Douglas was assisted on each occasion by William Lloyd Garrison and other prominent anti-slavery agitators.

Prior to 1847, slaveholders passing through the State could retain their slaves herein for six months, but after that date it was made unlawful to hold them in Pennsylvania. Under this law it was held that slaves so brought were *ipso facto* free. If the slaveholder should attempt to hold his slave under those circumstances, he became at once amenable to the judicial authority.

On February 22, 1847, the friends of universal liberty met in the new Courthouse, called William Larimer, Jr., to the chair, appointed Robert Wallace and Aaron Floyd secretaries, and passed a strong set of resolutions, offered by John A. Wills, one of which read as follows: "*Resolved*, That the recent anti-slavery efforts of Thomas J. Bigham and his associates in our State Legislature, and the glorious perseverance of David Wilmot and the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress—with five exceptions, well-known members of the white slave gang of the South—deserve our hearty thanks and merit the gratitude of their country" (i).

A case which attracted the attention of the country and was often cited in the courts, was tried here in November, 1847, in the Circuit Court of the United States, before Hon. R. C. Grier and Hon. Thomas Irwin, justices. The case was that of Garrett Vanmetre, of Virginia, vs. Dr. Robert Mitchell, of Indiana, Pennsylvania. The case was an action for debt for harboring and concealing a runaway slave, the penalty therefor under the law of 1793 being \$500. It was proved that the slave was the property of the Virginia owner, and that he was employed, as well as concealed, on the farm of the defendant. George S. Selden delivered the first speech for the plaintiff, and was followed by Walter Forward "in a speech in favor of the defendant, which, for eloquent

(e) Post, January 28, 1847.

(g) Post, November 15, 1847.

(i) Dispatch, 1847.

(f) Post, April 20, 1847.

(h) Post, August 13, 1847.

argument, could not well be excelled, and would do honor to the most gifted orator." These speeches concluded the day, but on Monday, Mr. Loomis, for the defendant, delivered a speech of unusual power of one hour and a half in length, and was followed by Mr. McCandless, in a very strong speech of one hour. The judge then charged the jury strongly in favor of the plaintiff, whereupon they soon returned with a verdict against the defendant of \$500. Intense interest was shown in this case during the trial, the courtroom being crowded to suffocation. The friends of the anti-slavery movement became at once dissatisfied with the charge of Judge Grier to the jury. He gave a construction to the law of 1793 which the anti-slavery element was unwilling to allow or recognize. So much opposition to the position of Judge Grier was taken that on November 30, 1847, a large meeting was held in Temperance Hall to consider the question. The *Gazette* said: "This verdict has given great offense to some of the anti-slavery party, and has roused it to the importance of taking efficient steps to prevent a similar construction being put upon the law of 1793 again. During the meeting the debate was angry, and serious charges were made against Judge Grier, the jury and the officers of the court." The principal speakers at the meeting were Messrs. Robb, Marshall, McClelland, Fleeson and Kerr. Mr. Marshall afterward denied through the newspapers having made "serious charges against Judge Grier, the jury and the officers of the court." A committee of three was appointed to collect the facts in the case, including the charge of the judge, and have the same read at a future meeting, to be acted upon. It was proposed also at this meeting to raise funds to carry the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. James McClelland was chairman of this meeting. On a final settlement of the case, it was again tried in the United States Court here, in November, 1851, on which occasion the jury returned a verdict of \$50 and costs in favor of the plaintiff.

In February, 1848, Judge Lowrie, upon the trial of a runaway slave case, decided that such slave could be retaken without warrant. In January, 1848, a Southern merchant stopped at the Merchants' Hotel with two female slaves, one of whom was prevailed upon to escape and could not be found by the owner. She was undoubtedly rescued by the anti-slavery element. In July, 1848, a runaway slave from Virginia, who had resided here for several years and had married, was induced by another negro to take a buggy ride, whereupon they were met by the master and others and the slave was recaptured. However, he raised such an outcry that a crowd collected and succeeded in freeing him, whereupon the master was told that it was impossible to prevent rescues, and that slaveholders should know better than to bring their slaves to Pittsburg.

At this time the question of the dissolution of the Union was again prominently before the country. The Southern States were alert and dominant, and persistent in their efforts to spread the institution of slavery, not only to new territory, but, apparently, to the free sections of the Union. Some persons professed not to believe in the sincerity of the Southern men when they announced that they would dissolve the Union in case their peculiar institution was interfered with; but closer observers felt that such talk was not idle and was made with cold deliberation. The people of this county were not asleep in regard to the subject of slavery, and observed with solicitude the various aggressive acts of the South and the determined course of the abolition movement in the North. It was openly declared by some that no Southern man would hesitate for a moment to sacrifice the institution of slavery, if such sacrifice was necessary for the preservation of the Union. This view was not taken here by the majority of the Whig party. They felt that the paramount interest of the Southern States would be considered identical with the institution of slavery and not with the Union as it then was under the Constitution. However, divergent



views of all varieties were held by thoughtful men of this community on the overshadowing subject of slavery.

At a large meeting of the Colonization Society here, in January, 1849, Rev. William M. Hall, agent of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, delivered a speech which attracted general attention. He declared that the object of the society was not to interfere with slavery, but was to provide the slaves with a country. His position did not satisfy the anti-slavery element. Wilson McCandless, on this occasion, contended that colored people should either not be taxed, or should be allowed to vote. Mr. Albert, another speaker, declared there was no patriotism in the act of sending a black man out of his native land, and that the Colonization Society presumed a black man did not possess the same inalienable rights as a white man. Walter Forward spoke at this meeting and declared his faith in the principles of the Colonization Society, and announced as his opinion that if adopted generally they would end in driving slavery from the United States. In March, 1850, a slave held by Mr. Bagolt of New Orleans, while on a steamer at Pittsburg, escaped with the aid of friends and was not recaptured. At an anti-slavery meeting held in Philo Hall, in July, 1850, Frederick Douglass and other prominent anti-slavery men delivered speeches. In July, 1850, John Drennen, of Van Buren, Arkansas, who had registered at the Monongahela House, suddenly announced to the proprietor that a female slave, fourteen years old, whom he had brought with him, was missing, and had disappeared while he and his lady were at dinner. Mr. Drennen became violent, and an investigation by the landlord disclosed the fact that the young slave had been induced to leave her master by the colored employes of the hotel. It was stated that the girl was fairer than a mulatto, and that she had taken Mr. Drennen's trunk. The trunk was recovered, but the owner failed to see his slave again.

In September, 1850, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the colored people of this vicinity, who had escaped from Southern masters, fearing that they would be reclaimed and sent back to bondage, began to leave in squads for Canada. On September 24th, thirty-five negroes, who had resided in the Third Ward, in Allegheny, left for Canada in one group. The newspapers expressed great surprise that there should be in Pittsburg so many fugitive slaves as shown by their haste to leave for Canada. But this view was explained by the fact that one slave often had many relatives who were free, and, as all desired to remain together, the free slaves, as well as the others, departed for Canada. The *Commercial Journal* said: "We are told that the scene preceding the flight mentioned above would have excited the sympathy of the most cold-hearted. Mothers and daughters, fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, were clinging to one another in despair at the thought of a separation which they seemed to feel would be for life." It was predicted that the scare was without foundation, because the Fugitive Slave Law would be rendered inoperative in Pennsylvania. "If the people of Pennsylvania say that their State shall not be made a field for kidnapers, it will be as they wish, and no act of Congress can make it otherwise." By the 27th of September it was estimated by the *Commercial Journal* that from 150 to 200 colored people had already left the two cities and suburbs, and that many others were preparing to follow. The situation at this time was exciting in the extreme, and numerous meetings were held denouncing the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, and regretting the hapless condition in which it placed the colored people. "The passage of the Slave Bill has caused much more excitement than we had anticipated. The opinion that the law must be repealed seems to be universal in this neighborhood." "Fugitive Slaves.—We are informed that a large number of the negroes of this city, who

were formerly slaves in the South, started for Canada on Saturday. They have been frightened away by the Fugitive Slave Law" (j).

On September 30, 1850, an immense meeting of the citizens of this vicinity was held in the Market-house, Allegheny. Hugh Fleming, mayor of Allegheny, presided, and upon taking the chair delivered a strong speech in favor of the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. A. Alexander, J. Callen and Thomas Elliot were appointed a committee on resolutions. Thomas M. Howe, Republican candidate for Congress, delivered a powerful speech in opposition to slavery, as did also Mr. Salisbury, Democratic Workingmen's candidate for Congress, and Israel Cullen, Native American candidate for Congress. Thomas Cullen also spoke in opposition to the law. Strong resolutions were passed by this meeting, covering all features of the slavery question, and denouncing it in the severest terms. John Ferral, representing the workmen, offered separate resolutions, denouncing the law and asking for an amendment of the State Constitution giving colored males the right to vote. His resolutions were adopted. Messrs. Stewart Delaney and General Larimer also spoke against the law, declaring that its repeal meant the freedom of the whites as well as of the blacks. "We have never seen a larger or more enthusiastic meeting in Allegheny. The demonstration is a proof that the indignation of the people is deeply aroused" (k).

It was stated at this time by the newspapers that the slavery question overshadowed all others, and that it "must be settled, or it would settle the Union."

"First Fugitive Slave Case in Pittsburg.—Day before yesterday a Mr. Rose arrived here from Wellsburg, recognized a mulatto boy, George White, an apprentice for the last two years of J. B. Vashon, barber, as his slave, and claimed him. Rather than consign the child to bondage, Mr. Vashon, with a fidelity to his principles which does him honor, by means of his own and the contributions of others, paid the owner \$200, and the boy is now free" (l).

"Any of our Southern friends who want business done in their line in our dirty city should direct their communications, postpaid, to our good friend, Robert M. Riddle, or Judge Baird, with a special request for prayers for their success from Rev. Dr. Riddle. . . . Now, it would be so nice to see our tall friend (m) in full chase down street after some such piece of property as the one last caught in Philadelphia—an old woman with a baby in her arms" (n).

The first case to be tried in Pittsburg under the Fugitive Slave Law was called before Judge Irwin in March, 1851. It was claimed that a colored man, Woodson, was the slave of Mrs. Byers, of Kentucky, and that he had escaped about two years before. The defense endeavored to establish a different identity, and several witnesses testified that his name was Gardener, and that he had lived here since 1848. The case was decided in favor of the mistress, and the slave was ordered kept in irons until delivered to his owner. This case occasioned much excitement, and a rescue was thought probable, whereupon Mr. Rust, agent of the claimant, took legal steps to prevent such finality. The *Commercial Journal* sustained the action of J. B. Sweitzer, United States Commissioner under the Fugitive Slave Law, for his activity in preventing rescues, whereupon the *Tribune* said: "The local columns of this morning's *Journal* contain a puff for J. B. Sweitzer, commissioner. Wonder if Mr. Commissioner does not by this time begin to discover that his office is held in about

(j) *Commercial Journal*, September 23, 1850.

(k) *Commercial Journal*, October 1, 1850. (l) *Commercial Journal*, January 16, 1851.

(m) Robert M. Riddle, editor of the *Commercial Journal*.

(n) *Commercial Journal*, February 26, 1851.

the same estimation as that of a headsman?" (o). The slave, Woodson, was thus sent away from his wife and two children. The *Journal, Gazette, Post* and nearly all the other papers insisted that the law must be maintained, while the Abolitionists and their organs at all times declared against it and in favor of rendering it nugatory. Woodson had been recaptured at Beaver, where he had preached for two years. He had bought a lot, had built thereon a small house and was a thrifty mechanic. He was decoyed to the steamboat landing, seized and put in a small boat, taken out in the middle of the river, and placed on board a steamer that was hailed for the purpose. Subscriptions at Beaver and in Pittsburg, for his purchase, were raised, and he was finally freed and brought back to his family.

On August 1, 1851, the colored people, as usual, celebrated in Oakland the emancipation of 800,000 colored people in the West Indies. Rev. Louis Woodson, referred to above, was orator of the day, and Rev. John Peck, chairman. On this occasion, Rev. Samuel Ward, of Boston, colored orator, delivered a speech of great strength and eloquence. Mr. Ward afterward lectured here on "The Guilt of the North Touching Slavery."

In January, 1854, a large meeting was held in the Courthouse, over which Mayor Volz presided, to express the sentiment of this community in regard to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, then pending in Congress. The call for this meeting demanded that all Free Soil men should arouse; that a great outrage was contemplated in Congress; that the solemn covenant of the venerated fathers was about to be broken; and that the curse of slavery was to be extended over Nebraska. Cornelius Darragh was the first speaker. He denounced the course of Senator Douglas in a speech of great fire and eloquence. Dr. Gazzam, Aaron Floyd, Thomas Bakewell, George W. Jackson and D. N. White were appointed a committee on resolutions. William Shinn followed Mr. Darragh and spoke to a like effect. The resolutions declared that the Nebraska Bill was an outrage on public faith and honor, denounced the Northern politicians who brought it forward and advocated it, opposed the principle of Africanizing the American continent, and employed the severest expressions toward the slave power. J. E. Brady opposed the resolutions, owing to their severity; but Dr. Gazzam, "in a speech of great force and eloquence, sustained the propriety and wisdom of adopting the resolutions as presented." Others spoke against the resolutions, maintaining that they were unnecessarily violent and inexpedient. When put upon their passage, all present voted in favor of them except Messrs. Brady and Barnett. The resolutions pressed with great severity upon slavery generally, and upon the course of the Southerners, and particularly upon the introduction and consideration in Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In February, 1854, the Germans of Pittsburg held a large meeting, of which C. Beermann was chairman, and denounced the contemplated step to be taken by Congress in regard to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In March, 1854, the clergymen of the city held a meeting in Dr. Riddle's church, and adopted the following resolution, introduced by Rev. Dr. Elliot: "Resolved, That the undersigned ministers of the gospel, in the cities of Pittsburg, Allegheny and vicinity, in the name of God and religion, in the name of humanity and liberty, for the honor of our country and its influence over the world, respectfully and earnestly protest against the passage of the bill for the organization of new territories now before Congress, commonly known as the Nebraska Bill" (q). Meetings were held in all parts of Pennsylvania, particularly in Pittsburg, Allegheny and the surrounding boroughs and in many

(o) Commercial Journal, March 15, 1851.

(q) Commercial Journal, March 18, 1854.

of the wards, denouncing, often in the most violent terms, the action of Congress in regard to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

When it became known that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had passed both houses of Congress and would without doubt receive the approval of the President, great indignation was expressed here by members of all parties. "The South have had their triumph; now comes ours. They have repealed our Compromise of 1820, we now repeal their Compromise of 1850. *No more slaves go back to bondage from free States.* There we stand; so help us God there we will stand" (r). . . . "The Nebraska Bill passed—the deed is done! The astonishing perfidy to the Free States of this Union has been consummated by the aid of forty-four traitors to the rights, interests and honor of the North" (s). . . . "We are willing to make any reasonable sacrifice of party ties to a great and overshadowing principle—that of an undying resistance to the further encroachments of slavery" (t).

The *Gazette, Commercial Journal* and other newspapers at this time advocated the formation of a national party, founded upon principles opposed to the advancement of slavery. The *Post* took a different view of the situation, and declared that much of the excitement was unnecessary, and that no serious action threatening the perpetuity of the Union need be apprehended. "We believe with Old Bullion that not a single slave will ever be held in Kansas or Nebraska" (u). . . . "All the clamor against the Nebraska Bill by Whigs and Abolitionists is a false alarm—a humbug—a mere attempt to make political capital out of a measure of no political importance" (v).

At the Whig county convention, in June, 1854, Thomas M. Marshall was chosen chairman. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that no law which aided or sustained slavery should be recognized; that no more compromises with slavery should be made; that the admission of any more slave States should be opposed; that the introduction of slavery into Nebraska should be obstructed; and "we pledge ourselves as soldiers for the whole war with 'free men, free labor and free lands' on our banner." John Bell, of Tennessee, Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, and Samuel Houston, of Texas, who had opposed in Congress the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, were warmly thanked by this convention. The following action was taken: "*Resolved*, That for the future the South must take care of itself—take care of its peculiar property; supply its own bloodhounds and slave-catchers; the free men of the North design and will crush and exterminate the breeds." Sam. Houston was present at this convention, and was called out and greeted with enthusiasm, but while expressing his thanks for the honor, declined to speak at length on the important issues of the day.

The struggle for the selection of a Speaker of the House of Representatives, in July, 1854, was rightly regarded here as a preliminary battle between the friends of slavery on the one hand and the friends of freedom on the other, and, consequently, the citizens of this community took great interest in that election and eagerly awaited the results. When, finally, John Covode, of Westmoreland County, who was then in Congress, telegraphed to Pittsburg the following message, it was received on the streets with great cheering by crowds of citizens: "Glory to God." No other words were necessary to express the situation at Washington to the friends of liberty in this vicinity.

In June, 1854, James Wright, colored, while on a steamboat at New Orleans, was captured by a man who claimed to be his master, from whom he had escaped twelve years previously, and was immediately sold to a Cuban and taken

(r) *Commercial Journal*, May 30, 1854.

(t) *Gazette*, May 29, 1854.

(v) *Post*, May 30, 1854.

(s) *Gazette*, May 24, 1854.

(u) *Post*, May, 1854.

south. He had formerly lived for nine years in Penn Township, Allegheny County, and his wife was chambermaid on the steamer at the time of his capture. In March, 1855, Cassius M. Clay lectured here on the subject of "The Despotism of Slavery." The lecture was a wonderful exhibition of fire and eloquence, and the largest audience of the season enthusiastically greeted the great orator. In his lecture he quoted Theodore Parker, who said, "When we want a President, the South takes a piece of dough and makes one." In March, 1855, Leonard Boyd, accompanied by his wife and colored nurse, stopped at the St. Charles Hotel. The servants attempted to rescue the girl, but were prevented by the crowd. Mr. Boyd had intended to remain three days, but, fearing the loss of his property, left by boat at once. On the way to the landing desperate attempts at a rescue were again made, but upon the presentation of arms by the police officers and others, the rescuers were driven back and the slave was safely placed on the boat. During the progress of this attempt at rescue, severe struggling and rioting ensued. It was stated that the attempt "for boldness and success has never been surpassed in Pittsburg." . . . . . "The character of this city should not be stained nor its business injured by negro mobs. Its business has suffered severely enough from other causes within the last year, without adding the curse and disgrace of negro riots. We hope that the next riot of the kind will be suppressed by the strong arm of the law; or be met with plenty of well-charged revolvers in ready and resolute hands" (p).

The Slaymaker case in March, 1855, was a notable one. Colonel Slaymaker's wife visited friends here, accompanied by a colored female, presumed to be a slave. However, the information was given out that she was free. This was denied by the colored people, who attempted a rescue in the dining-room of the hotel one morning at breakfast. The colored waiters and a colored barber named Davis suddenly seized the colored girl, and hurried her back through the hotel. The Slaymakers declared that the girl was already free, and produced papers proving such to be the case, whereupon, within two hours, she was reproduced and returned to Mr. Slaymaker. The hotel was exonerated from all blame, although the head waiter was discharged. At this time Mrs. Swisshelm was particularly severe against slavery. In November, 1855, Wendell Phillips delivered a powerful lecture before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association on "The Philosophy of the Reform in Slavery." In July, 1855, a report to the effect that a slave-catcher was stopping at the Monongahela House occasioned great excitement among colored people. The Abolitionists and the colored people called meetings, and appointed a committee to wait upon the gentleman to ascertain the nature of his mission. He proved to be H. B. Northrup, of New York, one of the most active anti-slavery agitators of the day. He had rescued from slavery the colored man, Solomon Northrup, author of "Twelve Years of Slavery." The committee were thus taken aback. It is notable that in nearly all the churches the day before the ministers had stated from their pulpits that slave-catchers were in the city. So great was the fear at this time that slave-owners and slave-catchers would descend upon this community, that Mr. Northrup had great difficulty in convincing the people of his identity. In fact, so obstinate were the anti-slavery people, that Mr. Northrup finally took offense, and declared that "it was mortifying to him, who had spent so many years in the cause of anti-slavery, to be so considered." But he declared that Pittsburg, at least, was on the right side of the question. What made the excitement greater at this time was the fact that two runaway slaves had reached here the day before the arrival of Mr. Northrup, and the fears of the community pointed to the conclusion that the stranger at the hotel might be a slave-catcher in pursuit of them. It was openly asserted here at this time

(p) Post, March 14, 1855.



that no slave-catcher could succeed or even remain in this community. In July, 1855, George W. Ferris, colored, who formerly lived in Pittsburg, but had gone to St. Louis with a company of singers, was enticed into Alabama by a Mr. Shaw, who returned him to a Mr. Raglan, the latter claiming to be his owner. Ferris was to all appearances a white man, and had married a white woman named Mary Ann Wickham, whose mother resided on Fifth Street at that date. A short time after this event, Mr. Shaw, who turned out to be a professional slave-catcher, was arrested here while trying to kidnap Mr. Ferris' three-year-old child. Soon after this, five informations for kidnaping were on file in Pittsburg at one time against Shaw.

In February, 1855, the American party met in county convention, with B. C. Sawyer in the chair, to express the views of that organization relative to the United States senatorship. David L. Smith, in a speech of great strength, declared that the Whig party was rotten and defunct, but this position was hissed by the delegates. Resolutions were adopted demanding a senator from Western Pennsylvania, owing to the fact that the present United States Senator resided in the eastern part of the State. Colonel Foster introduced separate resolutions to the effect that the candidate should be a member of the American party. His resolutions also declared against the aggressions of slavery and in favor of the protective system; asserted the right of all citizens to a writ of habeas corpus; denounced the existing system of importing foreign criminals and paupers; insisted upon the repeal of the naturalization laws; espoused the cause of prohibiting slavery in the territories—all of which were adopted by the convention. The committee on resolutions consisted of J. B. Sweitzer, C. O. Loomis, T. J. Bigham, Alexander Nimick and John Small. In this convention Mr. Smith was taken to task for having, as a member of the Legislature, voted for Simon Cameron for the United States Senate, but he declared that he was compelled to do so, owing to the fact that no man in the Western country could by any possibility hope to succeed, and that he had voted for Mr. Cameron as the least of several evils presented. He gave as another reason that the tariff of 1842 had been supported by Mr. Cameron, who had, during the fierce debates in Congress, vehemently opposed any change in such tariff, and had gone so far as to shake his fist under the nose of George M. Dallas, who favored the repeal of the law. Mr. Smith declared also that Mr. Cameron supported the Wilmot Proviso, was a friend of the West, and in nearly all instances advocated the measures best calculated to benefit that portion of the country. In his speech he satisfied the convention of the sincerity of his motives and of the wisdom of the course he had pursued. However, he was taken severely to task by David Curry, C. O. Loomis, J. Herron Foster, Mr. Brady and others. The American party of this vicinity demanded a candidate free from any inclination toward the Whig or Democratic party.

Early in 1855 reports came of the trouble existing in Kansas. The war between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery partisans of that section had begun. In June, 1855, there passed through here several companies of United States troops, bound for the scene of trouble. As the months passed away the excitement continued to increase, and soon this community was provoked to a high degree of indignation against the slave power.

In June, 1855, it began to be noticed by the local newspapers that the fusionists of all parties in different parts of the United States commenced to call themselves Republicans, and that the watchword of these elements was unwavering hostility, even to the extent of war, against the aggressions of slavery. In Ohio the Know-nothings became disrupted and were generally known as Republicans. In June, 1855, such a meeting of fusionists, calling themselves Republicans, was held in Ashtabula, on which occasion Benjamin F.

Wade and Joshua R. Giddings were active participants. At this meeting Salmon P. Chase was recommended for governor, and delegates were named to a Republican State convention to be held at Columbus, July 13. Another of a similar character was held at Cleveland. The *Gazette*, *Commercial Journal* and other newspapers called for such an organization and such action in this county of all persons opposed to slavery and to Know-nothingism, the meeting to be held in Pittsburg.

At the National Know-nothing convention, held about this time in Philadelphia, the delegates from twelve free States seceded, and it was therefore concluded that having repudiated the measures of their party they could not do otherwise than stand upon the pro-slavery platform. "It is to be hoped that those who have withdrawn from the national council will abandon all the objectionable features of Know-nothingism, and lend their aid in the formation of a great Republican party such as is demanded by the suffering interests of freedom. It is time now to lay mummery aside, and act the part of men" (w). In their next issues both the *Gazette* and *Commercial Journal* asked: "Shall we have a Northern or Republican party?" It was stated at this time that whereas three years ago three parties were in the field: Democratic, Whig and Free Soil, now the Whig and Free Soil parties were wholly disorganized and a new party (Know-nothing) had suddenly grown up, but, in its first attempts to form a national platform, it had broken into fragments. It was declared that the Know-nothing party, owing to its peculiar organization, had no strength except in the South, in New York and in Pennsylvania; and that in the latter two States it was weak and liable to fall to pieces at any moment. The opposition journals here, therefore, pertinently asked, "Shall we not then have a great Republican party and platform like that of Cleveland?" (x).

The Republican State Convention of Ohio was held at Columbus, July 13, 1855, and every county in the State, on that occasion, was represented. The great anti-slavery agitator, Joshua R. Giddings, was called to the chair to emphasize the character and proceedings of the convention. In a speech of great power he outlined the principles and organization of a new party. John Sherman was made permanent chairman of the convention. Resolutions were adopted denouncing slavery and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and appointing a State central committee to correspond with other States in regard to the organization of a national Republican party. Salmon P. Chase was nominated for governor. About the same time a similar convention was held by the Republicans at Indianapolis.

Immediately succeeding these momentous events a Republican convention was called at Pittsburg, and a document containing a declaration of principles was circulated for signatures. It was stated in this call that all other considerations should be laid aside, and that all persons opposed to the extension of slavery should assemble and unite upon that one principle of action only. The object was to disrupt the Whig, Anti-Masonic, Know-nothing and American parties, and blend them all in the new Republican party. On August 14, 1855, the Whigs assembled in county convention, but instead of nominating a ticket, they recommended the complete disorganization of that party, and the formation of a Republican party. Of this meeting James Carothers was chairman. Delegates were appointed to the Whig convention at Harrisburg, and were instructed to use their efforts to induce the State organization to join the ranks of the Republicans. Among those who signed the call for a convention to organize the Republican party of Allegheny County were George Darsie, John W. Riddle, William Robinson, Jr., Charles Avery, Edward D. Gazzam, Edward

(w) *Gazette*, June 16, 1855.(x) *Gazette*, June 18, 1855.

Campbell, David Wilson, D. N. White, James Carothers, James Marshall, Russell Errett, T. H. Nevin, R. C. Fleeson, D. C. Stockton, J. W. F. White, John Harper, J. B. Herron and others to the number of more than 180. A call for a Republican State convention, to be held at Pittsburg, September 5, 1855, was issued, and the call was signed by George Darsie, William Robinson, Jr., and Charles Avery, on behalf of Allegheny County. Fourteen counties were represented in this call. The meeting was styled a mass convention, the object of which was to coöperate with other States in a National organization of Republicans. The old line American party of Allegheny County was not so easily disrupted. Members of that party assembled in county convention in July, 1855, and although great opposition was interposed, they succeeded in nominating a county ticket; but a large faction of the convention seceded, which placed the whole party in a position to be easily captured by the enthusiastic Republicans.

"When Pennsylvanians undertake to resist the Fugitive Slave Law, it is the sworn duty of the President to execute it, and employ all the force necessary for that purpose. We shall never take part in such resistance. If anti-slavery means to ask whether we would aid a fugitive by such means, we answer, No. But if a man comes to us hungry or in distress we shall be very apt to help him a little, asking no questions for conscience sake" (y).

On August 1, 1855, the Independent Free Democratic convention assembled in Pittsburg, and was called to order by George W. Jackson. James Robb was elected permanent chairman, and E. H. Irish and R. C. Fleeson secretaries. On motion of James H. McClelland, a committee of five was appointed to prepare an order of business. Such committee consisted of Mr. McClelland, E. D. Gazzam, William M. Shinn, Aaron Floyd and J. B. Sanderson. Speeches were delivered by William E. Stevenson, Rev. Mr. Bacon, R. C. Fleeson and others. The Free Soil platform of 1852 was read and discussed. This convention declared in emphatic terms against the extension and pretensions of slavery, and denied all connection with the Know-nothing party. It was declared emphatically to be a convention of Free Soilers and Democrats, and the watchwords of the party were announced to be, "Free soil, free speech, free labor and free men." In this convention Mr. Fleeson declared that he had been an Abolitionist since 1840. The other speakers made statements of a similar import. A clause in the platform of 1852, relative to emigrants, caused violent opposition, but was finally left in the resolutions, and the platform of 1852 as a whole was adopted. On August 4, 1855, a mass meeting of the American party was held in Pittsburg, and a large crowd assembled. R. P. McDowell was chairman, and eloquent speeches were delivered by Thomas Howard, ex-Governor Johnston, J. H. Hampton and B. J. C. Morgan. All declared against the extension of slavery. The county committee of correspondence of the Democratic party assembled August 15, 1855, to take action to banish from their ranks all persons belonging to the Know-nothing organization. From persons supposed to be tainted with Know-nothingism, a severe test of renunciation and denunciation was required. There were two tests of renunciation, called severe and modified. J. B. Hamilton, William M. Porter, James A. Irwin, John Birmingham, Francis Felix, Thomas J. Keenan, Jack McCollister, Thomas Farley, Charles Barnett, D. R. Williams and L. B. Patterson, it was declared, had never belonged to the Know-nothing organization, and were therefore required to take only the modified test. At this time many members, who represented themselves to be straight-out Democrats, but who had really joined the Know-nothing organization, were read out of the former party. At this convention all delegates were

(y) Post, July, 1855.

required to take the pledge against Know-nothingism. William Wilkins was nominated for State senator, in spite of his diplomatic protests against receiving such honor, couched in adroit terms to invite, and even solicit, such nomination.

The Republican county convention assembled in the Courthouse on August 29, 1855. Rev. Charles Avery, the philanthropist and Abolitionist, was elected chairman. Dr. Carothers, John Wilcox and Adam Reineman were appointed vice-presidents, and Edward Campbell, J. W. F. White and R. H. Davis secretaries. Rev. Mr. Avery, George Darsie and Dr. E. D. Gazzam were separately nominated for the State Senate. Both Avery and Gazzam declined the honor, whereupon Mr. Darsie was nominated by acclamation. But at this juncture Mr. Errett read a letter from Mr. Darsie, positively declining the nomination, whereupon Mr. Gazzam was given that honor. Resolutions opposing all extension of slavery, similar to those adopted at the Columbus convention, in Ohio, were adopted. It was noticed by the newspapers at the time that this convention was characterized by the solid and substantial men attending it as delegates. In a call of but two weeks, fifty-three districts of the county, out of a total of fifty-nine, were represented. A large crowd of spectators assembled to witness the action of this convention.

The Republican State convention, which had been called to meet in Pittsburg, assembled in City Hall, September 5, 1855. It was called to order by George Darsie, and Judge James Winslow, of Jefferson County, was made temporary chairman and Charles F. Reed temporary secretary. A committee was appointed to select permanent officers, and while they were acting, John A. Bingham, of Ohio, delivered a memorable speech, two hours in length. Judge William Jessup, of Susquehanna County, was announced as permanent chairman of the convention, and, upon taking the chair, delivered a speech which elicited great applause. Upon motion, a committee of nine was appointed to draft resolutions. Letters of regret were read from David Wilmot, Benjamin F. Butler, John P. Hale, Salmon P. Chase, Samuel Galloway and James A. Briggs. Joshua R. Giddings was loudly called upon for an address, but declined, stating that he had prepared a speech to be delivered that evening. Mr. Bingham, of Ohio; Samuel McFarland, of Washington County; Dr. E. D. Gazzam, John W. Howe, Hon. L. D. Campbell, of Ohio, and others, delivered brilliant speeches. Mr. Bingham's speech, particularly, was one of great strength, reviewing as it did the entire history of slavery on the American continent. But the speech which received the greatest approval was the one delivered by Mr. Giddings in the evening. It was replete with wit, epigrams, pathos, logic and abrupt and brilliant rhetorical colorings, and elicited from the great audience the most unbounded applause. It was particularly noteworthy in its exposition of the miseries entailed by the institution of slavery. It was declared at the time by the newspapers favoring the new organization that this convention was the most important ever held in Allegheny County. The *Commercial Journal*, at this time, still supported the American party, but admitted that the Republican organization was gaining ground with extraordinary rapidity. Mrs. Swisshelm had for a time leaned toward the Know-nothing party, but when she ascertained that the Republican organization was founded upon the solitary principle of opposition to slavery, she became a Republican. During the progress of the convention Passmore Williamson, secretary of the Abolition Society of Philadelphia, who had been imprisoned for contempt of court in concealing and refusing to deliver, upon the order of the court, runaway slaves, whom, it was alleged, he had assisted to escape, entered the convention hall and was received with thunderous applause. In this convention he was nominated for canal commissioner; no doubt because of his having been persecuted, as it was alleged, in the eastern part of the State.

In October, 1855, the following was the vote for canal commissioner, which exhibit shows the relative strength of the parties here at that time: Arnold Plumer, Democrat, 6,779; Thomas Nicholson, Know-nothing and Fusion, 5,786; Passmore Williamson, Republican, 2,357; Mr. Cleaver, Native American, 239; Mr. Martin, Independent Know-nothing, 125. At this election the Democratic party carried all the county offices. The *New York Tribune* said that the result in Allegheny County was read with incredulous surprise when communicated by telegraph—1,000 majority for Douglasites in a county known to be averse to them. Among the questions before the voters of the county at this time were the following: The Pope's action concerning the common school fund; an oath-bound political party, Know-nothingism; the attitude of the American party on the emigrant question; slavery; Kansas-Nebraska Bill; repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the influence of secret societies in politics; the disruption of the Whig party; the disappearance of the Anti-Masonic party; the subject of religion in politics; the proscription of Catholics and foreigners, etc., etc.

By November, 1855, it was recognized that the Republican party was fairly well organized in all the free States. On December 14, 1855, it was stated by the newspapers that there was a general understanding that an informal mass convention would be held in Pittsburg on Washington's Birthday, 1856, for the purpose of cementing a national organization from the fragments of the Republican party, which had been organized spontaneously during the previous few months in all portions of the country north of Mason and Dixon's Line. It was stated that no formal call would be issued, but that the mass convention would be held by general consent, and that already Republican organizations, not only in Pennsylvania but in other States, had signified their acquiescence in the proposed meeting, and were making arrangements to send large delegations thereto. It was announced that the object of the meeting was to unite the fragments of the Republican party upon a national basis in opposition to slavery.

In December, 1855, at the Democratic county convention, James A. Gibson served as chairman, and resolutions were adopted denouncing the course taken by the Know-nothing organization. It was a contest in this convention between the regular Democrats and the Know-nothings, and the latter were worsted in the encounter. The principal speakers were Colonel Samuel W. Black and M. J. Stewart. Colonel McCandless was endorsed for United States senator.

Perhaps the most notable event in the history of Allegheny County, certainly so from a political standpoint, was the organization of the Republican party here, pursuant to call, on February 22, 1856. The call was as follows:

To the Republicans of the United States:—In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention at Pittsburg on the 22d of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the national organization and providing for a national delegate convention of the Republican party at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November.

David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania.  
Lawrence Brainard, of Vermont.  
William A. White, of Wisconsin.  
A. P. Stone, of Ohio.  
J. Z. Goodrich, of Massachusetts.



Great preparations were made for this important event. E. H. Irish, Thomas Steele, Russell Errett, B. Singerly and Jared M. Bush were appointed a committee of arrangements; and Thomas M. Howe, William Robinson, Jr., George Darsie, D. N. White, John P. Penney, David Reed, E. D. Gazzam, James Marshall, T. H. Elliot, James McAuley, Neville B. Craig, John McCaskey, William Coleman, G. R. Riddle, Robert McKnight, George W. Jackson and Joshua King, committee of reception. Delegates from other States began to arrive as early as February 20th, although the first day of the convention had been fixed for the 22d. On the evening of the 21st an impromptu meeting of the delegates then present was held at the Monongahela House for an interchange of views on the questions likely to come before the convention. Among those present were Preston King, Horace Greeley, E. D. Morgan and Simon Draper, of New York; E. R. Hoar and A. M. Stone, of Massachusetts; Francis P. Blair, of Maryland; Owen Lovejoy, Abraham Lincoln, P. H. Bryant and J. C. Vaughan, of Illinois; and Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio. At 9:30 on the morning of the 22d the Pennsylvania delegation held a meeting, over which George Darsie presided, for the purpose of formulating a plan to be followed by Pennsylvania during the convention. At 11 o'clock on the 22d Lawrence Brainerd, of Vermont, called the convention to order and read the call. Upon taking his seat he spoke as follows: "My first duty is to thank the convention for the honor conferred upon me, and my next to say that this meeting is simply to organize the Republican party and to put forth the principles, which are, as I understand them, the same as those by which our independence was achieved, on which our Constitution is established, and if we do our part with justice, wisdom and moderation the country and the Union will be perpetuated. I have no more to say—that embraces my creed." John A. King was chosen temporary chairman, and upon assuming that responsibility said, among other things, that this was "a preliminary meeting, simply for organization, in order to make a convention which shall put forth the principles of the Republican party." Upon the conclusion of his address, Rev. Owen Lovejoy delivered a prayer of great earnestness and eloquence, among other things beseeching the Almighty to remove the present administration from power, and thwart its unholy designs upon the liberties of the free. A committee of one from each State was appointed to recommend permanent officers of the convention. Some members failed to arrive until the evening of the 22d. Hon. R. P. Spalding, of Ohio, was invited to address the convention, but declined, stating that he had come to hear, not to speak. Horace Greeley was then loudly called for. "The white coat and broad, bald forehead of the *Tribune* editor were seen moving toward the speaker's stand, and as he mounted it he was greeted by a perfect whirlwind of applause" (2). Mr. Greeley counseled caution, moderation and wisdom, but said, "I am not myself a very cautious man." He advised that the American party should be treated with great courtesy, and should only be asked if it was all right on the slavery question. He further said that, inasmuch as some men had come a thousand miles to attend this convention, it was the part of wisdom to be in no haste, but to deliberate calmly over every action. He said: "Let us deliberate without haste. The future welfare of this Union depends on the action of this body." Preston King, of New York, was then called out, but excused himself. Joshua R. Giddings was called for, but spoke briefly, and ended by introducing Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, who delivered a characteristic speech of great energy and eloquence, declaring that it was no time for moderation; that it was a time for war to the knife and knife to the hilt, and that he was prepared to take a company of troops

(2) Gazette, February 23, 1850.

to Kansas, and if that was denied him, was ready to go as a private. W. H. Gibson, of Ohio, and Mr. Carling, of Illinois, also delivered strong speeches. To enter this convention it was not necessary to be a delegate, because the assemblage was really informal, and was merely a national mass meeting to cement the opposition to slavery and organize the new Republican party. As a stroke of conciliation to the South, Frances P. Blair, of Maryland, was chosen permanent chairman of the convention. His nomination "was received with such applause and enthusiasm as we have never before seen in a deliberative body." Mr. Blair was essentially a Southern man, and upon taking the chair said that the South was mistaken as to the designs of the North; that they believed the latter intended to work for the total annihilation of slavery, but that he was aware that the North entertained no such principles, and that their object was to combat the doctrines of nullification. He stated that if this fact was generally known in the South an entirely different sentiment toward the North would be entertained. Mr. Blair presented an elaborate letter from the Baltimore Republican Association, addressed to the convention, reciting the Southern Republicans' view of the situation. The speech of Mr. Blair and the paper from the Baltimore Association did not fire the audience with the enthusiasm expected. As a matter of fact, both were out of place in this convention, which had really met to organize in opposition to the expansion of slavery. But the speech and the paper were both brushed aside, and the convention proceeded toward the consummation of its great mission.

Among those present were George W. Julien, of Indiana; Abijah Mann, of New York; Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; John Allison, of Pennsylvania, and John A. Foote, of Ohio. At the afternoon session, Charles Remelin, of Ohio, delivered a short speech on the issues pending before the convention, as did also Zach Chandler, of Michigan, and John A. Foote, of Ohio. Passmore Williamson was brought before the convention and introduced "as the victim of Judge Kane." He was received "with such a storm of enthusiasm as we have never before witnessed." He delivered a short speech, and was followed by R. P. Spalding, of Ohio; George Bliss, of Massachusetts; General Burrows, of New York, and others. At the evening session, it was announced that eight Southern States and sixteen Northern States, in all twenty-four, and four Territories were represented in the convention. Speeches were delivered by A. Oakey Hall, Preston King, J. C. Vaughan, of Illinois, Josiah Brewer, C. G. Hawthorne, George W. Julien, David Ripley, and Joshua R. Giddings, the latter who had spoken previously coming out for a short speech in response to repeated calls. The proceedings of the first day's convention were a revelation to the citizens of Pittsburg. "We have never heard more earnest, eloquent and thrilling speeches than were delivered yesterday in the Republican convention" (a). . . . "The whole scene presented by the convention was calculated to make a profound impression and to cheer the hearts of the lovers of freedom. The vast assembly of thoughtful, earnest men, the torrent of eloquence pouring forth in one incessant stream from almost every part of the Union from aged veterans and youthful soldiers of liberty, and the stern resolve manifested in every tone, word and act of the convention, rendered it one of the most impressive and cheering exhibitions we have ever witnessed" (b).

On Saturday morning, the 23d, W. P. Sherman, one of the vice-presidents, took the chair, and as no committee was yet ready to report, speaking and miscellaneous business were announced in order. Speeches were limited to ten minutes. A long and eloquent letter from Cassius M. Clay was read, in which he declared that cotton was no longer king. One of the most attractive and

(a) Gazette, February 23, 1856.

(b) Gazette, February 23, 1856.

eloquent speeches of the morning was delivered by Dr. E. D. Gazzam. J. W. Stone, of Massachusetts, delivered an important speech, and was followed by Mr. Burrows, of New York, who referred in sarcastic terms to the policy of the American party in so persistently opposing the Pope of Rome, while the evil of slavery was gaining such ground and momentum in the United States. The committee on national organization presented a report favoring the appointment of a national executive committee, and the formation of local organizations in every town, county and State. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, was appointed a member of the national executive committee, and the time and place of the national convention, to nominate a President and Vice-President, were fixed at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856.

During the progress of the convention, a dispatch was read from the American convention then in session at Philadelphia, stating that that body had dissolved, and that the party had decided to cast its lot with the new Republican party, owing to the importance of the slavery question.

Among the notable remarks made was one by Mr. Mann, of New York, which was regarded as so important as to demand repetition. He said that he felt the responsibility he assumed when he made the declaration in the face of the administration and the powers of the central government, that if the Government, by any authority it may assume, should shed one drop of human blood in Kansas, that would be the end of human slavery, not only in this country, but in every other land. This remark was made by Mr. Mann at the time he presented to the convention the address to the American people, which had been prepared by a special committee of which he was chairman. It required two hours for Mr. Dennison, of Ohio, to read the address. That important document demanded the repeal of all laws recognizing slavery in any territory hitherto consecrated to freedom; opposed the admission of any more slave States to the Union; appointed a national Republican executive committee to call a national convention to nominate a President and Vice-President; urged upon Republicans the importance of thorough organization; favored supporting Kansas in her struggle to exclude slavery from her territory; and declared that the present national administration, which was wedded to slavery and faithless to freedom, should be defeated and overthrown. The address was adopted with nine cheers, and the convention thereupon adjourned.

It is a notable fact in connection with the meetings of August 29 and September 5, 1855, and February 22, 1856, that all other questions of party policy were temporarily abandoned in view of the overshadowing importance of the one relating to slavery. At the meeting of August 29, 1855, two of the resolutions were as follows: "That the slavery question, as now presented, being the predominant, all-absorbing issue of the day, involving the right of free labor, free speech and free government, it is our duty to forego all other issues, and present an unbroken front in defense of the vital interests at stake; . . . . . that a platform thus common to all, and embracing no other issue, furnishes the only effectual rallying point for the people of the North, and affords the only possible opportunity for those who think together and act together." In none of the three meetings referred to was the subject of protection introduced, but it must not be supposed that such well established political principle was abandoned. The Republican party thus organized was considered the lineal descendant of the Whig party, built upon a stronger and purer basis, embracing all the old questions for which the Whigs had so valiantly fought; but such great issues were temporarily laid aside until the overshadowing one of hostility to slavery should be placed in its proper position of importance and safety. At least, this was true in Allegheny County. At the three meetings referred to, it was distinctly stated that all other party considerations would be laid aside for



the time being, in order to blend all fragments opposed to slavery into one organization, the object of which was to take formal action concerning the paramount question of slavery. Not a word was said in the address of the February convention to the American people concerning any other national issue than that of slavery.

In February, 1856, the famous Dred Scott case came before the American people, and attracted great interest in Pittsburg. At a meeting of the Kansas Aid Society, held on February 18, 1856, George W. Jackson served as chairman, and Russell Errett, E. H. Irish, Thomas Steele, Thomas Elliot and George Coleman as committee on resolutions. The resolutions denounced the course of the National Executive toward the people of Kansas, and recommended the formation of a Kansas Aid Association to help them form their laws and institutions. E. D. Gazzam, D. L. Eaton, R. C. Fleeson and F. Pierce delivered strong speeches in support of the resolutions. Thomas M. Marshall delivered the most brilliant speech of the meeting. He differed as to the methods which should be adopted in the Kansas emergency, and declared that the time for the bowie-knife and rifle had come; that the time for prayers had passed; that lovers of liberty should refuse to obey any law that recognized slavery; and that then was the time to see how many men were willing to shoulder their guns for the cause of freedom (c).

At the Republican national convention, held in Philadelphia, commencing June 17, 1856, N. B. Craig, E. D. Gazzam and Dr. James Carothers represented the twenty-first district as delegates, and S. A. Purviance, George Darsie and Robert McKnight represented the twenty-second district. It is not generally known that at this convention Abraham Lincoln came within a few votes of being nominated for Vice-President of the United States. Only one candidate, William L. Dayton, who secured the nomination, received more votes than he did.

The Republican party did not succeed in absorbing the American party. On July 15, 1856, a large mass meeting of the members of that party was held in Pittsburg, with William Woods in the chair. J. H. Sewell, R. P. McDowell, Solomon Sala, Dr. John T. Peters and John W. Riddle were appointed a committee on resolutions. The action of the Northern delegates in seceding from the February convention in Philadelphia, rather than bend the knee to the slave power, was heartily endorsed. The party, it was declared, was pledged to Americanism; that while it opposed the encroachments of slavery, it would not interfere with that institution except to prevent its extension into free territory, and recommended the nomination of John C. Fremont for President. The warcry of the Americans was "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Territory and Fremont." At this meeting Lieutenant-Governor Ford, of Ohio, delivered an address, as did also General Wilson, of Massachusetts. The latter asserted that if the Republicans and Americans would combine they could elect the next President and Vice-President. Ex-Governor Johnston delivered a speech of great strength at this meeting. General John Williamson likewise spoke, and advocated very earnestly the unity of the Republican and American parties. This meeting was held on the Diamond, in Allegheny, at 8 o'clock in the evening. On the same day a Republican mass meeting was held in Pittsburg, on the open tract in the rear of the American House. General Robinson was chairman. General Wilson, of Massachusetts, declared that a revolution in sentiment was sweeping through the country, and that the overthrow of slavery was impending. He reviewed, in all its phases, the struggle in Kansas, and denounced in fervid terms the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Thomas D. Williams followed

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(c) Commercial Journal, February 19, 1856.



him in a speech distinguished for its brilliancy and eloquence. Ex-Governor Ford, of Ohio, also addressed the large assemblage. Resolutions were adopted ratifying the platform and nominations of the National Republican convention. These two meetings took everybody by surprise, owing to the enthusiasm manifested and the eloquence and brilliancy of the oratory. For a week afterward the newspapers could do little else than talk of the proceedings. It was stated that 8,000 people were present at the two meetings, and that nothing like it had been seen since the Harrison campaign of 1840.

On July 25, 1856, a Fremont club, of which William Robinson, Jr., was president, was formed in Pittsburg, and about the same time others were formed in Allegheny and many of the surrounding boroughs. It was a notable fact at this time that the extreme Abolitionists, led by such men as Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison and Parker Pillsbury, opposed the Republican party because it left the slave in the Southern States to his fate, instead of working for his freedom. The *Commercial Journal* was the leading organ of the American party, and advocated the nomination of ex-Governor Johnston for Vice-President of the United States. In August, 1856, Mr. Johnston declined the nomination on the American ticket for Vice-President of the United States. The nominees of the American party were Fillmore and Donelson.

On September 10, 1856, a large Democratic meeting was held in Pittsburg, on which occasion 6,000 people were present. Charles Shaler was chairman of the day. The principal speakers were David Tod, of Ohio; Ely K. Bowen, of Maryland; John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Colonel Samuel W. Black. Mr. Breckinridge received an ovation, and delivered a speech of intense fire and force. The large procession was led by the Washington Infantry, and comprised secret lodges, chariots, floats, ships of war and many horsemen and pedestrians, and extra cars were run on the railways to accommodate the large crowd in attendance.

On the 17th of September, 1856, occurred the largest mass meeting of the citizens ever held in Allegheny County up to that date. The object of the meeting was to endorse the nomination of Fremont and Dayton, and to concentrate the strength and kindle the enthusiasm of the Republican party by an extraordinary display of numbers and a feast of oratory. It was afterward said of this meeting that "the like of that day never was seen before in this city." It was stated that there were 1,740 horses and 442 vehicles in line. The number of persons present will never be known, but probably approximated 30,000.

In May, 1856, the beating of Mr. Sumner in Congress by Preston S. Brooks caused great indignation in Pittsburg, and meetings denouncing in the severest terms that atrocious act were held.

At the October election in 1856 the State of Pennsylvania went Democratic, which fact considerably dampened the ardor of the Republicans in Allegheny County, though they continued to hold meetings until the election in November. At the Presidential election the vote in Pittsburg stood as follows: Fremont 3,821, Buchanan 2,881; in Allegheny, Fremont 2,270, Buchanan 1,118; in Allegheny County, Fremont 13,907, Buchanan 9,062. The Fillmore vote in Allegheny County was 989, and the fusion vote 349. Chicago, Cleveland and Pittsburg were the only three cities of considerable size in the United States to give a majority for Fremont and Dayton.

At the Union County Convention, held in March, 1857, to name delegates to the State convention, resolutions were passed denouncing the action of the majority of the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, and the opinions filed by the two dissenting justices, Curtin and McLean, were approved. Several of the newspapers published the dissenting opinions. The *Post* placed as a caption to the head of an editorial, "Republicanism Knocked in the

Head." The full effect of the decision of the Supreme Court was well understood here, and met with severe denunciation and opposition. In May, 1857, Thomas H. Benton lectured here on the subject of "Union." It was a powerful address, full of fire and patriotism, and elicited unbounded applause from the large attendance.

The Presidential campaign of 1860 was one of the most momentous ever held in Pittsburg. Four parties were represented, and during the autumn meetings were of almost nightly occurrence. A large Bell and Everett meeting was held August 18, in City Hall, on which occasion an immense bell, built for the purpose, was placed in a four-horse wagon and drawn through the streets about midday, and on the way was frequently sounded. On the side of the wagon was the following sentence: "This is the Bell that tolls the deathknell of Sectionalism, where Everett goes." Dr. W. M. Wright was president of the evening meeting.

On September 26th the Republicans held a torchlight procession, in which it was claimed 2,700 men marched. The following day they held a mass convention, on which occasion it was claimed there were in line 1,027 horses, 222 vehicles and 2,050 persons on foot. A. W. Loomis was chairman of the meeting and Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, the principal orator. He spoke in the most fiery and eloquent vein for two hours and a half, and was constantly interrupted by the enthusiasm of his auditors. He was followed in short speeches by Colonel, afterward Governor, A. G. Curtin, Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, Morton McMichael and Thomas M. Marshall. At the election for governor, Mr. Curtin, Republican, received in Allegheny County a majority of 6,689 over Mr. Foster, Democratic candidate for governor. This was declared to be a Republican gain over the October election of 1859 of 3,475. On October 6th the Douglas Democrats held an immense mass convention, on which occasion Hon. J. H. Wright, of Boston, was the principal speaker. "We desire to see a full expression of the people to-morrow on the question, whether slavery shall be voted up or voted down, whether it shall go into all the Territories in spite of the wishes of their people, and there be maintained; whether the people's unoccupied lands shall be free to actual settlers; whether we shall have free soil for a free people" (d). The vote at the November election, 1860, for President was as follows: "Lincoln, 16,725; Douglas, 6,725; Breckinridge, 523; Bell, 570 (e).

A call for a mass meeting, "without distinction of party," signed by nearly 400 citizens, to be held Saturday evening, January 19, 1861, was circulated on Friday, the 18th. This was really a Democratic meeting, which favored the restoration of the Missouri Compromise or the adoption of the Crittenden resolutions. Many Republicans attended. Mayor Wilson presided, and speeches were delivered by ex-Governor Johnston, J. B. Sweitzer, M. Swatzelder and others. Resolutions were adopted favoring the Crittenden Compromise (f). The war settled the slavery question in the United States. In 1870 colored males of lawful age voted for the first time in this county.

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(d) Dispatch, November 5, 1860.

(e) The New York Tribune Almanac reverses the vote for the Douglas and Breckinridge tickets.

(f) Post, January 21, 1861.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

NEWSPAPERS AND LITERATURE—THE GAZETTE—JOHN SCULL AND JOSEPH HALL—DIFFICULTIES AND DISCOURAGEMENTS—THE TREE OF LIBERTY—RIVALRY OF THE TWO PAPERS—LIBELOUS ARTICLES—THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE MERCURY—MORGAN NEVILLE—PITTSBURG RECORDER—MANY NEWSPAPERS DURING THE THIRTIES—WAR OF THE PARTISANS—NEVILLE B. CRAIG—THE STATESMAN—JOHN B. BUTLER—ALLEGHENY DEMOCRAT—LEONARD S. JOHNS—ORGANS OF THE PARTISANS—JOHN M. SNOWDEN—WILLIAM B. CONWAY—ELECTION HANDBILLS—INFIDELITY AND CATHOLICISM DISCUSSED—ALFRED SUTTON AND THE TIMES—MR. WILSON'S ADVOCATE—THE MANUFACTURER—ITS ICONOCLASTIC COURSE—OTHER NEWSPAPERS—THE McDONALD-STEWART IMBROGLIO—BITTERNESS OF THE EDITORIALS—THE PITTSBURGER—THE CONSTITUTIONALIST—THE AMERICAN—THE CHRONICLE—THE VISITOR—THE DISPATCH—THE COMMERCIAL JOURNAL—THE POST—EDITORIAL TRIBULATIONS—MRS. SWISSHELM—PRINTERS' BANQUET—RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPERS—THE PRESS OF RECENT YEARS—THE FIRST AUTHOR IN PITTSBURG—THE NAVIGATOR AND THE ALMANACS—AUTHORS OF THE TEENS AND THE TWENTIES—THE FIRST POET—THE DIRECTORIES—MRS. ROYALL THRASHED—OTHER EARLY PROSE AND POETIC WRITERS—AUTHORS OF RECENT DATES—EXTRACTS FROM THEIR WORKS—GREAT VARIETY OF LITERARY PRODUCTS.

The first newspaper to be issued west of the Alleghany Mountains made its appearance in Pittsburg on July 29, 1786, and was called the *Pittsburg Gazette*. John Scull and Joseph Hall were induced, largely by the representations of H. H. Brackenridge, to come from Philadelphia to Pittsburg and establish this newspaper, and, no doubt, were promised much assistance and many contributions from the facile pen of Mr. Brackenridge. The paper was first issued in a little log building on the bank of the Monongahela, at the corner of Chancery Lane and Water Street. At that time the town consisted of a range of log buildings extending from Chancery Lane to Ferry Street, some twelve or fifteen other cabins scattered along Market Street, and to the westward the two redoubts near the "Point" and at the mouth of Redoubt Alley, and the old buildings still standing in Fort Pitt. The outlook was not inviting nor encouraging for the new enterprise. John Walker, who died in 1856, at the age of eighty-six years, brought across the mountains in a wagon the little press first used by the *Gazette*. It has been stated that Andrew Brown, proprietor and editor of the *Federal Gazette*, of Philadelphia, was in some way connected with the establishment of the *Pittsburg Gazette*. It is not improbable that he may have sold to Messrs. Scull and Hall the first material used by them. References have been found to a subscription that was raised for the benefit of the *Gazette*, whether in Pittsburg or Philadelphia, or both, cannot be learned with accuracy. The subscription price of the *Gazette* was fixed at 17s. 6d. per annum. The paper started off with valuable contributions from the pen of Mr. Brackenridge. On November 10, 1786, Joseph Hall died, in the twenty-second year of his age, and his death was noticed by an obituary of three lines in the issue of November 18th. Soon after this event John Boyd purchased Mr. Hall's share of the *Gazette* outfit and located in Pittsburg, and

became associated with Mr. Scull in the publication of the *Gazette*. Advertisements were placed at \$1 per square for three weeks' insertion, and twenty-five cents for each insertion thereafter. As no postoffice had yet been established here by the Government, the publisher was compelled to rely upon the kindness of friends and subscribers for the carriage of his issues to his subscribers, and on more than one occasion was obliged to use cartridge paper from the Arsenal on which to print his paper. This occasioned much uncertainty in the delivery, and resulted in many losses and some complaints. Through the utmost discouragements Mr. Scull persistently continued the issue. Many times, as he himself stated, he was without means to purchase a pound of beef, and at all times subscriptions could be paid with produce. "Persons residing in the country who wish to become subscribers to the *Pittsburg Gazette* are hereby informed that country produce will be taken in payment for their subscriptions" (a).

Early in 1787 Mr. Scull sold a portion of his printing outfit to Mr. Bradford, who later in the year established the *Kentucky Gazette*, the second paper issued west of the Alleghany Mountains. Mr. Boyd continued with Mr. Scull, with one or two intermissions, until February, 1789, when, for some reason not known, he suicided by hanging himself on the hill which afterward took its name from this circumstance. In April, 1789, Mrs. Ann Boyd, his widow, married William Wilson.

At the end of the first year Mr. Scull issued the following announcement: "The undertaking was represented to us to be hazardous, and we have found it to be so. . . . The encouragement of the public is fluctuating and uncertain. It does not occur to all that they ought to encourage a paper in its infancy for what it may be in future years. The principal difficulty under which we have labored has been a certain and speedy mode of conveyance to our subscribers. We have been at all times careful to seize opportunities of conveyance when they offered, but have been frequently deceived by those who have been entrusted by us. A knowledge of the country and of character may enable us for the future to judge better with whom we may entrust our packets; but it must rest with our subscribers themselves, in the different neighborhoods, to devise means to have their papers brought to them. It will be necessary for those who have been subscribers from the commencement of the first publication to recontinue their subscriptions by sending the sum stipulated in cash or produce." At this time each issue sold for 6d.

At first it was necessary to bring all the paper used across the mountains, either on packhorses or in wagons. Many times, owing to bad roads or inclement weather, the supply ran short, and the *Gazette* was issued in an extremely abridged form on cartridge paper. But on these occasions Mr. Scull stated that "the deficiency will be made up to our subscribers at the end of the year." Late in 1788 the *Gazette* began to print for the first time lists of uncalled-for letters in the postoffice, Mr. Scull being postmaster. In November, 1789, the *Gazette* appeared with a new illustrated heading, representing an escutcheon, upon which was shown a running deer, and above this was a folio entitled *Pittsburg Gazette*, and on the sides of this device stood an Indian and a white man.

Very little local news was published. The reason for that was owing to the fact that the settlers were thoroughly familiar with local affairs, and demanded news of the East and of Europe, and printers were obliged to acquiesce in this demand. Accordingly, for many years, the early newspapers were filled with the proceedings of European courts and of the United States Congress,

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(a) *Gazette*, 1787.

and with articles on moral subjects, usually written by ministers, lawyers, doctors and others competent to use grammatical language.

After this the *Gazette* continued without intermission under the sole management of Mr. Scull. The paper had no rival until 1800. On June 24, 1797, the editor said: "This paper is made in the Western country. It is with great pleasure we present to the public the *Pittsburg Gazette*, printed on paper made by Messrs. Jackson & Sharpless, on Redstone Creek, Fayette County. Writing-paper of all kinds and qualities, as well as printing-paper, will be made at this mill. This is of importance to the inhabitants of the country, not only because it will be cheaper than that which is brought across the mountains, but it will keep a large sum of money in the country which is yearly sent out for this article." On December 28, 1798, Mr. Scull announced that thereafter the *Gazette* would be printed on a royal sheet, and thus be little inferior in size to the Philadelphia papers. At this time the price of the *Gazette* was \$2 per year, one-half in advance and the other half in six months. On July 10, 1799, Mr. Scull stated that the *Gazette*, together with all other institutions in the Western country, was in a flourishing condition, and that there were then west of the mountains five presses in operation. He stated that at first he was compelled to depend upon the fancy, and not the necessity, of his subscribers, but that friends were true to him, and he claimed the credit of having been a pioneer in his profession, and had given the people a useful and impartial paper. He denied the recent charge that he showed partiality to the Administration party by publishing everything in its favor and nothing against it, but admitted that he resented all attacks upon the men who had successfully conducted the Revolution, and had since placed the Government upon a sound and prosperous basis.

Mr. Scull could not brook abuse to the party of Washington, Hamilton and Adams. He took a conscientious view of partisan affairs, and regarded the opposition of the Anti-Federalists, particularly their severity, as wholly unjust and even treasonable. He, therefore, late in the decade of the nineties, began to deny the enemies of the Adams administration their customary unrestricted access to the columns of his paper. This restriction fell with crushing force, particularly, upon Mr. Brackenridge, who was then an ambitious politician, and who felt it necessary for his interests that his views and position on political questions should be accurately known by the people of the Western country. In this view he was supported by Dr. Andrew Richardson, and, in fact, by all other Anti-Federalists living here. As early as 1797 or 1798 the Anti-Federalists had begun to talk of the establishment here of an organ friendly to their cause, but the movement was not carried into effect until the year 1800, when, through the instrumentality of Messrs. Brackenridge, Richardson and others, Mr. John Israel was induced to establish here an organ of the Anti-Federalists called the *Tree of Liberty*. No doubt the leading Anti-Federalists here were financially interested in this venture. From the commencement the paper took a violent course in opposition to the Federalists, and in support of the measures advocated by Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Brackenridge was a frequent contributor in able and lengthy articles upon political and other questions, and thus the *Tree of Liberty* proved more than a match for the *Gazette*. Mr. Scull was a man of humble tastes and medium talents, and lacked the brilliancy, logic and finesse necessary to cope with such a man as Mr. Brackenridge. It is therefore no doubt true that the establishment of the *Tree of Liberty*, and the strength of the position it assumed, contributed largely to the marvelous growth of the Jeffersonian party in this vicinity. The *Tree of Liberty* was issued from a house owned by Mr. Brackenridge. Previous to this time the



*Herald of Liberty* had been issued at Washington, Pennsylvania, under the management of a Mr. Israel, and it was asserted in after years that the *Tree of Liberty* was an offshoot of the *Herald of Liberty*, and that the object of its establishment was to fight the *Gazette*. The motto of the *Tree of Liberty* was, "And the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations" (b). In 1801 Dr. Andrew Richardson said that he had "warmly interested himself in establishing a paper at this place, entitled the *Tree of Liberty*." So violent were the articles which often appeared in the *Tree of Liberty* that Mr. Scull, of the *Gazette*, in 1803, brought suit for libel against Mr. Israel, and secured a verdict against him. On the other hand, Mr. Scull had many able friends, who contributed articles equally as severe and libelous for the columns of the *Gazette*. One article in particular was of so libelous a nature that Mr. Brackenridge called upon Mr. Scull, pointed out the objectionable matter, and threatened a suit for libel unless Mr. Scull should reveal the name of the author of the article. This the latter promised to do after consultation.

At this time the *Gazette* was issued from a small building on First Street, next door to the corner of Market Street. At this date John M. Snowden was connected with a newspaper at Greensburg. The following extract from an editorial written by John Scull, and published in the *Gazette* of August 5, 1803, reveals to an unusual degree the qualities and character of the writer: "If my undertaking was novel and hazardous, my conduct has been honest. In my profession as a printer I never forgot my duty as a man. If I was a printer, I felt also I was a member of society and a subject of government, and I respect both society and government. I never printed for hire, nor for party, and for protection of worth and the exposure of vileness my press has ever been open, of whatever party the worth or vileness were. I have made my conscience my guide, and used the best means in my power to inform it." From this extract the strong moral characteristics of Mr. Scull are revealed. No one ever questioned his integrity, and a noticeable fact revealed by this extract is that he had not yet cast off the old idea that the newspaper, instead of being a partisan organ, was for the benefit of the whole community, irrespective of party considerations, and open to all worthy and moral communications and objects. The rise of the Jeffersonian party had dispelled the dream of Mr. Scull in the sacredness of the newspaper from subserviency to the designs of partisans.

Late in 1804 the *Tree of Liberty* was discontinued, for what reason cannot be learned. In January, 1805, it was succeeded by the *Commonwealth*, under the management of Messrs. Brown and Pentland. The paper was first issued as a four-column folio, at \$3 per year, and its motto was "Virtue, Liberty and Independence." This paper was the organ of the Jeffersonian party, and seems to have been conducted with considerable success until about 1818.

In July, 1811, the first issue of the *Mercury* appeared, with James C. Gilleland editor and proprietor. It was issued on Market Street, between Third and Fourth, and the subscription price was \$2 per annum in advance. In a short time it passed to John M. Snowden, who said it was his design "to preserve the columns of the *Mercury* free from that personality and licentiousness which, unhappily, too much and too generally characterize our public journals." At first the *Mercury* seems to have been almost unpartisan, but later, as is well known, it became the organ of the Anti-Federalists, and later of the Jacksonians and Democrats. Mr. Snowden further said that in his journal "the freedom of discussion shall be scrupulously preserved." The *Mercury* began with 150 subscribers, but within six months, if the statement of the editor be believed,

(b) Revelation, xxii:2.

the list had grown to nearly 400. The paper was issued every Thursday evening. The *Mercury* ardently supported the War of 1812, while the *Gazette* at first opposed it, but later likewise advocated it as a measure of necessity. The *Commonwealth*, which was still issued in 1812 as a Jeffersonian organ, also favored the war.

There were thus three papers here, the *Gazette*, *Commonwealth* and *Mercury*, in 1812, when the war broke out with Great Britain. The news was of such an exciting character in the autumn of 1812 that all three papers issued extra editions when news of more than usual importance was received. In 1815 the *Commonwealth* was printed by Henry A. Kurtz & Co., on the west side of Cherry Alley, between Second and Third streets. Riddle's Directory of 1815 contained the following statement: "Three weekly newspapers are published in the borough, besides two periodical literary works; the former having an extensive circulation, the latter are chiefly confined to the town and immediate vicinity." James M. Riddle, at this time, announced himself in his directory as a stock-broker.

On the 1st of August, 1816, John Scull, the veteran editor, relinquished the publication of the *Pittsburg Gazette*. He was succeeded by Morgan Neville in the editorship of that journal, and his son, John I. Scull, became associated with Mr. Neville. In 1818 the *Gazette* became a semi-weekly, and was issued every Thursday and Friday, continuing thus until March, 1820, when Scull and Neville dissolved and were succeeded by Eichbaum & Johnston, publishers, and Morgan Neville editor, and the name of the paper was changed in June to *Pittsburg Gazette and Manufacturing and Mercantile Advertiser*.

In 1818 the *Commonwealth* seems to have been discontinued, and about that time a new paper, called the *Statesman*, made its appearance under the editorship of Ephraim Pentland. It espoused the cause of the Republicans, who afterward became Jacksonians and Democrats.

Mr. Neville's editorials were scholarly, ornate and forcible. His columns were plentifully sprinkled with gems from the classical authors. In common with many editors of that period, he constantly enriched his editorials with quotations from many writers; in fact, to such an extent, that the effect now seems strained and sophomoric. He was guilty of the fault of many young writers, of weakening his composition with too rich a rhetorical dress. But his qualities were brilliant. Like flint, all he needed to show fire was to be struck. He was the antithesis in many particulars of John Scull. All the early newspapers invariably sent out their New Year greetings of poor poetry, gossip and criticism to their subscribers. In March, 1820, young Mr. Scull said: "The feelings of Mr. Scull in withdrawing his name from the head of the paper established by his father thirty-five years ago can only be appreciated by those who, like him, have made the experiment of separating themselves even from an inanimate object which a whole life of intimacy has rendered familiar—they are, indeed, of the most painful kind." In 1822 Rev. John Andrews began publishing a religious weekly called the *Pittsburg Recorder*, which has continued with many changes down to the present date. In 1822 the *Gazette* passed to the ownership and editorship of David and M. Maclean, who conducted it until 1829. The *Statesman*, after passing through several hands, was finally owned in 1824 by J. C. and P. C. M. Andrews.

During the War of 1812 a small paper called the *Pioneer* was issued for a short time, and in 1813 the *Western Gleaner* appeared.

In August, 1826, Henry C. Marthens called for proposals for publishing a Democratic newspaper to be entitled *Farmers' and Artists' Emporium*, and at the same time for a German paper, to be entitled *Die Alleghenische Zeitung*; both were short lived. In 1826 the *Western Journal* appeared. The *Allegheny Democrat*

was started as early as 1824 by John McFarland, with whom were associated at different times several other writers. In 1828 or 1829 the name of the *Recorder* was changed to *Spectator*, but was still issued as a religious journal by Rev. John Andrews, who transferred it to Samuel C. Jennings in January, 1829, at which time its name was again changed to *Christian Herald*. It was afterward claimed by the editor of this paper that it was the first religious journal published in the United States, having been issued at Chillicothe, Ohio, as early as 1814. In September, 1827, John C. Andrews, late editor of the *Statesman*, began issuing a new paper called the *Commonwealth and Pittsburg Manufacturing and Commercial Advertiser*. At this time, September, 1827, there were being issued here the *Gazette*, *Mercury*, *Statesman*, *Recorder*, *Allegheny Democrat*, *Western Journal*, and there were soon to be issued the *Amaranth*, by Mr. Andrews; the *Commonwealth*, by Mr. Andrews, and the *Hesperus*, by the educator, N. R. Smith. The *Independent Republican*, under W. A. Smith, made its appearance about 1829. In 1826 the Macleans dropped the latter portion of the long name of the *Gazette*. The *Allegheny Democrat*, under the editorship of John McFarland, espoused the cause of Andrew Jackson, and in a short time was widely known and enjoyed a large patronage. The *Commonwealth* was also the organ of the Jacksonians. In 1827 the *Democratic Press* was issued by Mr. Binns, who was assisted by Mr. James C. Gilleland. This paper supported the Adams administration. In 1828 the *Gazette* was again issued as a semi-weekly for the city and weekly for the country, the price of the semi-weekly being \$4 per annum. In September, 1829, the Macleans sold the *Gazette* to Neville B. Craig, who, in August, 1833, issued it as a daily. Mr. Craig, in September of that year, said: "Truly the times have changed, and we have changed with them." He further said that the daily seemed almost too small.

In July, 1827, John B. Butler, late of the *Ravenna Courier*, bought the *Pittsburg Statesman*, and at once assumed its management. In July, 1828, the *Jackson Free Press* was established here by John W. Young, who had previously been connected with the *Statesman*. In 1828 Messrs. Laird, Williams and Kidd, of Pittsburg, invented an improved printing-press, which they introduced, and which possessed facilities not offered by the old presses. In July, 1827, Mr. Callan, of the *Western Journal*, sold out to his partner, Mr. H. C. Marthens. In September, 1827, John McFarland, of the *Allegheny Democrat*, died, whereupon Leonard S. Johns succeeded him as editor of that paper. The *Jackson Free Press* was established as a special organ to support General Jackson and General Wilkins. The latter was ambitious, and at this time was struggling to gain political ascendancy in Allegheny County, or rather in this Congressional district, and, accordingly, required a special organ for his support. In February, 1828, the *Western Journal*, edited by H. C. Marthens, who, up to this date, had supported Andrew Jackson for the Presidency, changed its policy and espoused the cause of the Adams administration. The reasons given by the editor for this change were that Adams and Rush were the advocates of the American system of protection and internal improvement as against the "Southern policy and the Richmond construction of the Constitution of the Union." About the same time Mr. Marthens announced his intention to issue a German paper, to be called the *Pittsburger Republikaner*, which, it was announced, would also support Adams and Rush.

In August, 1829, when the *Gazette* passed from the Macleans to Mr. Craig, the latter was undetermined at first what position to take on the rising question of Anti-Masonry. He was a man of powerful prejudices and of strong conscientious scruples. It was his policy in after years never to surrender and never to cease fighting so long as an enemy appeared. He became the strongest

political force in Western Pennsylvania. No one ever questioned his integrity. His salutatory upon taking charge of the *Gazette* exhibited his characteristics. He said: "To persons approving this plan, and these principles, and to them only, the subscriber looks for support." He was thus defiant to all who opposed the principles which he announced would be maintained in his paper.

In January, 1829, Mr. Isaac Murphy took charge of the *Commonwealth*, but after a few issues abandoned the undertaking. In December, 1828, a Mr. Leleu issued a notice that he would soon begin publishing a French and English journal in Pittsburg. In January, 1829, the *Liberal Catholic*, or *Weekly Remembrancer*, appeared for the first time. On Friday, February 8, 1828, John Scull, the pioneer editor of Pittsburg, died in Westmoreland County, in the 63d year of his age. All the local papers published suitable obituary notices, and more than one said that one of the oldest landmarks of Pittsburg had passed away. All bore witness to his unassuming manners and high character. In the fall of 1829 the *Independent Republican*, an organ which supported the Jacksonian party, passed to James Sharp and was issued by him. He announced that his paper would favor the protective system, and be conducted with a spirit of candor and fairness. The *Hesperus* was a literary publication, designed to be the organ of the Hesperian Society. In January, 1828, the first number of the *Crystal*, a literary periodical, embellished with beautiful engravings, was issued under the management of M. H. Andrews, and was designed specially as a journal of miscellany for the ladies.

In March, 1829, the message of President Jackson was delivered here by the express riders of the mail contractors in twenty-four hours after it had been delivered at Washington. It left that city at 12:35 p. m. on the 8th, and was received in Pittsburg at 12:45 p. m. on the 9th, and, allowing ten minutes for difference of time, it was conveyed that distance in just twenty-four hours. By 5 o'clock a. m. on the 10th the entire message was in type in the *Gazette* office and was being rapidly printed. This was looked upon as unprecedented dispatch. In 1829 the strongest political papers here were the *Gazette*, under Mr. Craig; the *Mercury*, under Mr. Snowden; the *Statesman*, under John B. Butler, and the *Allegheny Democrat*, under Leonard S. Johns.

In February, 1830, William B. Conway issued a prospectus for a new weekly, to be called the *American Manufacturer*. He announced that the first issue would appear on March 6, 1830, and that the paper would support the Republican or Democratic party, and the subscription price was placed at \$2 per year. This paper, from the start, took an unexpected and unusual course for that day. In many respects it advocated signal reforms in politics, society and religion. It supported the doctrines of Frances Wright, and openly avowed its hostility to the religious denominations of that day. It precipitated upon itself the wrath of the churches by its public celebration of the birthday of Thomas Paine. Its course was so unusual in that day of inflexible orthodoxy, and so repugnant to the sense of the religious element, that bitter war was waged against it by Protestants and Catholics alike. Mr. Conway ridiculed the proceedings of the churches in attempting to cure or avert the cholera in 1832 by fasting and prayer alone. Speaking in regard to the power of religion to effect a cure or mitigate the evils of cholera, he said: "Religious devotion, we say, is particularly ridiculous, and not more ridiculous than injurious." In his issue of June 22, 1833, he said concerning those who attended church on such special fast days, set apart to pray that the scourge of cholera might be turned aside, that they might be divided into two classes, "the cunning but servile sycophant of popularity, and the simple dupes who swallow all for orthodoxy which their preachers and leaders tell them;" and again, "we, in common with the public, deem the idea of averting the cholera by fasting and prayer ridiculous." In writ-



ing of these views, "A Catholic," in the *Gazette* of July 5, 1833, said: "Reader, what do you think of the man who will publish such a sentiment in a Christian land—that will thus insult almost a whole community by an expression worthy any of the apostles of infidelity, even the villain Marat?" The writer further asked, "Would any man but one determined to tell a falsehood make such an assertion—for making allowances for hypocrites and such men as he is, do not the crowds who engage in the religious exercises of that day triumphantly point him out to be a liar? Convince a Christian that his God neither hears nor heeds his prayers, and you take from him the very essence of his religion, without which it were worse than an idle dream. Where will be the binding force of an oath if the dread of punishment for swearing falsely be taken away? If the Bible is but the invention of priests, as this man has on more than one occasion publicly asserted, what human power is there to constrain a villain to tell the truth in a court of justice?" An editorial in the *Gazette* said of the *Manufacturer*: "It has always seized with hellish avidity every opportunity to assail temperance societies, missionary labors and all the benevolent efforts of the day. Its former editor (Conway) possessed genius without principle; its present (Phillips) neither. We are well persuaded that nothing we nor anyone else would be able to offer in the way of argument would have any effect in convincing him of error, or of staying his attacks upon the good. He is too closely wedded to his idol—Frances Wright." It must be remembered that this was a period when important social and moral reforms swept in a great wave over the country. Frances Wright, afterward Madame Darusmont, was a prominent lecturer on educational, social and political reforms, and was looked upon with surprise and contempt by men of fixed principles, like Neville B. Craig and the ministers of local churches. The articles in the *Manufacturer* were therefore regarded as monstrous by the orthodox religious element here. There was in all such articles a devilish spirit of mischief as well as an utter contempt for the usages of orthodoxy. The editor seemed to take great amusement in the indignation which he excited and the determined opposition which he encountered. No doubt his course and the antagonism which it met greatly increased the circulation of his paper. He likewise entered upon a course of personal abuse of the editors of rival journals, and was unsparing in his ridicule of the war waged by the Protestants upon the Catholics during the decade of the thirties.

In 1831 the *Weekly Advocate and Emporium* was issued by Robert M. Riddle and George Parkin. In March, 1831, Elijah J. Roberts, late editor of the *Rochester Craftsman*, announced that he would soon issue in Pittsburg a new paper to be called the *Pittsburg Daily Advertiser*, and stated that the paper would support the American system. Late in the decade of the twenties John M. Snowden, editor of the *Mercury*, was succeeded by his son, Joseph Snowden. One of the noticeable circumstances during the decade of the thirties was the extreme personal abuse resorted to by the editors of the various newspapers. The editorial strictures of the present day are mild in comparison with the vindictive personalities of that period. In 1831 the *Pittsburg Times* was started by Alfred Sutton, who continued to edit the same until about 1839. In 1832 the *Mercury* and the *Allegheny Republican* were consolidated. In 1831, when Mr. Roberts announced that he would soon issue the *Daily Advertiser*, the editor of the *Gazette*, in order not to be outdone by such an innovation, also announced that it would soon be issued as a daily. The failure of the plan of Mr. Roberts caused Mr. Craig to abandon his idea of issuing the *Gazette* as a daily until 1833, at which date the change was finally and permanently made. John F. Jennings in 1833 issued seven numbers only of a penny paper called the *Dispatch*.



In 1833 the *Pennsylvania Advocate* was started here as a tri-weekly by James Wilson of Steubenville, who announced in its first issue that he would advocate the protective system, internal improvement, a sound currency, the independence of Congress and the preservation of the Union, which, at that time, was threatened by a faction in South Carolina and elsewhere in the South. It was afterward stated that this paper was established for the particular purpose of breaking down the *Gazette*. Within a year Mr. Andrews gave up the attempt, although the *Advocate*, which had secured a considerable patronage here, was continued by his son. The elder Mr. Wilson returned to Steubenville, where he continued the editorship of his paper there. Upon his departure the paper under the son took the name of the *Pennsylvania Advocate and Pittsburg Daily Advertiser*.

In 1833 *The Friend*, a weekly organ of the Young Men's Society, a branch of the American Young Men's Society, was started, and was first edited by J. W. Nevin. It was confined mainly to religion and morals. It was published by D. & M. Maclean, printers. This paper was strict in its requirements, refusing articles on the subject of morality which departed from the ultra-religious views of that day. It published an article on the subject of infidelity, partly as an answer to arguments advanced in the columns of the *Manufacturer*, to which a reader asked the privilege of replying. The paper said, "A rational, temperate, dignified reply would not be refused publication," but so qualified the permission that a suitable reply from the standpoint of infidelity could not be given, and the reader so expressed himself. This induced Mr. Craig, of the *Gazette*, to say: "It did not suit the blackguard to be either rational or temperate or dignified—profanity and scurrilous abuse suit the taste of the worshippers of Tom Paine much better than rational discussion. The writer threatened to take his 'own methods of redress,' and we presume that his profanity and scurrility will appear in the next *Manufacturer*."

In June, 1833, the German paper called *Der Pittsburger Beobachter* was issued every Friday on Third Street, by Etzler & Reinhold. The Pittsburg postoffice was the bone of contention during the thirties, for which, and over which, the newspapers of that period fought with a bitterness scarcely paralleled in the history of the city. No sooner was the change made by the appointment of a new postmaster, than a "postoffice clique" or "ring" was formed for political purposes, which became the object for violent attacks from the organs of the opposing party. About this time, also, the question was mooted whether it was proper for the editors of newspapers to establish reading-rooms with their exchanges. It was finally determined that such a course was unprofessional. During the campaign of 1829 the *Gazette*, which had been recently passed to the control of Mr. Craig, announced that for the time being it would neither support nor oppose the Anti-Masonic element. After the election he came out an avowed Anti-Masonic supporter, and continued so not only as long as he controlled the *Gazette*, but managed after he had disposed of it to still direct its influence for many years in opposition to all secret oathbound societies.

In January, 1834, when the *Manufacturer* proposed again to celebrate the birthday of Tom Paine, the Allegheny *Democrat*, edited by Mr. Jolms, said: "It is to be hoped for the credit of our city that but few will participate in this abominable festival." The *Gazette* warmly commended this statement of the *Democrat*. In the autumn of 1834 the *Times* was conducted by Alfred Sutton, who was succeeded in September by James C. Gilleland. Mr. W. D. Wilson, Jr., edited the *Advocate*, J. B. Butler the *Statesman*, Leonard S. Johns the Allegheny *Democrat*, Joseph Snowden the *Mercury*, Neville B. Craig the *Gazette*, William B. Conway and Richard Phillips the *American Manufacturer*, and William H. Smith the Allegheny *Republican*. The *Times*, *Advocate* and *Statesman* were

Whig organs, the *Gazette Anti-Masonic*, and the *Allegheny Democrat, Mercury, American Manufacturer* and *Allegheny Republican Democratic*.

In 1833 the *Saturday Evening Visitor* and the *Allegheny Transcript* appeared for a short time. In 1836 the *Christian Witness*, which had been established a short time before, became the organ of the Abolitionists, with William H. Burleigh as editor. A literary journal entitled the *Pittsburg Mirror* was published in the spring of 1834, by Alexander Jaynes. In 1834, at the time the Whig party was organized in Allegheny County, a new paper called the *Pittsburg Whig* was issued for a few months. For a short time early in 1835 the *Mechanic's Magazine* was issued, but not meeting with suitable support, was soon abandoned. In 1836 the *Times* was under the management of Messrs. Gilleland and Jaynes. In November Mr. Gilleland died, and the editorship passed to Dr. Edward D. Gazzam, Mr. Jaynes continuing as publisher. In March, 1836, the *Allegheny Democrat* was advertised to be sold at public auction. In 1836 Rev. Thomas D. Baird edited the *Christian Herald*. This paper was the successor to the *Pittsburg Recorder*. In 1836 Isaac Harris issued the first number of his *Intelligencer*, a journal devoted to commercial and industrial information. In 1836 William B. Conway severed his connection with the *American Manufacturer*, and went to Jolinstown, Pennsylvania, where he opened a law office. The *Manufacturer* passed to the control of Richard Phillips, who continued its former course of reform, and began a violent attack upon all banking systems. In 1833 Rev. Charles Elliot began issuing the *Pittsburg Conference Journal*, but in 1836 was appointed editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, and William Phillips was named as assistant editor. In June, 1836, the publishers of daily papers in Pittsburg met and decided upon a standard schedule of advertising rates as follows: For a square of twenty lines in dailies \$1.50 a week, \$4 a month, \$10 for six months, \$15 for one year; and for a square of twenty lines in the weeklies \$3 for three months and \$10 for one year. In 1836 the first society of journeymen printers of Pittsburg was organized. It met with many discouragements, and at times was abandoned, but continued to survive for many years. In December, 1836, according to the *Western Address Directory*, there were thirteen papers published in Pittsburg and Allegheny, two of which were daily, and two others would soon become so, and the others were hebdomadals. In November, 1837, Alexander W. Foster purchased the *Times*, and announced that it would be issued as an Anti-Masonic journal. In December, 1837, N. R. Smith issued a small paper called the *Daily Express*. In the spring of 1837 the *American Manufacturer* was consolidated with a small commercial sheet, and took the name of the *American Manufacturer and Commercial Bulletin*. In its heading the words *Daily Commercial Bulletin* were printed in large letters, below which, in much smaller letters, were the words *and American Manufacturer*. The *Gazette* said: "In the inside, too, the name *Daily Commercial Bulletin* appears conspicuously, while its former odious name shuns the light of day and shrinks from the gaze of a long-insulted people." The *Manufacturer* opposed the temperance movement, which at this time had attained a degree of strength that gave the greatest encouragement to its friends. In January, 1838, the *Daily Bulletin* ceased to be issued, and the paper resumed its former name of the *American Manufacturer*. The *Gazette* said: "It seems we are to have no more lying bulletin; that excrecence from the *Manufacturer* office gave the last signs of vegetation this morning. Its poisonous exhalations have ceased, and hereafter, instead of its daily deadly effusions, we are to have only weekly issues from that corrupt and corrupting source." This extract serves to show the excess of language used by rival editors and the estimation in which the *Manufacturer* was held by the religious element of this community. In 1837 the *Christian Witness*, the organ of the Abolitionists, was edited by Rev. Samuel

Williams. In June, 1837, the *Saturday Evening Visitor*, a weekly family paper which had previously been suspended for a short time, was still issued by Alexander Jaynes, editor of the *Times*. Early in 1837, the alarming financial rumors caused nearly all the journals here to issue extras and gave them a great increase in subscriptions. In 1837 the *Pittsburg Freiheits Freund* was established here by Victor Scriba, having been brought from Franklin County. It became a tri-weekly in 1844 and a daily in 1847. Louis Neeb became interested in it in 1848. In 1850 L. & W. Neeb were the owners.

In 1838 William B. Conway was appointed by President Van Buren secretary of Iowa Territory. While he was editor of the *Manufacturer* some writer, in speaking of him, had called him "the vile and speckled reptile," which term was taken up by his enemies, and used to designate him whenever occasion occurred for the mention of his name. In 1837 Zantzinger McDonald, Thomas Phillips, and James Callan took control of the *American Manufacturer*. The paper libeled Mr. Craig of the *Gazette*, whereupon the latter brought suit against McDonald and Phillips, which was finally disposed of in April, 1839, when Mr. Phillips paid the costs which had thus far accrued, and published a retraction regretting the appearance of the libelous article, and stating that he had learned that the charge was unfounded. Mr. McDonald at this time was about twenty-five years old. A short time before this the *Allegheny Democrat and Workingman's Advocate* had passed to the editorship of Wilson F. Stewart, a young man aged twenty-two years. A violent warfare was begun between this paper, a Whig organ, and the *Manufacturer*, a Democratic organ. The following extracts concerning a personal encounter between these two men explain themselves: "This is to certify that about half past 10 o'clock on Saturday last, Z. McDonald entered the office of the *Democrat* and asked Mr. Stewart if he was the author of a certain article in the *Democrat*, to which Mr. Stewart replied he was. McDonald drew a large horse pistol, about nine inches long, and presented it at Stewart, at the same time striking him. After a few minutes' scuffle between them, Stewart drew a small pistol from his pocket and presented it at McDonald, and told him to shoot and be d—d. McDonald refused to do so, and told Stewart to stand at the end of the room and take aim, which Stewart declined, stating that his pistol was too small to have any effect at that distance, but if said McDonald would give him one like his, he would do so. We also certify that the said Stewart told him if he would lay down his pistol he would flog him until he could not stand, and that if he was a gentleman he would cowhide him. (Signed) William McEwin, William Getty." McDonald published the following statement: "Stewart's face became perfectly blanched and his lips quivered from fright; his knees smote one against the other, his whole frame shook from head to foot; and no longer able to support himself, he dropped down upon the floor like an empty sack, paralyzed with fear, remaining perfectly motionless, and looking up in the most imploring manner." Stewart retaliated with the following statement: "About noon on Saturday last, Zantzinger McDonald, one of the publishers of the *American Manufacturer*, entered my office unperceived, my back being in a position toward the entrance door, and in a faltering tone, betraying great fear, inquired whether I had written a certain editorial which appeared in my paper the preceding day in reply to a false and malicious statement in the *Manufacturer* affecting my interest. My answer was frank—I am the author. McDonald then presented a large horse pistol to my breast and struck me with his left hand; his blow I returned, seizing his pistol by the barrel, and during the scuffle I drew out a two-inch barreled pistol, to the utter consternation of this modern defender of falsehood and faction. When the fellow saw his perilous situation, and heard my demand, 'If you have come to fight, let me have a weapon of the same length as the one you hold and I shall stand back for a shot,'

his contemptuous soul shrunk within him, he pocketed his pistol, while I pronounced him a blackguard and told him if he was regarded as a gentleman I should cowhide him." Later the belligerent editors proposed to settle the difficulty at fisticuffs. Mr. Stewart said he would relinquish his support of Mr. Cooper, candidate for sheriff, if he failed to thrash Mr. McDonald, provided the latter would give up his support of Mr. Peterson, also candidate for sheriff, if he failed to lick Mr. Stewart. The latter said: "I am ready in true Yankee fashion to knock the noise out of this prig of nobility to the entire satisfaction of his friends—a native mechanic against one of the silk stocking nobility."

In January, 1838, Mr. Craig was convicted of having libeled John Watt, whom he charged with having voted twice on the same day, and a verdict of \$6 and costs was rendered against him. In the autumn of 1837 Matthew M. Grant became associated with Mr. Craig in the publication of the *Gazette*. Robert M. Riddle and James Moorhead conducted the *Times*, W. F. Stewart the *Democrat and Advocate*, Robert Morrow and William H. Smith the *Mercury*, Zantzinger McDonald and James Callan the *Manufacturer*. In 1838 appeared *Sibbet's Western Review*, a monthly publication devoted to financial and commercial news. For many years it was the most reliable authority in the Western country on the mongrel money of that day. E. Sibbet & Co. were the publishers. In October, 1838, the *Times* office was offered for sale. In May, 1838, appeared the first number of the *Western Emporium*, a weekly paper started in Allegheny by Lawson & Parkin. In about 1837 Richard Phillips, who had been connected with the *Manufacturer*, went West to Illinois, leaving his brother, Thomas Phillips, to take his place as associate editor of that journal. In 1838 the *Daily Express* was started by Anderson & Loomis as an avowed organ of that branch of the Whig party which supported Henry Clay for President. In November, 1838, the Allegheny *Democrat* published at its head the motto "Van Buren and an Independent Treasury." In April, 1838, this paper passed into the control of Benjamin Patton, United States District Attorney, and others, and announced its support of Van Buren the "Little Magician." Mr. Stewart had been connected with this paper in the capacity of associate editor, but about this time retired, and was succeeded by William Jack. The latter declared, in answer to charges to the contrary, that Mr. Patton had no interest whatever in the journal. However, the *Advocate* insisted that the *Democrat* had been purchased by David Lynch, Benjamin Patton and others, and this was no doubt the truth. As a matter of fact, Mr. Stewart was too conservative and independent to suit the postoffice coterie, and was, therefore, bought out by those who believed in the wisdom of pursuing a severer course in politics. In 1838 the *Pittsburg German's Freedom's Friend* was published for a short time. Jacob Smith seems to have been connected with this paper. William D. Wilson published a small sheet called the *Citizen's Press* for a few months in 1838. Early in 1838 the *Times* was changed to a daily. At this time it was edited by Alexander W. Foster. About the middle of November, 1838, Mr. Foster sold out to David Grant and James B. McFarland, the latter officiating as editor. They announced that the paper would be continued as an organ of the Anti-Masonic party. At this time the *Mercury* was controlled by several young men who lacked the stability to make it much of a power in politics.

William B. Conway, as secretary of Iowa Territory, became involved in a bitter controversy with Governor Lucas, and it was through his machinations that the Legislature of the Territory memorialized President Van Buren to remove Mr. Lucas. In speaking of the controversy between these two men, the *Gazette* of February, 1839, said: "The case between Lucas and Conway is a real case of 'dog eat dog,' and we care not if they do as did the Kilkenny cats."

In April, 1839, David Grant, proprietor of the *Times*, discontinued its pub-



lication, and transferred his subscription list to the *Gazette*. At this time the latter paper was under the management of N. B. Craig and M. M. Grant. Early in 1839 the *Pittsburger* was first issued as a daily from the *Democrat* office, by Messrs. Jack and Shugert, as an organ of the Democracy. In May of the same year John W. Shugert retired from the *Pittsburger*, and was succeeded by William McElroy.

In 1839 Pittsburg contained four dailies, eleven weeklies, ten periodicals and had eighteen printing-offices and seven binderies. The *Gazette* was controlled by Craig & Grant, the *Mercury* by Morrow & Smith, the *Advocate and Statesman* by Robert M. Riddle, *Harris' Intelligencer* by Isaac Harris, the *Pittsburger* by Messrs. Jack and McElroy, the *Western Emporium* by G. E. Parkin, *Freedom's Friend* by Victor Scriba, the *Pittsburg Entertainer*, also by Victor Scriba, the *Saturday Evening Visitor* by E. B. Fisher, the *Literary Examiner and Western Monthly Review* also by E. B. Fisher, the *Presbyterian Advocate and Herald* by Rev. William Annan, *Sibbet's Western Review* by E. Sibbet & Co., *Pittsburg Conference Journal* by William Hunter, the *Sabbath School Assistant* also by Mr. Hunter, the *Christian Witness*, an Anti-Slavery weekly, by William H. Burleigh, the *Manufacturer* by Mr. Phillips. In January, 1839, Rev. Thomas D. Baird, editor of the *Pittsburg Christian Herald*, and one of the earliest Abolitionists, died in North Carolina, at the age of sixty-six years.

In 1840 the *Pittsburg Daily American* was founded by James W. Biddle, and was successful from the start. In December, 1839, appeared the first number of the *Constitutionalist*, under the editorship of Wilson F. Stewart, former editor of the *Allegheny Democrat*, who was assisted by several others under the management of a Democratic committee, the real owners of the paper. This paper took an ultra course in opposition to the Whigs and Anti-Masons. It opposed all banks and the issue of every kind of money except gold and silver. It declared the Constitution had been rendered a dead letter by partisans, and maintained that it would sustain the organic law and a return to the Constitutional provision that no State had the right to emit bills of credit. It said, among other things: "Stand to your arms and show them the blood of '76. Let other States take care of themselves, but every bank in Pennsylvania must be annihilated. Now is the hour. Their charters are forfeited by their acts of suspension. Cut them off and let us be free. Under them we are in worse than Colonial bondage. Every man must do his duty; citizens, you must do yours. Call on your representatives, your Governor and your President to do theirs. Let us return to the Constitution, to equity and justice, and all will be well. But no banks—no banks—must be the rallying word of every freeman." The *Constitutionalist* continued its career upon the policy thus outlined. It was at all times violent and erratic, not only in politics, but in religion, education and social ethics. "A Democratic meeting at Pittsburg has denounced the *Constitutionalist*, a new paper established at that place, as a disorganizer, and as unworthy of the support and confidence of any party. For our own part we have seen but one of two numbers of this paper, but these were sufficient to enable us to make up our minds that it was a pirate sailing under false colors" (c). The violent course of this paper attracted attention, and therefore was the means of enlarging its circulation. Within a few months its subscription list equaled that of any other Democratic journal here. Early in 1840 there were four strong Democratic journals issued here: *Pittsburger*, *Mercury*, *Constitutionalist* and *Manufacturer*. The *Constitutionalist* was still conducted by an unknown committee of the Democracy.

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(c) Venango Democrat, February, 1840.





In 1840 Alexander Ingram, Jr., became owner, printer and publisher of the *Gazette*. In June of the same year Messrs. Craig and Grant sold out to Mr. Ingram, who took charge July 1, 1840. Mr. Craig was retained as editor. Early in 1841 Mr. Ingram surrendered his interest in the *Gazette* and was succeeded by D. N. White & Co., though Mr. Craig still continued as editor, assisted by B. F. Norris.

In June, 1840, appeared the first number of a small sheet called the *Pittsburg Daily Whig*, issued by Thomas K. Ashley & Co. It was thought by the public that Wilson F. Stewart was the editor of this paper, but this rumor was denied by the publishers. A paper called the *Old Grammy* was issued for a short time in 1840 from the *Advocate* office. It was stated in 1841 that Greeley Curtis, of the *Pittsburg Herald*, published the wittiest paper in town. In 1841 the name of Harris' *Intelligencer* was changed to *Pittsburg Intelligencer*, and the paper passed to A. A. Anderson and Mr. Errett, the latter being editor. Mr. Harris retired from editorial life, but continued to furnish commercial intelligence for the paper, and devoted much of his time, as he had done previously, to philanthropic and benevolent enterprises.

The *Chronicle* was first issued in May, 1841 and was called "*The Iron City and Pittsburg Weekly Chronicle*," with R. G. Burford publisher, and in September with J. Herron Foster and William H. Whitney editors. In January, 1842, it became a two-cent daily, but the weekly was still continued. "*The Iron City and Pittsburg Weekly Chronicle* is a new paper just commenced by the enterprising conductors of the *Chronicle*. It is neatly printed on a mammoth sheet, at \$2 a year, and as it is made up of matter from the daily *Chronicle*, the contents and typographical appearance of both papers are the same" (d).

In July, 1840, W. F. Stewart sold the *Saturday Evening Visitor* to James W. Biddle, and at this time the latter announced that he would shortly issue the first number of the *Daily American*, and at the same time would continue issuing the *Visitor*. In 1841 the *Literary Messenger* made its first appearance. The *Daily Sun* and the *Herald* and *Weekly Advertiser* also appeared during this year.

On July 29, 1841, Neville B. Craig, after having edited the *Gazette* for twelve years, retired, and was succeeded by D. N. White. Evidently the terms of sale obligated the new management to conduct the paper in the interest of Anti-Masonry. At least, the paper continued to support that party, and its columns seem to have been open to communications from the pen of Mr. Craig, as he was a frequent contributor. Mr. Craig possessed the characteristic of making the warmest friends, and at the same time the bitterest enemies, of any man connected with the early newspaper enterprises of Pittsburg. But throughout all the storms of personal abuse and partisan bitterness he ever maintained his self-respect and the confidence of the community, even of his enemies. The following estimate of his character was made by William H. Smith, in August, 1841, who was then editor of the *Mercury and Democrat*, and who had often felt the lash of Mr. Craig: "Neville B. Craig.—This individual has abandoned the editorship of the *Gazette*. We congratulate the editor of the *Advocate* and his correspondents and all others concerned upon bringing the moral war so long waged against Craig to a successful termination. They have gained for decency and correct feeling a triumph over malignance, vindictiveness and blackguardism worthy of a special notice and commemoration. In taking leave of his readers, the same fierce and vindictive spirit which had characterized his entire editorial career shone out with unabated strength and vigor. He retreats snarling and snapping, more like a half-starved wolf when

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(d) *Mercury and Democrat*, December 1, 1841.

scared and driven from his prey than a vanquished combatant retiring from an honorable and well-fought field. He takes his arms with him, too, in the hope that he may yet harass his adversaries when they may deem themselves secure from his attacks. In regard to the credit Craig has gained in the editorial profession, it may be said of him that he has more personal enemies and fewer personal friends than any editor who has lived as long within the limits of Pittsburg as he has. He has made more shameless personal attacks and written more defamatory slanders upon private reputations than any man who ever conducted a paper in this city. He has made more mean and miserable retractions of false charges brought by him against his adversaries than any other politician or political writer within the circle of his sphere of action, and he has done more to degrade the morals and habits of the newspaper press than any other editor of equal force and influence in other respects, and in quitting his post he has gone with his strong passions unsubdued, apparently willing that all the bad feeling he had created toward himself should follow him into his retirement." This ultra view of Mr. Craig's editorial conduct was not general. Notices commending his character and conduct in the highest terms appeared in other local newspapers about this time. It must, therefore, be considered that the above article represented the views of his bitterest enemies only.

In February, 1841, the *Pittsburgher* was merged with the *Mercury*, and thereafter the united sheet became known as the *Mercury and Democrat*, with William Jack and William McElroy as editors. Late in the same year the *Mercury and Democrat* passed to the editorship of William H. Smith. In December, 1840, Leckey Harper issued the first number of the *Daily Morning Herald*, a paper which professed to be neutral in politics. In 1841 Messrs. Callan and Parkin were for a short time connected with the *Gazette*. In December, 1840, the *Washington Banner*, a temperance organ, was started by W. H. Burleigh and R. C. Fleeson. The former was Abolition candidate for the State Senate in 1841. The *Pittsburg German Emigrant* was first issued here in 1840. The *Sun*, a semi-weekly paper, was started in October, 1841, by D. M. Curry and James McKee, the former being editor and the latter publisher. W. H. Burroughs became connected with them in December, at which time the appearance of the *Sun* was much improved. In 1842 there were six dailies here and twelve weeklies, beside a large number of religious and miscellaneous periodicals.

In 1842 the *Gazette* opposed the nomination of Henry Clay for President, on the ground that he was an adhering Mason, a slave-holder, a duelist, a profane man and an enemy of the protective system. This course was pursued by the *Gazette* until February, 1844, when M. M. Grant sold his interest therein, and the paper commenced to advocate the nomination of Henry Clay. Mr. Grant, like Mr. Craig, could not recover from his abhorrence of all secret societies, and therefore, so long as he had a voice in controlling the political policy of that paper, it remained an enemy of secret societies. Mr. White, who succeeded Mr. Grant, in 1844, as the active editor of the *Gazette*, was unable, through lack of means, to buy the interest of Mr. Grant in the *Gazette*. The supporters of Henry Clay had no organ in Pittsburg at this time, and, accordingly, they appointed a committee, consisting of William Eichbaum, Thomas Bakewell, E. W. Stephens, Frederick Lorenz, J. Painter, Morgan Robertson, G. E. Warner, James Cuddy, W. Blackstock and John Shipton, to guarantee the payment of the sum promised to be paid by Mr. White to Mr. Grant for his share of the paper. Mr. White gave his personal obligation to the above-named gentlemen to pay off the loan at some future date. Each of the

above gentlemen agreed to become responsible for the sum of \$200 to effect the transfer from Grant to White, and the change in the policy of the *Gazette* from opposition to Henry Clay to a vigorous course in his favor. In 1842 *The Preacher*, a semi-monthly organ of the Associate Reformed Church, was established here by John T. Pressly, D. D. In 1845 the editorship passed to David R. Kerr, D. D., and in 1848 the paper became a weekly. The name was changed in 1854 to *The United Presbyterian*.

The *Spirit of Liberty* was issued in 1842 under the editorship of Mr. Fleson, the *Spirit of the Age* in 1843, and the *Mystery* in 1844. In the summer of 1843 appeared the first number of the *Commercial Journal and Age*. A small journal called the *Dayspring* was published here early in the forties by Rev. W. H. S. Barnes, who enlisted as a private in the Second Regiment for the Mexican War.

The *Pittsburg Catholic* was established in 1844 by P. F. Boylan, but in 1847 passed to Jacob Porter. In July, 1845, Robert M. Riddle took charge of the *Commercial Journal and Age*, at which time the latter part of the name was dropped and the paper thence forward was issued as the *Commercial Journal*, and soon became one of the strongest newspaper forces of this vicinity.

In 1845 James D. Thornburg began issuing a penny paper called the *Sunbeam*. Early in the forties the *Daily Advocate and Advertiser* was merged with the *Gazette*. Mr. Van Amringe was associated with Mr. Thornburg in the management of the *Sunbeam*, which was issued from the *Journal* office.

On the 10th of September, 1842, the *Daily Morning Post* supplanted the *Mercury and Manufacturer* as the leading organ of the Democracy, and was issued by Thomas Phillips and William H. Smith. Soon afterward the paper passed to Bigler, Sargent & Bigler, and in 1844-5 to Leckey Harper, with whom was associated later John Layton, who died of cholera in 1854. Late in 1846 Mr. Harper announced that the *Weekly Mercury and Manufacturer*, which he also issued, contained "all the important reading matter of the six dailies during the week." Mr. Harper finally sold to Gilmore & Montgomery and the latter to James P. Barr, under whom the paper became the strongest Democratic organ in Western Pennsylvania.

Much amusement was occasioned in October, 1846, by the suits instituted on the information of J. H. Foster against D. N. White and Rev. B. F. Harris of the *Gazette and Advertiser* for violating the Sabbath by setting type on that day. Mr. Harris was fined \$4 and costs, but Mr. White cleared himself and was acquitted. In November, 1846, a penny paper called the *Morning Telegraph* was issued by Thomas W. Wright, who had previously been connected with the *Chronicle*. About this time also the *Morning Clipper* was issued by Messrs. Bryant and McClellan. It was soon merged with the *Telegraph*, and about the same time a small sheet, called the *News*, conducted by Mr. Fleson, was merged with the *Dispatch*. Mr. Mitchell became publisher of the *Dispatch* late in 1846, and about this time Mr. Youngson withdrew from that paper. John Bigler was connected with the *Post* and Mr. Kennedy with the *Alleghenian* about this time.

"An Editor in Jail.—We regret to be compelled to announce that George Youngson, Esq., of the *Pittsburg Daily Dispatch*, is now confined in the county jail. Mr. Youngson was tried for a libel on George Scott, a police officer, to which he plead guilty. He also plead guilty to an assault on L. Y. Clarke. For the first offense he was fined \$100 and costs; for the second, \$25 and costs. The total of fines and costs amount to \$175. As Mr. Youngson is not a rich man and has a family to support, he was unable to pay this sum, and is, therefore, in jail. There will be an effort made immediately to have the fines

remitted by the Governor. Mr. Youngson is in the front part of the prison and will board with the sheriff's family" (e). . . . "Misery Makes Strange Bedfellows.—L. Y. Clarke was imprisoned for a libel on George Youngson, and Youngson was imprisoned for assault and battery on Clarke; at least, that was part of his offense. Since their sentences they both occupy one room in the dwelling part of the jail and sleep in the same bed. They appear to agree very well" (f). . . . "J. Herron Foster, Esq., has issued the first number of a new penny sheet, with the above title (*The Daily Dispatch*). It is neat and even handsome in point of typography, and his well-known capacity to give interest to a newspaper assures him of the abundant success we wish him. He cannot fail to thrive, and we shall most certainly rejoice in his prosperity" (g).

In 1846 the *Olden Time*, a monthly historical magazine, made its first appearance, with N. B. Craig as editor and J. W. Cook publisher. In April, 1845, Messrs. Brooks and Haight succeeded Mr. White in charge of the *Gazette*. At this time all the daily newspapers united their means to pay for telegraphic dispatches. In February, 1847, Erastus Brooks assumed the editorship of the *Gazette*, and at this time Benjamin F. Harris managed the commercial department; but in July, 1848, D. N. White again took control of this paper.

Thomas Phillips was connected with the *Post* at an early date, but later went West, and in 1847 was editor of the *Peoria Press*, in Illinois. In 1847 Mr. Biddle, of the *American*, was sued for libel by Mr. Gihon, Miss Loomis and others, who were then entertaining the Pittsburg public with exhibitions of alleged clairvoyance. Mr. Biddle publicly questioned the genuineness of the handkerchief performance, whereupon he was called to answer in court for his want of faith. Many of the citizens, as well as several of the newspapers, at that time believed in the miraculous character of the handkerchief trick. In November, 1847, an afternoon daily, called the *Daybook*, was issued under the editorship of William A. Kinsloe.

"On Thursday the senior editor of the *Dispatch* assaulted the senior editor of the *Telegraph* with whip in hand, but did not strike for reasons best known to themselves. . . . On Saturday another affray occurred, in which the senior of the *Dispatch* and the junior of the *Telegraph* were the combatants. . . . It appears that Mr. Foster drew a cowhide upon Mr. Clarke, whereupon the latter drew a pistol, which he snapped" (h).

Colonel John Bigler severed his connection with the *Post* in 1847 and went west to Illinois. In December, 1847, Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm took charge of the *Saturday Evening Visitor*, a newspaper devoted principally to home interests and to the advocacy of special reforms, of which Abolitionism was one. Previous to this three attempts had been made to establish permanently anti-slavery newspapers here, but all had failed. The *Christian Witness*, the *Mystery* and the *Albatross*, devoted to that cause, had failed in succession, as it was said "without will." The *Saturday Evening Visitor* was supported by a prominent anti-slavery citizen, believed to be Charles Avery, who offered to assume all risks, providing Mrs. Swisshelm would consent to let the paper appear under her name. Her fresh and erratic style of writing attracted wide attention from the issue of the first number of the *Visitor*. This paper was the successor of the *Albatross*, and was issued from the office of the *Commercial Journal*.

About the 1st of February, 1848, Mr. Youngson issued the first number of a paper called the *Sunday Mercury*, believed to be the first newspaper ever issued on the Lord's day in Pittsburg. Mrs. Swisshelm combated the desecra-

(e) *Commercial Journal*, November 16, 1846.

(f) *Commercial Journal*, November 18, 1846.

(g) *Commercial Journal*, February 10, 1846.

(h) *Post*, November 8, 1847.



tion of the Sabbath by the issuance of this paper. Its continuance was opposed by all the churches of this vicinity. So great became the hostility that Mr. Youngson found it politic to announce that nearly all the work was done on Saturday evening, and that the mere issuance of the paper alone took place on Sunday. However, it was denounced from the churches in the most unsparing terms, and particularly in the editorials written by Mrs. Swisshelm for the *Visitor*. The *Commercial Journal* said: "As to the propriety of selecting Sunday as his publication day, that is his business, not ours." Mrs. Swisshelm, in February, 1848, said: "We have taken a good look at it—romantic stories, poetry, love songs, theatrical intelligence and commercial news, its two columns of jokes with the old joker at the head, its compliments to Mrs. Swisshelm, Thorn's bear, Talkrand's death and St. Paul's piety, and various other things, all fixed up for Sunday reading. Take a look at it, all of you who can, and see if it does not present almost as much variety as American Christianity itself. Fact is, it is about as good a portrait of our Sabbath-talking-about, Sabbath-breaking, church-going, rum-selling, loud-praying, man-stealing, heathen-converting, heathen-making, purity-preaching, concubine-keeping, psalm-singing, orphan-grinding, church-building, soul-selling, revival-manufacturing, God-defying piety as we have ever met with in our life." This extract shows the character of Mrs. Swisshelm's editorials. Her trenchant criticisms were a revelation to the citizens of this community. The following extract will also serve to show her style: "Once in our younger days we had almost the entire management of a store. We have taught school and acted as executor and guardian of a troublesome estate, which involved us in all the perplexities of court trials and law, and now we have tried editing a paper. All these hold a high rank amid the vexatious employments which fall to man's lot, and all of them put together would not equal the toil and anxiety of nursing one cross baby, *and we have tried that, too.*" For many years Mrs. Swisshelm continued to unmask the sophistries of local politics and societies. At first her violence of style was admired and appreciated, but later her thrusts were too keen to be enjoyed and her paper fell into disrepute, particularly so after she had begun fighting in the political arena. Through her influence largely, but mainly through the opposition offered by the churches, the issuance of the *Sunday Mercury* was discontinued, or rather the paper was changed to the *Saturday Mercury* about the 20th of August, 1848, and thereafter made its appearance as an afternoon paper.

The night before Christmas, 1847, was celebrated by the printers of Pittsburgh with a magnificent banquet. The committee of arrangements were John Roth, L. A. Clark, and Messrs. Sheridan, Havens, Sweeney, Kelly, Stevick, O'Hara, Connelly, McCarty, Meyers, Wilson, Lewis, Glass, McNaughton, Russell and Work. Neville B. Craig was president of the evening. The vice-presidents were John B. Butler, B. C. Sawyer, Thomas Hamilton, William H. Sutton, Samuel Snowden, John G. Jennings, Alexander Jaynes and Dr. Backofen. The secretaries were S. Elliot, W. B. McCarthy, John B. Butler, Jr., John T. Shryock and A. Gamble. Letters of regret for non-attendance were received from James Buchanan, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Joseph Gales, William W. Seaton, Thomas Ritchie, Joseph R. Chandler and Erastus Brooks. There were present on this occasion, in addition to those mentioned above, John W. Riddle, J. T. Shryock, R. R. Dumars, William Cappe, B. H. Hersey, A. McIlwaine, L. Elliot, W. C. Charlton, James Irwin, D. P. Work, W. H. Kinsloe, W. S. Caldwell, N. W. Truxall, W. W. Smith, A. B. Russell, W. G. Brophy, H. Hersev, Robert Ellis, N. M. Poindexter, A. M. Swaney, Andrew Gamble and William Robinson, Jr. The following toast was offered by

Mr. Caldwell, which was designed to embrace the names of all the leading newspapers of Pittsburg: "The printers of the *Olden Time* who help to unfurl the proud *Banner of the Stars and Stripes*: May their successors *Advocate* their principles and *Chronicle* in their *Gazette* to the *American* people that the *Spirit of the Age* requires them to *Post* their *Daybooks* and *Journals* and receive a *Dispatch* by *Telegraph* to prove a welcome *Visitor* to the *Manufacturers* of the *Iron City*" (i). Mr. Craig offered the following toast: "The memory of John Scull and Joseph Hall, the enterprising young men who, in July, 1786, issued the *Pittsburg Gazette*, the first newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains."

In 1848 the *Pittsburg Catholic*, *Christian Advocate* and *Protestant Unionist* and *Preacher's Presbyterian Advocate* were issued in this city. The *Commercial Journal* said: "The religious press of Pittsburg is conducted by as much talent as can be found in the same vocation in any other city." In 1848 Shiras and Kinsloe issued a new paper called the *Western Weekly*. In August, 1848, the *Chronicle* came out as a Free Soil paper, and supported the nomination of Van Buren and Adams. Colonel Whitney had sole charge of the paper at this time. In 1848 the *Pittsburg Catholic* opposed the revolutionary movement in Ireland, on the ground that the struggle was hopeless. In September, 1848, Errett & Stevenson issued a Free Soil paper. In June, 1848, Harper Mitchell purchased the *Alleghenian* and transformed it from a weekly into a daily. He was assisted by James W. Kennedy. In January, 1848, Dr. Delaney, who had edited the *Mystery*, the organ of the Abolitionists, retired from its management, owing to lack of support. The colored people endeavored to assist the paper and held a levee for that purpose, but sufficient means could not be raised by that method to warrant its continuance. The *Christian Herald*, edited by Rev. A. R. Green, was issued here in 1848 as an organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1848 the *Evening Mail* was issued by George Youngson. During this year also P. C. Purviance & Sons issued the *Allegheny News*, which became defunct the following year.

The various newspapers of Pittsburg about this time made great efforts to secure the support of the laboring classes. The *Post* took an ultra position in favor of labor, and succeeded in securing a large patronage from them. In 1849 Mr. Youngson, who had established a small sheet devoted mainly to libelous articles on local affairs, was convicted of libel and imprisoned. Later he was pardoned, upon the understanding that he would never again connect himself with a flash newspaper similar to the one he had conducted. At this time the Neeks conducted the *German's Freedom's Friend*. In 1850 Mr. Backofen issued a paper devoted to socialism as an organ of the German Workingmen's Association. Mr. De Hess was editor. About this time the *Daily Enterprise* was issued in Allegheny by Messrs. Gamble, Irwin and Callow. The *Mammoth Weekly Journal* was issued as an adjunct of the *Commercial Journal* at this time. The *Evening Tribune* was issued by Hiram Kaine from the office of the *Mercury*. Late in 1851 Thomas Phillips succeeded John Layton as the associate editor of the *Post*. The *Daily Transcript* was issued about this time by Joseph S. M. Young. In 1851 J. Herron Foster and R. C. Fleeson became associated as joint partners in the ownership of the *Dispatch*. In 1852 the *Daily Union* was issued by Elliot, Layton & Co., with Lynd Elliot as editor. It was a penny paper, and supported the Democracy. In June, 1852, Rev. Homer J. Clarke succeeded Rev. William Hunter as editor of the *Christian Advocate*. The *Union Artisan*, devoted to agriculture, horticulture and mechanics, was issued in May, 1852, by R. D. Hartshorn and W. S. Havens. In 1854

(i) *Commercial Journal*, December 28, 1847.

D. L. Smith issued the *Allegheny Bulletin*. The *Pittsburg Evening Times* was started in June, 1855, as an organ of the American party, with Dr. McPherson as editor. At this time *The Sower* was being issued by W. A. Eaton, and the *West Pennsylvania Staats Zeitung* was merged with the *Pittsburg Courier*. The *Pittsburg Price Current* was issued by Joseph Snowden about this time. The *McKeesport Standard* was issued in 1855 in that suburb. In 1855 the *Constitution*, a weekly paper devoted to the interests of the liquor element, was issued here under the editorship of J. H. Clarke. In February, 1856, the *Chronicle* passed to the control of Kennedy Brothers. The *Evening Register* was issued in Allegheny in 1856 by Bossler, Robertson & Co. In September, 1856, Mr. White, of the *Gazette*, retired, and was succeeded by D. L. Eaton and Russell Errett, who assumed editorial management. Mr. Eaton had previously been connected with the *Journal*. In April, 1857, Gilmore & Montgomery sold their interest in the *Post* to James P. Barr, who became editor and proprietor. In 1857 John H. Bailey & Co. bought the *Pittsburg Union* from T. J. Keenan & Co. In April, 1858, R. M. Riddle, who had made a signal success of the *Commercial Journal*, sold his interest to T. J. Bigham, who assumed editorial charge. Mr. Snowden was placed at the head of the commercial department. W. L. Foulk & Co. were publishers. In 1859 S. Riddle, Russell Errett, J. A. Macrum and D. L. Eaton took charge of the *Pittsburg Gazette*, and in 1866 F. B. Penniman, Josiah King, N. P. Reed and Thomas Houston succeeded to the ownership. H. M. Long was admitted in 1871, but soon sold out to G. W. Reed and D. L. Fleury. In 1883 Nelson P. Reed & Co. took charge of the paper. In 1877 the *Gazette* and *Commercial* were consolidated. The *Commercial* was started in 1864 by C. D. Brigham, who later was connected with the *Times*. Richard Realf, the novelist and poet, was connected with the *Commercial*. In 1865 O'Neill & Rook purchased a one-half interest in the *Dispatch*, and at the death of Mr. Foster, in 1867, became sole proprietors. After the deaths of Messrs. O'Neill and Rook, Eugene M. O'Neill became manager. In 1847 or 1848 the *Chronicle* passed to Duncan & Dunn, and in 1851 to Barr & McDonald. In 1853 Mr. Barr sold out to Rev. Samuel Babcock, and in 1854 Kennedy Bros. purchased the paper. In 1856 it passed to Charles McKnight, and in 1863 to Joseph G. Siebenneck, and in 1874 Mr. Collins secured an interest, but retired in 1874. In 1884 the *Chronicle* was merged with the *Telegraph*. The latter was started by H. Bucher Scoope early in the seventies, and passed through many hands before it was merged with the *Chronicle*. The *Leader* was founded in 1865 by John W. Pittock as a Sunday journal, but in 1870 was greatly improved, and passed to the new management of Pittock, Nevin & Co. Robert P. Nevin and E. H. Nevin became associated with it when the daily was established. In 1877 Joseph and Theodore Nevin secured control of the paper. In 1880 the *Times* was started by Robert P. Nevin as a morning penny paper. Later in the same year it passed to C. L. Magee and others, and is still issued by them. In 1855 the *Press* was started by John S. Ritenour and others, and is still issued, having passed through many hands. The *Pittsburg Illustrated Star* was founded in 1883 by John H. Detker. The *Daily News* made its appearance in March, 1896, having been issued by the Daily News Company, at the head of which was Morgan E. Gamble. Many other newspapers than those here mentioned, representing all classes and opinions, have been issued from time to time in Pittsburg and Allegheny.

The first writer of note who resided in Pittsburg was Hugh H. Brackenridge. He contributed many articles on historical, political and scientific subjects to the *Gazette*, the most of which were afterward collected and published in book form. Late in the last century he published his best work, entitled *Modern Chivalry*, a romance similar to *Don Quixote* and one of unquestionable

merit. One volume was published by Mr. Scull—the first west of the mountains. His writings abound in catchy phrases and epigrammatic sentences similar to the following: "He is a senseless politician that will not yield where he ought, that he may gain where he can;" "I am willing that my judgment should be questioned, but not the rectitude of my intentions;" "When a man hints darkly and does not speak directly there is no answering him; it is like a wink or shrug of the shoulders; it means anything or it means nothing;" "Villainy is always cool, honor and honesty feel with a generous warmth." He was the author of several legal works and considerable good poetry.

The *Gazette* of February 22, 1800, spoke of Dennis Loughby, "the blind poet of Pittsburg," but what he wrote cannot be learned.

The most important early publication which was the result of Pittsburg enterprise was the *Navigator*, published first in 1802, by Zadoc Cramer. It is the source from which all historians must obtain much of the early statistics concerning Pittsburg. It was continued for many years, though not without intermission. In subsequent issues the matter which had been published previously was revised and brought down to date. Copies of the *Navigator* are now prized highly by historical collectors. He also issued an almanac which contained miscellaneous matter and an abridged history of Pittsburg. It was called The Pittsburg Magazine Almanac and sold at 50 cents per dozen. One of its most important features was "A View of the Manufacturing Trade of Pittsburg." Mr. Cramer also published The Youth's Gazetteer or a Concise Geographical Dictionary, the Shorter Catechism and Crocker's Arithmetic, besides spelling books. His Almanac of 1803 contained selections from the best prose and poetic writers.

John Scull published an almanac, spelling books, The Shorter Catechism and other similar works presumably of his own compilation as early as 1787. A little later he published one of the volumes issued by H. H. Brackenridge. In 1812 Patterson & Hopkins issued from their establishment at the corner of Fourth and Wood streets the Honest Man's Almanac, which contained a directory of the chief merchants, manufacturers, professional men and magistrates of Pittsburg. In the following year R. and J. Patterson continued the publication of this almanac. In 1813 H. M. Brackenridge issued from the publishing house of Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum his Views of Louisiana. This was a work of decided merit and attracted considerable attention at the time. The "Views" were first issued as a serial in the *Western Gleaner*, a publication issued by Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum. About 1818 R. Patterson & Lambdin published a Treatise of Practical Arithmetic, the author being Robert Patterson, who had been previously professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania. The Counting House Assistant was a similar work issued in 1818 by James C. Gilleland from the press of Butler & Lambdin, the publishers being Patterson & Lambdin. Mr. Gilleland was also the author of a Digest of American Mercantile Law.

The first person to succeed in Pittsburg as a writer of verses is supposed to have been Morgan Neville. He began about the time he secured an interest in the *Gazette*, and continued until his removal to Cincinnati. The first to attract general attention was entitled "Comparisons," and first appeared in October, 1818. It was considered so good that it was copied, or rather paraphrased, by the *Sheffield Iris* (England). The poem as written by Mr. Neville is as follows:

"Man is the rugged, lofty pine,  
That frowns on many a wave-beat shore;  
Woman's the slender, graceful vine,  
Whose curling tendrils round it twine,  
And deck its rough bark sweetly o'er."

"Man is the rock, whose towering crest,  
Nods o'er the mountain's barren side;  
Woman's the soft and mossy vest,  
That loves to clasp its sterile breast,  
And wreath its brow in verdant pride.

"Man is the cloud of coming storm,  
Dark as the raven's murky plume;  
Save where the sunbeam, light and warm,  
Of woman's soul, and woman's form,  
Gleams brightly o'er the gath'ring gloom.

"Yes, lovely sex! to you 'tis giv'n  
To rule our hearts with angel sway;  
Blend with our woe a blissful even,  
Change earth into an embryo heav'n,  
And sweetly smile our cares away."

In the "Maniac's Song" he wrote:

"Softly breathe, ye sighing gales,  
Lightly o'er his deathbed sweep,  
Hark! the mermaid's song bewails;  
See, around him Naiads weep.  
They've made his grave  
In ocean's cave;  
And I'll to his bosom creep."

And in his "Apology for Gaiety:"

"Then frae sic premises, what rule  
Might be deduced in logic's school,  
By grave divines sae clever?  
T'wad surely be that folks like me  
May laugh and sing and dance a wee  
Without bein' damned forever."

In 1815 Mr. Riddle issued a directory of Pittsburg. In 1818 Rev. Joseph Stockton issued from the press of Eichbaum & Johnston *The Western Calculator*, a "new and compendious system of practical arithmetic." At this time and during the decade of the twenties Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum issued the *Pittsburg Almanac* and the *Magazine Almanac*, while Patterson & Lambdin also issued an almanac. At the same time Henry Holdship issued the *Farmers' and Mechanics' Almanac*, the *Western Farmers' Almanac* and the *Western Farmers' Magazine Almanac*. At the time these almanac publications supplied a means of advertising which could not be effected in any other way. They were distributed in immense numbers throughout the Western country and it was a rare case to find a farmer's home without one. They contained the advertisements of Pittsburg manufacturers, together with considerable useful miscellany. J. C. and P. C. M. Andrews issued the *Christian Almanac* from the office of *The Statesman* in 1826. In 1820 Rev. Andrew Wylie issued a new and important English grammar, and about the same time James C. Gilleland published a work entitled "Pilot and Geographer." The publication of the statistical and historical work of Samuel Jones (junior member of the firm of Sibbet & Jones), issued in 1826, was an important event to Pittsburg, as it was one of the most important steps taken to preserve the early history of the city. As will be seen elsewhere in this volume, his publication preserved much interesting historical matter of that date. In 1828 appeared the work issued by Mrs. Anne Royall, an



eccentric woman, who possessed great penetration and whose observations and reminiscences concerning Pittsburg form a valuable contribution to the history of that date. Her eccentricities led to an attack upon her by some man unnamed on the occasion of her visit to a Pittsburg bookstore, where she was publicly whipped. He was promptly fined and received the condemnation of the citizens generally and of the press throughout the entire country. Previous to this date several of the publishers here had issued numerous editions of the Bible. In 1828-9 a large map of Pittsburg, 36 by 24 inches, on a scale of ten inches to the mile, showing Pittsburg, Allegheny, Bayardstown, Northern Liberties, Sidneyville and Birmingham, and locating a number of manufactories, including Anshutz Salt Works, was issued by Jean Barbeau. William Kelly announced in 1828 that he intended to prepare and publish a directory of the city. One of the best books resulting from Pittsburg thought and enterprise was issued by H. M. Brackenridge on the subject of the War of 1812. It was a standard publication of that day and was taken by some Eastern publishers, considerably altered and transformed and issued during many years in thirty editions as an abridged history of the War of 1812. In 1833 Charles B. Taylor advertised that he would shortly issue a register and directory of Pittsburg and vicinity. In 1838 Johnston and Stockton issued their American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge. About this time Richard Biddle issued his work entitled "Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot," which was referred to in complimentary terms by Mr. Bancroft in Volume I of his History of the United States. About this time also William B. Conway, who had previously published works of a similar character, issued a novel entitled "The Cottage on the Cliff," from the press of C. H. Kay & Co. at the corner of Third and Wood streets. A work entitled "The Early History of Western Pennsylvania" was published in Pittsburg during the forties, the author being Daniel W. Kauffman. William H. Burleigh, anti-slavery advocate and temperance reformer, was a poetic writer of much promise in the thirties and forties. He published a volume of his poems and his miscellaneous writings were wide and varied. In 1841 he wrote a desultory poem entitled "Our Country; Its Dangers and Its Destiny," which was admired throughout the United States and was circulated in Europe. Perhaps the most noted literary works issued in Pittsburg during the decade of the forties were the prose and poetical effusions of Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm. They possessed high merit and were usually iconoclastic in their nature, as her views led her to attack nearly all existing social, domestic and political institutions. Some of her prose writings were full of philosophy and at times were replete with pungent criticisms on the shams and idiosyncrasies of the day. She sometimes wrote under the nom-de-plume of Karl Benedict. She did more than any other local writer to reform and readjust public opinion on the question of woman's rights. John Black, D. D., was the author of a book entitled "The Everlasting Kingdom." Late in the decade of the forties appeared Neville B. Craig's celebrated publication "Ye Olden Times," and a little later his History of Pittsburg, which to this day is a standard work on the early records of the city.

Rev. John Tassey published a work on the "Life of Christ" in the forties. Late in the decade of the fifties H. M. Brackenridge, who had previously covered the same ground in the local newspapers in a capricious controversy with Neville B. Craig, published in book form his History of the Western Insurrection. That event has been variously named by writers. Apparently those wishing to cast ignominy upon the movement denominated it the Whisky Insurrection. Others, among whom was Mr. Brackenridge, called it the Western Insurrection. Among his other works are Voyage to South America, History of the West Indies, Recollections of Persons and Places in the West, etc.

Among the writers of the last half century may be named Charles P. Shiras, author of a work entitled "Redemption of Labor" and other poems, and a drama called "Invisible Prince, or The War of the Amazons," which was played at the Old Drury Theater early in the decade of the fifties. Bartley Campbell, the famous playwright, was formerly a Pittsburg newspaper man. James M. Swank published many articles of great value concerning local industries. Stephen C. Foster, the great musical composer, was usually the author of the verses set to his songs. The recent works of Samuel Harden Church are fresh and strong. His *Life of Cromwell* is a careful study of character and a valuable contribution to literature. His other works rank among the ablest literary products of the day. Thomas B. Plympton, once connected with the *Dispatch*, furnished many poems of merit to local literature. Judge J. E. Parke and Judge Thomas Mellon have contributed valuable works to the historical literature of recent date. Josiah Copley, who was once connected with the *Gazette*, issued a number of valuable works, among which was "Gatherings in Beulah." William G. Johnston's work on "The Experiences of a Forty-niner" reveals with great fidelity the hardships incident to a visit to California in the early times of the gold excitement. Logan G. McPherson has issued valuable works on money, banking, etc., and is considered authority on these abstruse subjects. The "Life of Napoleon," written by William M. Sloane, is considered a standard work. The writings of Robert P. Nevin are well known and admired; among them are "Black Robes; or Sketches of Missions and Ministers in the Wilderness and on the Border;" "Les Trois Rois" (The Three Kings), and miscellaneous tales and poems. Samuel P. Langley wrote many interesting articles on astronomical subjects while a resident of Pittsburg, one especially noteworthy being "Researches on Solar Heat." James E. Keeler was first the assistant of Professor Langley, but later has come into prominence as an original astronomical investigator. He has contributed many articles on the subject to the leading periodicals. His book, *Spectroscopic Observations of Nebulæ*, is a creditable work. William Darlington's historical books on Fort Pitt and *Journals of Gist* exhibit careful research and possess great value. The historical writings of Rev. Andrew A. Lambing are standard works. The articles of Joseph D. Weeks on industrial subjects will be referred to by all writers on those subjects in future years. The poetical writings of Richard Realf possess subtlety of thought, aptness of imagery and ease of expression. Unfortunately they have never been collectively placed before the public. Following are the third and the concluding stanzas of his "Symbolism:"

Oh, Earth! thou hast not any wind that blows  
Which is not music; every weed of thine,  
Pressed rightly, flows in aromatic wine;  
And every humble hedgerow flower that grows  
And every little brown bird that doth sing,  
Hath something greater than itself, and bears  
A living word in every living thing,  
Albeit it holds the message unawares.  
All shapes and sounds have something which is not  
Of them; a spirit broods amid the grass;  
Vague outlines of the Everlasting Thought  
Lie in the melting shadows as they pass;  
The touch of an Eternal Presence thrills  
The fringes of the sunset and the hills.

Sometimes (we know not how, nor why, nor whence)  
 The twitter of the swallows 'neath the eaves,  
 The shimmer of the light among the leaves,  
 Will strike up through the rich roofs of our sense,  
 And show us things which seers and sages saw  
 In the gray earth's green dawn; something doth stir  
 Like organ hymns within us, and doth awe  
 Our pulses into listening, and confer  
 Burdens of Being on us, and we ache  
 With weights of Revelation; and our ears  
 Hear voices from the Infinite that take  
 The hushed soul captive, and the saddening years  
 Seem built on pillared joys, and overhead  
 Vast dove-like wings that arch the world are spread.

Charles McKnight showed exceptional genius in certain branches of literature. His "Old Fort Duquesne," since renamed "Captain Jack," attracted considerable attention. "Our Western Border," "Simon Girty" and others were valuable contributions to history as well as to literature. Miss Sarah H. Kilikelly, F. S. Sc., is an authoress of prominence and popularity. Her essays on natural history, literature, art and science are highly praised by the most eminent writers and the most versatile critics. Her "Curious Questions in History, Literature, Art and Social Life" is an important demarkation in literature. Her contributions to newspapers and periodicals are always instructive, artistic and interesting. Mrs. A. Annie Wade entertained as well as instructed the students of Pittsburg with her poems, essays and stories written in charming style. Mrs. Martha F. Boggs has written several strong romances. Andrew Carnegie has published several volumes on industrial subjects, travel, etc. The works of Mrs. Margaret Wade (Campbell) Deland are well known. She is a leading writer of both prose and poetry. Her "John Ward, Preacher," "The Old Garden and Other Verses," "Sydney, the Story of a Child," "Mr. Tommy Dove and Other Stories," "Phillip and His Wife," "Florida Days," etc., are excellent. The following verses are from her poem, "The Old Garden:"

\* \* \* "Still the grapevines hold  
 The leaning arbor, where the leaves scarce stir,  
 In cool, green darkness that shuts out the sky;  
 For, if a sunbeam wandered there, 'twas lost,  
 Or flitted like a golden butterfly  
 Across the ceiling that the fruit embossed.  
 Neath it the path was worn and mossy green. \* \* \*  
 Still the garden glows  
 And 'gainst its walls the city's heart still beats,  
 And out from it each summer wind that blows  
 Carries some sweetness to the tired streets.

"Here, in warm darkness of a night in June,  
 While rhythmic pulses of the factory's flame  
 Lighted with sudden flare of red the gloom,  
 And deepened the long black shadows, children came  
 To watch the primrose blow! Silent they stood,  
 Hand clasped in hand, in breathless hush around,  
 And saw her shyly doff her soft green hood  
 And blossom—with a silken burst of sound!"

Emily E. Veeder is one of the strongest recent writers. "Her Brother Donnard," "Entranced," "The Unexpected," "In the Garden, and Other poems," are works of great value. C. C. Hodge issued strong religious works. Dr. W. R. Mackay was the author of a number of interesting tales which were edited by Miss Killikelly. The sketches of Erasmus Wilson prove him not only a quiet observer but a profound philosopher on the ways of the world. S. L. Fleishman has recently translated selections from the blank verse of Heine with the beauties almost wholly preserved. Mrs. Ellen Boyce Kirk has successfully adapted for children and others a number of standard works. Miss Clara Reese is the author of a new book entitled "And She Got All That." Anna Pierpont Siviter is a creditable writer of verses, jokes and short stories and contributes to many periodicals. Miss Cora Thrumston is a popular contributor of stories. Mrs. Jane S. Collins and Mr. Lee Smith have written interesting books. Sarah H. Carpenter, Kate McKnight and Virginia D. Hyde are also known in the field of letters. Other writers deserve special mention.



## CHAPTER XXX.

ART—FIRST OIL AND MINIATURE PAINTERS—MR. BOWMAN—MR. LAMBDIN—THE PITTSBURG MUSEUM—MESSRS. WALL AND MCCLORY—DALBY AND FOERSTER—OFFICER AND MCCLEAN—GEORGE HETZEL—GLOGGER, BOTT AND LAWMAN—WOODWELL, MCCLURG AND POOLE—DALMAIN, LEISSER AND KING—DARLEY, SMITH AND WALZ—THE WALLS—CLARK, ALEXANDER AND REINHART—JOHNS, FAIRMAN, BEATTY AND OTHERS—RECENT GREAT ADVANCE IN ART—LOCAL ART COLLECTIONS—MUSIC—FIRST TEACHERS—CONCERTS AT THE COURTHOUSE—MR. TYLER—THE EARLY MUSICAL SOCIETIES—PIANOFORTES MANUFACTURED—EARLY MUSICAL PROGRAMMES—INSTRUMENTS USED—MUSIC STORES—FIRST COMPOSERS—KLEBER AND MELLOR—ERA OF SACRED MUSIC—RISE OF COLORED MINSTRELSY—ITS WONDERFUL EXPANSION AND POPULARITY—THE CONCERTS IN THE SALOONS AND HALLS—COMPOSITIONS OF NELSON KNEASS—BEN BOLT—PITTSBURG ACADEMY OF MUSIC—COMMON SCHOOL MUSIC—LIND AND PATTI—NEW SOCIETIES—GENIUS OF STEPHEN C. FOSTER—HIS FAME—RECENT ADVANCE IN MUSIC—ARCHITECTURE—CARPENTERS THE FIRST DESIGNERS—FIRST NOTABLE ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES—THE COLONIAL, GOTHIC AND ITALIAN STYLES—DECORATIONS—INTRODUCTION AND PREVALENCE OF THE ROMANESQUE—NORMAN, FRENCH, ITALIAN AND OTHER FORMS—COMMERCIAL ARCHITECTURE—REAL ESTATE—THEATERS—THE JOCKEY CLUB—FIRST THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS—WHAT MR. CUMING SAID—SUCCESS DURING THE WAR OF 1812—THE THESPIAN SOCIETY—DRAMATIC SOCIETY—LAMBDIN'S MUSEUM—FIRST THEATER BUILDING—ITS UPS AND DOWNS—WAR AGAINST THE THEATER—JIM CROW RICE—TRAGEDY OVERDONE—NAMES OF MANY OF THE EARLY ARTISTS—OLD DRURY—SUCCESS OF THE BURNT CORK ARTISTS—JOSEPH C. FOSTER'S EFFORTS—HIS NEW NATIONAL THEATER—RECENT EVENTS AND STATISTICS.

As early as June, 1804, two artists from Philadelphia, one, S. H. Dearborn, a landscape, and the other a miniature painter, announced in the newspapers that their services for a short time would be at the disposal of the citizens of Pittsburg. They opened a studio at Mr. Ferris' on the bank of the Monongahela. In 1812 J. Carroll, S. R. A., a portrait painter, had a studio on Penn Street. In addition to portraits, he did free-hand drawing, crayon work, water colors and landscapes, and advertised to give instruction to a limited number of learners. In 1818 a gallery of "fine European paintings" was placed on exhibition at the house of Mrs. Irwin, corner of Diamond Alley and Market streets, by a French gentleman, the price of admission being twenty-five cents. The exhibition consisted of oil paintings and rare engravings and two large night views of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*. About this time a Mrs. Russell advertised to give instruction in free-hand drawing, and in painting on velvet, cambric, paper, worsted cloth, mantles, etc. S. H. Dearborn came here from New England about 1804-5 and opened a studio. He excelled as a portrait painter.

Perhaps the most prominent of the early painters to locate here was Mr. Bowman, who had come to Pittsburg early in the decade of the twenties, or sooner. His gallery of paintings was opened in August, 1829. He went to Europe while quite a young man, about the year 1821, under the patronage of a few wealthy individuals living here, who had a high opinion of his artistic talents and desired their cultivation. His visit to Europe was to perfect himself by the study of the works of the old masters. In 1825 his paintings were specially



noticed by the London *Museum* and other critical art journals, recommendations then considered of immense weight and value. While in Europe he copied and studied the principal works of Raphael, Rubens, Titian, Domenichino and others, and advanced with rapid strides to a mastery of his art. His efforts met with the warm approval of Sir Thomas Lawrence, president of the Royal Academy of London, and Sir Joseph Reynolds, both of whom noticed the distinction he made between ideal face painting and portrait painting. He became a pupil of Sir Thomas Lawrence and was regarded by him as an artist of rare promise, so much so that he was recommended to the Bishop of Worcester as one of the few painters in the kingdom who could do complete justice to a portrait of that functionary. He became a protégé of General Lafayette, in whose family he resided for nine months, and whose portrait he painted, his work being pronounced equal to those in the Louvre. Upon his return to America he located in Pittsburg and afterward painted many portraits of the prominent ladies and gentlemen living here in the thirties. It was claimed by the newspapers at the time that he ranked as the second portrait painter then living. Towalsten said of him, "In point of coloring he has no superior." His portraits of the Marquis de Lafayette and of J. Fenimore Cooper were particularly spoken of for their high standard of excellence. In 1829 a writer in the *Gazette* said of him: "Eight or nine years since Mr. Bowman left this city under the patronage of a few individuals for the purpose of improving his taste in the fine arts and the graphic in particular. He has returned to his friends, for a short time only, one of the most eminent artists of the age."

In 1828 J. R. Lambdin opened a museum and gallery of paintings at the corner of Fourth and Market streets. He was assisted by popular subscription and opened with a select collection of paintings and curios. In a short time he had on exhibition upward of fifty historical and other pictures, twenty quadrupeds, 200 foreign and American birds, among them being the bird of paradise, 500 minerals, 400 fossils, including the bones and teeth of the mammoth, 150 marine shells, 100 reptiles in spirits, 1,200 coins and medals, a fine collection of marine plants, corals, Indian curiosities, etc. Mr. Lambdin was also a portrait painter of considerable merit. Associated with him was Mr. Harding. Mr. Lambdin's reputation as a portrait painter commenced with his production of the portrait of Judge Baldwin for Wilson McCandless.

In 1834 there was an exhibition here by Mr. Warrell of Titian's celebrated painting of Venus. From time to time during the twenties and thirties the paintings of other famous artists of the world were exhibited here. The works of West, Alston, Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Leslie, Newton and other American painters were admired and praised.

In the forties W. C. Wall and Peter McClory opened studios in Pittsburg. Both were landscape painters of the realistic school. Mr. Wall's celebrated painting of Braddock's Field and McClory's painting of the Falls of Passaic were famous. Isaac E. Craig opened a studio in Burke's building in 1849 and excelled in crayon work and later in landscapes. He now lives in Europe, where he has attained high rank as a figure painter. In 1848 the celebrated painting of the Hudson River, covering 12,000 square feet of canvas, was exhibited in Philadelphia Hall. The model artists who exhibited Powers' "Greek Slave" and similar works here in 1848 met with the severest criticisms from the press. Mr. Darley about this time gave great promise as a painter of portraits. His portrait of Robert Finney was particularly admired. In 1851 Mr. Emil Foerster produced a fine painting of "The Ascension" for the Catholic Church. He has made a specialty of portraits and many of his works possess high merit. At this time also L. Braun exhibited a fine oil painting of the "Saviour Rising from the Sepulcher" at Kennedy & Sawyer's picture-room on

Wood Street. Mr. Braun had been recently banished from Baden on account of some political acts, and had come to Pittsburg to practice his profession. George Hetzel, an Alsatian, came to America in 1828, but at the age of twenty-one returned to Europe to perfect his study of painting. He made a special study of heads and figures. He is yet a resident of Pittsburg, and for many years recently has devoted himself wholly to landscapes. He is a member of the realistic school. In 1876 he received a medal at the World's Fair held in Philadelphia. His close views are particularly meritorious. About 1850 an artist named Wilson resided here and produced some excellent paintings. T. S. Officer and J. A. McClean were prominent painters of portraits and miniatures at an early day. In 1850 Rhodes and Nelson introduced the art of staining glass into Pittsburg, and thereafter several establishments supplied large quantities to steamboat owners. John M. Glogger, in the fifties, made a specialty of coloring photographs and of portrait painting. Emil Bott painted some beautiful landscapes during the fifties. Jasper Lawman came to Pittsburg during the forties and is yet living in the East End. He formerly excelled in landscape painting, but in recent years has finished many portraits of exceptional merit. He stands high among the painters of the United States. Joseph R. Woodwell, in the fifties, painted some fine landscapes and marine views in Pittsburg. He is yet living and his works are fully up to the standard of the promises given in his early years. Trevor McClurg is a strong artist of portraits, figure pieces and genre paintings. Clarence M. Johns, who is yet living, is a good artist of animal life and portraits. He also paints landscapes. His animals, particularly horses, are especially fine. The works of Messrs. Dalmain, Darley and D. R. Smith possess much merit. Martin Leisser has lived in Pittsburg many years, and particularly excels in portrait and figure work. Mr. Poole's landscapes are greatly admired. Mr. King's still life and landscapes are valuable additions to local art. Charles Walz and Professor Dalby are portrait painters of great success. The tendency of art in Pittsburg is to depreciate the work of impressionists and cling to the realistic school. The old artists of Pittsburg generally refuse to see much merit in any of the transient variations from the rules of the established schools. The works of Charles Lingensfelder were particularly promising, but he passed away at an early age. H. S. Stevenson is a young artist of great promise. His first crayon works, and later his oil paintings, were especially fine. Alfred S. Wall, the father of Brian Wall, produced many rich landscapes, and may be considered the Nestor of Pittsburg artists. Thomas S. Clark and John W. Alexander have attained great prominence by the merit of their artistic work. As early as 1855 D. R. Smith and Miss M. R. Smith conducted the Pittsburg Academy for Instruction in Drawing and Painting. Many amateurs received instruction in this institution. An important event was the establishment of the Pittsburg School of Design in February, 1865. It was opened at No. 24 Fifth Street, the tuition being placed at \$10 per session. An exceptional course required a tuition of \$25 per session. The institution was designed for the instruction of women. The first principal was T. W. Braidwood, with Mary J. Greig as head teacher. The works of Albert G. Reinhart and Charles S. Reinhart are well known in Pittsburg, particularly paintings from the brush of the latter. He was perhaps Pittsburg's most eminent artist. His father was A. G. Reinhart, a merchant. Early in life Charles S. Reinhart began to display his passion for art. He commenced with sketching, and soon showed rare skill. In the sixties he went to Europe, where he studied for three years. His companion while abroad was Clarence M. Johns, now a prominent artist of Pittsburg. On his second visit to Europe, in 1880, Mr. Reinhart was soon recognized by the great artists there, and later he secured gold and silver medals from the Paris Salon. His famous painting,



"Washed Ashore," won for him an enviable prize. His recent works show great originality of expression and a high finish. The recent work of James Fairman has attracted the attention of all lovers of art in Pittsburg. Many of his paintings rank with the best that have been produced in the United States in recent years. The miniatures of Miss E. H. Loeser, the oils of Mrs. Daugherty, and Mr. Charles Linford's landscapes are well known to the citizens of Pittsburg. John W. Alexander, now residing abroad, but formerly a resident of Pittsburg, has attained a reputation throughout Europe as well as America. The works of A. F. King, John W. Beatty, Miss Olive Turney and Anne W. Henderson are attracting the attention of critics and artists. Mr. King excels especially in still life and portrait work. His "Pittsburg Newsboy," "Blue Ribbon" and others are works of high merit. H. S. Stephenson, in connection with his studio, produces various interesting studies. Many graduates of the School of Design have turned out meritorious works, which are to be seen in hundreds of homes in Pittsburg.

In recent years Pittsburg has made great strides in art, and bids fair, at no distant day, to become one of the art centers of the United States. The department of art connected with the gifts of Mr. Carnegie to the city will result in the cultivation of art, particularly among young people. In recent years many of the prominent citizens of Pittsburg have filled their homes with rare paintings and sculpture from all parts of the world. Some of the collections are worth many thousands of dollars. In fact, it is rarely the case now that the home of any wealthy man of Pittsburg is without some masterpiece of painting or sculpture. The opportunities given to students through instruction and through observation of the works of the best masters are probably unsurpassed in any city of the United States. A notable event was the organization of the Pittsburg Art Society in 1873. A small number of cultivated people sought each other's society for the mutual consideration of art subjects, which led to the organization of the society. The membership is now large and great interest is shown in all advancements and improvements in art. Mr. George H. Wilson is present manager, and the membership is about 600. The efforts of John W. Beatty, director of the department of fine arts of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburg, have had much to do with improving the means of securing art instruction in that city. The amount placed at the disposal of the art department and museum of natural history is above \$50,000 annually. This insures the permanent advancement of Pittsburg in all branches of art. Annually the Pittsburg School of Design exhibits the result of its work. The institution is under the superintendence of Miss Anne W. Henderson, who is assisted by Miss Olive Turney and Mr. M. B. Leisser and others. The total enrollment of the school in 1897 was eighty-seven young ladies. The following is from the *Pittsburg Bulletin* of May, 1897:

"Previous to fifteen years ago there was not an art collection in this vicinity, with one or two exceptions, with a commercial value of more than \$10,000, and there were not above three or four people in this city that made any pretense of owning a collection, aside from the pictures to be found in the Shoenberger gallery and the Wolf collection. Mrs. Henry Kirke Porter, Captain Vandergrift, Charles Lockhart, the late Captain Jones and one or two others owned some good paintings, but no very valuable collections were the property of a single Pittsburger, as values are counted nowadays, and sales were comparatively few, high prices for single canvases being unheard of in local circles. Art exhibitions in those days were few, aside from those given under Art Society auspices, and the occasions when the Shoenberger gallery was thrown open to the friends of the family and the art students of the city are remembered as treats, to be thought of and remembered a very long time afterward. The

growth of art, therefore, approaches the marvelous, the Carnegie Institute, with all its possibilities, being a factor in the education of the people along artistic lines that is to go a great way in the future art life of the city. "If a list of collections to be found in Pittsburg to-day was to be compiled, it would be notable for the abundance offered and the wonderful quality and interest to be found in the pictures, representing pretty thoroughly, as they do, the art of many schools, both old and modern. D. T. Watson, for instance, has a fine collection, which is immensely valuable, both artistically and commercially. It includes some of the finest examples, perhaps, of early English art to be found in this city. Mr. Watson also owns one of the best Murillos in the United States, and a beautiful Constable called 'The Mill Pond,' and portraits by Gainsborough and Angelica Kaufman. A. M. Byers owns a splendid collection, which, perhaps, represents a greater outlay of money than any other private collection hereabouts. It includes a fine Troyon, a Rosa Bonheur, a Daubigny, a Rousseau and a number of others. H. C. Frick also has a fine collection, owning as fine a Jules Breton as there is in the United States, and an important Domingo that was never exhibited. In the fine collection owned by Charles Lockhart there is one of the best Shreyers in the world, and the only Rembrandts in the city. Mr. Lockhart also owns 'A Storm in the Highlands,' by Rosa Bonheur. Mr. Henry Buhl, of Allegheny, has a number of fine pictures, among them one of the best Bouguereaus hereabouts. Mr. John G. Holmes has a few very select pictures, among them the well-known salon picture called 'The Shepherdess.' Other good, small collections are owned by Mrs. William Thaw, G. M. Laughlin, T. M. Armstrong, W. N. Frew, Henry Laughlin, Ralph Bagaley, Mr. B. F. Jones, Henry Boggs, Harry Darlington, Mr. Caldwell and a number of others. Charles Donnelly has a most artistic collection of rare and beautiful pictures, and Mrs. Henry Kirke Porter has a small but very artistically selected collection, Oak Manor being the only residence in the city containing a picture gallery. The list is by no means complete, but it will serve to show what has been accomplished in the last few years, and gives force to the statement that Pittsburg will in a few years occupy a commanding position as a center of art. The institute and Mr. Carnegie's splendid gifts make it certain that this city is on the road to having the finest art collection in the country, the importance of this distinction being worth much to Pittsburg. The artistic growth of the last decade is only an earnest of what is to come, and one can hardly anticipate too much for the artistic life of Greater Pittsburg."

In the issue of the *Pittsburg Gazette* of November 24, 1786, the following notice, evidently inserted by the editor, appeared: "Wanted.—A man who understands vocal music and who can teach it with propriety. Such a person will meet with good encouragement from the inhabitants of Pittsburg." In 1801 Peter De Clory gave lessons in vocal and instrumental music in the Courthouse. His school seems to have been well attended, for during the winter of 1801-2 he gave several public concerts, in which nearly the whole town participated. His concerts usually ended with a ball, to which an admission of fifty cents was charged. He owned a piano, violin and other instruments. Marches, minuets and songs were rendered. He advertised that at one of the concerts "The Battle of Prague" would be performed on the piano-forte by a pupil eight years old, and announced that the concert would conclude with the President's March. The balls were held at his residence, and not in the Courthouse. Later he announced that seventy-five cents would be charged for admission to balls held in his new dancing house. The following notice appeared in the *Gazette* of March, 1801: "The ladies and gentlemen of



Pittsburg are respectfully informed that there will be a concert of vocal and instrumental music this evening at the house of Mr. J. McClelland, corner Second and Market streets. Tickets at one dollar each may be had at the place of performance and at the printing office of the *Pittsburg Gazette*."

In 1806, continuing for several years during the cold months, Mr. Tyler conducted a class in vocal music, confining himself particularly to sacred music. This old gentleman, who was well advanced in years, had a sad history. He had received in England a finished education, particularly in music, and after coming to America purchased a farm near Carlisle. Having no children of his own he took an orphan boy to raise and educate. Afterward the bad habits of the boy dissipated the slender fortune of his benefactor and forced him at an advanced age to begin his fortune anew, whereupon he came to Allegheny County and located upon a small tract seven miles from Pittsburg. He began to teach music as a means of livelihood. Mr. Cuming said, in 1808, that several musical amateurs had associated themselves under the title of Apollonian Society, and that, having been invited by them to attend one of their performances, held at the house of Mr. Amelung, who was then the acting president, he was agreeably surprised to hear a concert of instrumental music performed by about a dozen gentlemen of the town with a degree of taste and execution wholly unexpected in so remote a place. He was particularly astonished at a performance on the violin by Mr. Gabler, a German employed in General O'Hara's glassworks, one of the members of the association. Mr. Gabler did not know a note, but quite readily improvised creditable accompaniments to the best and most difficult selections from Haydn, Pleyel, Bach and Mozart. The Apollonian Society was indebted to Mr. S. H. Dearborn, son of Benjamin Dearborn, for its existence. Mr. Dearborn came to Pittsburg about the year 1804-5 as a portrait painter, and, being versatile and having some knowledge of music, soon gathered together the people musically inclined and organized a society. Meetings were held once a week. Persons joined who could not play on any instrument, and the membership was large for the sake of the cultivation which the society furnished. Mr. Cuming further said that amusements received a good deal of attention, particularly concerts and balls in winter, and annual horseraces about three miles from town beyond Hill's tavern on the Allegheny River.

As early as 1813 Charles Rosenbaum manufactured pianofortes on Fourth Street, between Market and Liberty streets. He made both upright and grand pianos, and charged from \$250 to \$300 for each. It was claimed by the newspapers that in 1813 Pittsburg was noted for its refinement and good taste, and that the arts flourished under the patronage of the people generally. Elocution, oratory, music, painting, debating, etc., were carried to a degree of perfection not before realized in Pittsburg. Mr. Oglevie was an elocutionist and musician of note at this time. In September, 1817, William Evans announced that he would commence teaching sacred music for \$3 per quarter, two lessons to be given each week.

The precise date of the organization of the Pittsburg Harmonic Society cannot be given. No doubt the society was organized during the prosperous times of the War of 1812. In 1818 General Thomas Baird was president of the society and John Spear vice-president. The society celebrated the Fourth of July, 1818, by going in a boat up the Allegheny River to Foster's ferry-house, adjoining the United States arsenal, where they enjoyed a fine dinner and an elaborate musical programme. The following airs were rendered on various instruments by the members present: Hail Columbia, by E. J. Roberts; Star Spangled Banner, by J. McLean; March in Columbus, by J. G. O'Brien; Tyrolean Air, by H. Doan; Tars of Columbia, by W. Moody; Jefferson's March, by Mr. Bow-

man, the artist; Washington's March, by Mr. Kingston; Decatur's March, by Mr. Volz; President's March, by Mr. Edgar; Yankee Doodle, by Mr. Peterson, and Sweet is the Vale, a quartet, by Messrs. Baker, Bell, R. Moody and Ewing. For some reason unknown this society appears to have gone out of existence in the fall of 1818, as a notice was inserted in the papers at that time for the members to meet and settle up its affairs. This notice was signed by William P. Hughes, Joseph Barclay and John Howe. At this time N. Richardson kept a music store, where he sold violins, flutes, clarinets, flageolets, fifes and violoncellos.

In January, 1818, the Pittsburg Musical Society was organized at the house of William Evans on Irwin Street. John M. Phillips, professor of music, was director of the society. He advertised to teach the diatonic and chromatic scales. J. C. Gilleland was secretary of the society and John Liggett treasurer. The society made a specialty of the cultivation of sacred music. In 1819 the Allegheny Musical Society, designed for instruction and practice in sacred music, was organized, and for several years thereafter, during the winter months, gave regular concerts to the public. In 1825 William F. Norton gave instruction on the pianoforte, flute, clarinet and flageolet. The Apollonian Society was revived in the twenties, and in 1828 gave creditable public performances. Its members were amateurs in music. In 1829 a musical society was organized under the leadership of W. C. Peters, their particular instruments being the violin, flute, etc. As early as November, 1829, W. R. Coppock composed music and rendered his own compositions in public concerts given in Pittsburg. He was professor of music and kept a music store. In 1830 John Julius was the leader of a band of violin players, which furnished music for concerts, balls, etc. During the twenties and thirties Charles Volz conducted a music store. W. C. Peters likewise sold music and musical instruments. In 1834 grand concerts were given here under the direction of Professor Joseph Young. Among the selections were the following: Overture, Tancredi; Song, Mr. Smith; Fantasia (keyed serpent), by Mr. Young; Duet, by Mrs. Mullen and Mr. Smith; Violin Solo, by Mr. C. Von Bonnhorst; Glee, three voices; Finale, Polonaise; Symphony, Pleyel; Flute Solo, by Mr. E. H. Nicholson; Song, by Mrs. Mullen; Waltz, by the orchestra; Solo (keyed serpent); Finale, Pleyel. Mr. Young rendered his performances on an instrument called the "keyed serpent," which had never before appeared here. In 1835 the Musical Fund Society rendered oratorios and other forms of sacred music at the Episcopal Church. E. G. A. Heidelberg was director of the Musical Fund Society. They rendered publicly Haydn's "Creation," and received unstinted praise from local newspaper critics. Musical concerts were conducted during the thirties by J. H. Mellor & Co., C. L. Volz and E. G. A. Heidelberg. At one time the latter two were associated with Mr. Mellor. In September, 1836, Professor Hill, from London, conducted an amateur concert of solos, duets, glees, etc., and was assisted by Messrs. Heidelberg, Jones and Henry Kleber. In 1837 the Ravels, fourteen in number, gave a musical performance in Pittsburg, for which they charged admission. Several societies of sacred music flourished during the thirties. In March, 1838, Samuel P. Darlington was president of the Mozart Society, which rehearsed in the lecture-room of Trinity Church. The celebrated Prague Company of nine musicians gave a grand concert in November, 1837, the tickets being \$1 each. In June, 1841, Professor H. Russell conducted a grand concert of songs, ballads, duets and instrumental pieces, in which the leading musicians of the town took part.

During the forties colored minstrelsy flourished here to an extraordinary degree. The Sable Harmonists became favorites of the theater-going public. Mr. Fleeson objected to the caricaturing of colored character, but Mr. Riddle

declared he preferred such songs as "Lucy Neal," "Cynthia Sue" and "Buffalo Gals" to the music of Ole Bull. Public taste concerning music was undergoing an important development. There was a distinct departure from the love of classical music to a taste for the simple melodies of the colored people. This change was recognized and early taken advantage of by Stephen C. Foster. In fact the fame of Foster rests largely upon his remarkable interpretation of the basic melody of the African race. During the forties, therefore, colored minstrelsy was caricatured throughout the United States, and a new order of music was established. Stephen C. Foster contributed not a little to this important innovation.

An important musical organization established about 1840 was called "The Odeon Society," of which Mr. J. I. Younglove was secretary. Another organization about this time was the Allegheny Sacred Music Society, and another was the Pittsburg Sacred Music Society. These various organizations did not hesitate to attempt the rendition of the most difficult choruses and oratorios, and usually succeeded to an unexpected degree—"The Creation," "The Promised Land," "Glory be to God on High," "Double Chorus," etc. The various halls and saloons presented a great variety of music at this time. Instrumental music was not so generally diffused then as now. Ballads, solos, duets, glees, etc. were extremely popular, and good voices were invariably recognized and their possessors received excellent patronage. A Mr. Dempster, in 1846, rendered a musical programme of Scotch and other songs at Philo Hall, among which were the well-known airs of "Auld Robin Gray," "Mary's Dream," "Jock o' Hazeldean," "John Anderson My Jo," "Lament of the Irish Emigrant," "Bird of the Wilderness," and "Oh, Why Does the White Man Follow My Path?" all of which are familiar to this day. The new Odeon Hall was opened in May, 1846, in Breed's Building, on Fourth Avenue. Another negro minstrel troop which received the enthusiastic praise of Pittsburgers was the "Ethopian Melodists," which contained several residents of this city among its members. Pittsburgers were also numbered among the Sable Harmonists. Both of these companies eagerly sought for the productions of Mr. Foster after his publication of "Oh, Susanna," "Old Uncle Ned" and "Louisiana Belle." A correspondent of the *Journal* wrote in January, 1848, as follows: "To one acquainted with the past it is perfectly astonishing what we can do in Pittsburg. It is only a few years since we could have any good singing of our own, but entirely depended upon accidental talent from abroad. Now the case is quite different; almost every evening we may listen to the warblings of taste and talent in some part of the city, and our church choirs would of themselves attract even the most thoughtless to the sacred temple; while in instrumental music we may favorably compare with any city East or West. Through the attention of the gentlemanly conductor of White's Band I had the pleasure of listening to that class a few evenings since at a rehearsal in anticipation of their soirée, which is soon to come off, and I must say that I never heard such excellent music. Their arrangement and performance of the celebrated 'Fireman's Cotillion' was a perfect novelty, and I am sure will take their company by surprise."

Nelson Kneass, late in the decade of the forties, was the pianist and musical director of the famous Eagle Saloon Concerts, which scored such an immense success. It was here that the earliest songs of Mr. Foster were often first rendered. During the season an entire change of programme was advertised every night. Mr. Kneass was the author of many songs and instrumental pieces. One of his famous productions was the burlesque opera of "Virginia Gal," first presented to the Pittsburg public in the Lafayette assembly ballrooms over the Eagle saloon. The *Commercial Journal* said: "It is one of the most ludicrous

performances we have ever witnessed, but it is arranged with all the exquisite taste and genius for the comic for which Mr. Kneass is so famous. We would not miss it for the price of one dozen tickets." It was about this date that Mr. Kneass sang at his concerts for the first time his famous song of "Ben Bolt" to immense crowds. He was himself the composer of the music of that song, which fact alone was sufficient to establish his genius for music and his reputation as a composer. The programme at one of these concerts in May, 1848, was as follows: "Part I. Overture—Pianoforte and violin; Marseilles Hymn, Company; Song—Ben Bolt, Kneass; Quintette Tyrolean—We Come from the Hills; Tyrolean Solo—Galsiano; Ethiopian—Susannah, Don't You Cry (first time), Company; Ethiopian—Carry Me Back to Ole Virginny, Company. Part II. Favorite Set Waltz—Piano and Violin; Song—She Wore a Neat Silk Josey, Kneass; Quartette Tyrolean—Tyrolese Bride, Tyroleans; Ethiopian—Stop Dat Knockin', Company; Ethiopian Refrain and Banjo Solo, Keenan; Quintette—Jane O'Malley, Company; Finale—Silence, Make No Noise, or Wake up Aunt Sally, Company."

During the forties several brass bands and numerous string bands were organized here, and on all public occasions their services were required to furnish music. The Pittsburg Academy of Music was established during the forties and met regularly in Apollo Hall. S. L. Bingham was principal of the Academy. He gave instructions to children as well as to adults, charging from one to three dollars per quarter. Henry Kleber was prominent in musical circles at this time. He composed many meritorious pieces, mostly confining his labors to schottisches, waltzes and other instrumental pieces. On one occasion he was severely criticised by John C. Schaad, then reporter for the *Staats Zeitung*, which criticism he resented by publicly whipping the writer. Mr. Schaad was a Presbyterian clergyman, but seems to have carried his criticisms beyond the bounds of prudence and moderation. About this time Mr. Templeton presented a musical entertainment at Philo Hall. A writer in the *Gazette* of December 6, 1849, said: "It has lately become customary for young ladies to take part in amateur societies and to sing in public, if they possess talent and culture. The effect has been magical. Now that it is easy to get up a company to render concerts in aid of charity, why should not such a society be organized in Pittsburg?" About this time Henry Rohbock and Nelson Gilbert gave instruction in vocal and instrumental music. In 1851 Lowell Mason, of the Boston Conservatory of Music, delivered a course of lectures on music, and particularly invited teachers and other educators to be present, as he designed to present to their attention a system of musical instruction for common schools. It was said at the time that he was the first person in the United States to introduce musical instruction in the public schools, which he did in Boston about 1834. His lectures resulted in the formation of a county musical organization, which later held a convention in Lafayette Hall under the management of Mr. Mason. His efforts resulted in a new impulse of great importance and magnitude in musical taste in this vicinity, and may be said to have established an historic era in the development of sacred music. Commencing from the date of his visit here great improvements were made in the music of local church choirs. This in turn gave a stimulus to all other branches of music and did incalculable good to the musical education of this community.

In 1851 P. B. Templeton issued a handbook for the piano from the publishing house of W. S. Havens. At this time Henry Kleber was associated with John H. Mellor in the sale of musical publications and instruments. In November, 1851, Anna Bishop, a noted singer, visited Pittsburg and gave public entertainments, embracing selections from Haydn, Handel and other



masters. Her voice was peculiarly fitted for concertos, fantasias and oratorios. In March, 1852, the celebrated Hutchinson family gave one of their splendid entertainments to the music lovers of Pittsburg. At this time the "Germania Musical Society" had a large membership, and contained several musicians who afterward made their mark in the musical world. On November 11, 1851, Jenny Lind arrived in Pittsburg over the Ohio and Mississippi Railway. She was traveling under the management of P. T. Barnum. Masonic Hall, having a seating capacity of 1,120, was secured, and tickets aggregating in value over \$8,000 were sold at auction. The average premium on the tickets was about \$2.50, the price of tickets being \$5 each. Eight hundred persons paid ten cents each to get into the auction room. In order to avoid the crush Mr. Barnum alighted at the Federal Street station, accompanied by a lady whom everybody supposed to be Jenny Lind, and thence drove to the Monongahela House, followed by a large crowd. A little later Jenny Lind herself alighted from the train and proceeded without inconvenience or interruption to the same hotel. She gave three entertainments, which were a disappointment to the music-lovers of Pittsburg. They had expected too much. So great had been the praise of the quality and power of her voice that people unconsciously expected a superhuman performance, and were accordingly disappointed, notwithstanding the fact that she appeared at her best. So great was the dissatisfaction that a number of rude boys pelted her windows at the hotel with stones after the first night's performance. The newspapers the following day denounced this act in the severest terms. The *Commercial Journal* said: "We have been somewhat amused at the various comments made by our exchanges on the recent 'Jenny Lind affair.' Pittsburg is a doomed city. The election of Barker to the mayoralty was disgraceful enough, but the ungallant behavior of the b(h)oy's toward the enchanting songstress of the Baltic is enough to sink us to perdition. Far and near comes the anathema maranatha. From the remote city of New York to the more 'neighborly' settlements at the 'head of navigation' (Wheeling) do we receive unqualified deprecation. Even 'little Washington' greets us with the declaration that our city 'can produce as many unwashed blackguards as any city of its size in the world.' So says Mr. Bausman, an old resident of Pittsburg, now editor of the *Reporter*, who ought to know all about us; but the pure and unspotted Bennett, of the New York *Herald*, declares in his columns, telegraphically, that 'nothing less than the insulting of the most amiable Queen of Song could have been expected from the children of those who were silly enough to elect such a crazy person as Joe Barker to the mayoralty.' This is 'visiting the sins of the parents even unto the children of the third and fourth generation' with a vengeance."

Early in the fifties Anton and Shryock conducted the Pittsburg Musical Academy and at that time gave instruction to about 100 pupils. At this time the Philharmonic Society and the Pittsburg Orchestral Society were strong musical organizations. They united and gave a magnificent concert in March, 1854, under the direction of Professor G. Anton, of the Academy. Mr. Anton excelled as a performer on the piano, and gave instruction on that instrument. Mr. Shryock made a specialty of voice culture, and was employed by the Board of Education to give musical instruction in the public schools. Connected with the Pittsburg Academy was a choir for the rehearsal of sacred music under the direction of Professor Lincoln, assisted by Professor White. At this time the music stores were conducted by F. Blume, W. D. Smith and J. H. Mellor. Victor De Ham composed considerable music, beginning in 1854; one of his best songs was entitled "Lenore." Ole Bull, who had visited Pittsburg in the forties, came again in February, 1856, and was welcomed by a large and enthusiastic audience. In 1856 the best musical talent of the city united in a grand



vocal and instrumental concert in Masonic Hall, for the benefit of Passavant Infirmary and other charitable institutions and purposes. In 1856 Adelina Patti rendered a select programme of music in Masonic Hall, and was assisted by Paul Julien. The *Commercial Journal* said that "Patti in her finish, delivery and strength of upper notes is equal if not superior to Jenny Lind."

Stephen Collins Foster was born in 1826 and died in 1864, at a comparatively early age. While yet a boy he exhibited his musical precocity, and in 1840 produced the "Tioga Waltz," the first of his compositions to receive publication. His last song, entitled "Beautiful Dreamer," was written a short time before his death. In 1842 he issued "Open Thy Lattice, Love," and a year or two later his Ethiopian melody "Louisiana Belle," and a week later "Old Uncle Ned," which two latter compositions rendered his name familiar throughout the United States and Europe. Those songs were taken up eagerly by all the negro minstrel troops and sung in every city of considerable size in the country, and were reproduced abroad. After that date the public, particularly the Ethiopian companies, watched eagerly for every composition from his pen. Soon after having written "Old Uncle Ned" he wrote "Oh, Susanna." Mr. Peters, under whose management "Old Uncle Ned" and "Oh, Susanna" were issued, is said to have cleared out of them in a comparatively short time \$10,000. In 1847 appeared his "'Way Down South Where the Corn Grows." Among his best known compositions are "Suwanee River," "Old Kentucky Home," "Massa's in the Cold Ground," "Hard Times Come Again No More," "Uncle Ned," "Oh, Susanna," "Old Black Joe," "Gentle Annie," "Old Dog Tray," "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming," "Nellie Was a Lady," "Nellie Bly," "Laura Lee," "Ellen Bayne," etc. He not only composed the music, but wrote the words for nearly all of his songs. He issued altogether 160 songs, which have been recently published in one volume by his brother Morrison Foster. "Old Folks at Home," or as it is more popularly called "Suwanee River," was written in 1851. "Willie, We Have Missed You" appeared in 1854. In 1855 Sangford's opera troop rendered here the new song, "Hard Times Come Again No More," and scored such an immense success that Kleber's Music Store, where it was afterward kept for sale, was literally besieged for copies. Unquestionably, Mr. Foster was the greatest musical composer Pittsburg has yet produced. His genius was sufficiently great to avoid complexity and to seek simplicity in his compositions. Accordingly, nearly all of his productions possess wonderful rythmical modulation, based upon the truest principles of music. He struck a chord in the popular heart which no other composer of this country has succeeded in rivaling, much less in surpassing. For all time his songs will stand as the correct interpretation of the melody existing in the negro character. His sentimental songs were equally as simple and true to the laws of harmony as were his Ethiopian melodies.

The organization of the Pittsburg Academy of Music in March, 1865, in the Board of Trade rooms, was the first notable advance in art after the regenerating influences of the Rebellion. C. D. Brigham was chairman of the meeting and R. B. Townsend secretary. After the act of incorporation, which had been recently passed, was read by G. H. Holtzman, a committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions to aid the academy. Among those present at the meeting, who were interested in its success, were P. R. Mertz, Dr. Fleming, G. H. Thurston, C. W. Batchelor, W. P. Weyman and H. M. Murray.

In 1865 it was estimated by the newspapers that there were in use in Pittsburg, Allegheny and vicinity nearly 10,000 pianos, and while this was no doubt an overestimate, the number was sufficiently great to permit exaggeration without danger of discovery.

The growth of music in Pittsburg has been slow but steady. One of the

pioneers through the musical wilderness is J. P. McCollum, the leader of the Mozart Club. This choral organization long ago attained a proud reputation, and it has done much to cultivate public taste and maintain a high musical standard. The work of the society gave rise in a large measure to the necessity of the Pittsburg orchestra, which is a striking indication of the progress that has been made. It was the intention of the Mozart Club to form an orchestra in a few years, when the idea was put into execution by others. Harmony exists between the orchestra and the club, and with the two organizations in accord the improvements in public taste should be marked in the future.

From a small beginning the Mozart Club has reached its present condition of excellence. It was started about 1878. From a membership of twenty voices the Mozart Club has grown to a limit of about two hundred, and has brought together an orchestra of local musicians of symphonic proportions which has demonstrated that with reasonable fostering Pittsburg will soon be able to refer with pride to an instrumental organization equal to the best in the country.

The dream of an orchestra for Pittsburg was realized sooner than the Mozart people thought it would. It may not yet be equal to the best in the country, but under the direction of Archer it should develop into a first-class combination.

In speaking of the Mozart Club and its work, Professor McCollum said: "The object of the club is the development of all our musical resources along legitimate art lines and the cultivation of the public taste for the noblest forms of musical composition. Steady advancement in point of excellence has marked each year of its history, until to-day it is conceded by visiting and local critics to be on a level artistically with the best musical societies in the country. The amount of work done by the club is represented in its fourteen oratorio performances of eight oratorios, five of which had never had a hearing here, eighteen large cantatas, all new, besides smaller works in large number and variety."

The two cities and their suburbs now have scores of musical clubs, orchestras, bands, organ recitals, musical conservatories—all showing the interest and enjoyment taken in this branch of art. The organ recitals conducted by Frederic Archer in the Carnegie Music Halls have already advanced the citizens unconsciously far along the melodious path leading to the Temple of Harmony. The crowds which gather to hear these recitals cannot be accommodated. Musical instruction is abundant and excellent at home.

The early inhabitants of Pittsburg made no pretensions to architectural excellence, and only such features were introduced as the carpenters themselves were capable of designing. No doubt the early frame structures had ornamental window and door caps, and the doors were paneled and the cornices embellished with rounds and other carvings. The first academy and the first courthouse had a few simple elements of architectural excellence. The earliest churches built of brick not infrequently were ornamented in a similar manner. The style of buildings first employed was Colonial, and even in subsequent years that style has predominated in the structures of Pittsburg. Perhaps a majority of the buildings standing at the present day, though erected from thirty to fifty years ago, are of the Colonial style. A writer of 1819, in speaking of the Courthouse, said that the interior possessed much incongruous architectural display, but that the exterior was plain and heavy, except the front door, which was absurdly ornamented. The churches built during the twenties and thirties were the first noticeable and commendatory advancements in architecture. Previous to that time the few church structures or other public buildings which had been erected were without noticeable features, except perhaps a tower and spire, or a porch with columns, or a colonnade in front, designed, as well

as the carpenters were capable, after the Doric, Ionic, or other orders. Perhaps also the interiors were decorated, particularly the chancels of the churches, though this is by no means certain. At all events the ornamentation and dress corresponded in rudeness with the architectural features designed by the carpenters.

The Trinity church, built in 1825 through the efforts of Rev. Mr. Hopkins, was a Gothic structure, said to have been the first of that style erected in the West. Whatever interior decorations this building may have had cannot now be stated with particularity, but they no doubt corresponded with the general excellence of the structure. The University building, completed about that time, was fashioned after the Classic style, and had an Italian dress. The Theological Seminary, built in Allegheny, made some pretensions to architectural excellence, but was criticised because the proposed cupola, the only important feature in the design, had been left off.

One of the first architects, perhaps the first, to locate here was Mr. John Behan, whose card appears in the *Mercury* of March, 1828. He announced himself as a civil engineer and architect, and no doubt many of the early buildings which embodied superior architectural features were designed by him. It is probable that the architects who designed Trinity church of 1825, the University building, the Theological Seminary, and perhaps the Courthouse, resided in Philadelphia. The penitentiary may be said to have been the first Gothic structure with battlemented features erected in Pittsburg. Its heavy wall and corner bastions and occasional embrasures placed it among the fort-like and unique structures of the West. Mr. Haviland, of Philadelphia, an architect of some prominence, was secured by the commissioners to design the penitentiary and superintend its construction. He may have designed also one or more of the buildings mentioned above. In 1829 Mr. Behan, who must have understood his business, was engaged to lecture on that subject before the Philosophical Society. From this circumstance it is concluded that he was at least the leading architect here, if not the only one. In 1833 B. McDougall was employed by Thomas Will to give lessons in architectural drawing in the Pittsburg Classical Academy. At a later date the Third Presbyterian church, the new Episcopal church, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank, the Pittsburg Bank and the Courthouse of 1841 were given some interesting architectural features. In front of the Third Presbyterian church was a fluted colonnade, and in front of the Episcopal church were columns of the Doric order. It was said that the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank was constructed after the Saracenic or Moorish order of architecture. In 1833 John Chislett opened an architectural office in Pittsburg. The Courthouse of 1840-1 was of the Grecian-Doric order. It was said that "the main front is divided into a hexa-style portico, and two pseudo peripteral wings." The rotunda was surmounted with a dome, which was supported by eight Corinthian columns, the dome being thirty-seven feet in diameter. It was said of the ceiling of the dome that it was "exceedingly beautiful," it being executed in stucco work with enriched paneling. The windows at the base of the dome were arched. Altogether this was perhaps the finest architectural structure, aside from the churches, west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The construction of Saint Paul's cathedral early in the fifties was an architectural event of importance. The style of architecture adopted was the same as that of the cathedral at Cologne—German Gothic. The dome which surmounted the intersection of the nave and transept was well proportioned and rich in dress. The architect who designed this structure was John Walsh, of New York; the supervising architect was Charles Bartberger. It was through

the persevering efforts of Bishop O'Connor that this finest of all architectural structures in Pittsburg was erected. Saint Peter's church, erected in 1850, was also a Gothic structure, and possessed many points of excellence not found in the other churches. The Courthouse did not withstand the ravages of time. The stone peeled off and crumbled away, even while the building was yet new. The freestone of which it was built was obtained from the adjoining hills and did not possess sufficient durability to withstand this climate. In the early fifties the Pittsburg Female College building was built, half Gothic and half Classical. Several Colonial features were likewise embodied in the structure. It had mullion windows, over which were hood moldings. The Saint James Church building in 1855 was given the Early English style of the thirteenth century. The Ninth Ward Methodist Episcopal church was a Gothic structure, having two towers surmounted with two spires and octagonal turrets on the corners. Vestibules were at each door.

Nearly all the churches built before the Rebellion assumed the Gothic style; very few innovations were made. It remained for subsequent years to see introduced the Romanesque in church architecture. Now it is common to see Romanesque and Gothic blended, not only in churches, but in school and other public buildings. Some of the handsomest churches of the city at the present day are of the French chateau style on a Romanesque basis. In residences the French chateau is often found blended with Colonial or Queen Anne features. In fact in Pittsburg, as in all other American cities, is to be seen a surprising confusion of architectural styles. Often in the same building there are used primary principles from half a dozen styles. Where richness of ornamentation is sought for the French Renaissance is employed, as is shown in the beautiful Bank of Pittsburg and in many other buildings. Where rugged strength is desired no style surpasses the Norman Romanesque, as is shown in the Courthouse, the Carnegie Library buildings and in many business blocks. These buildings show all the excellences of the style, and are a credit to the architect and the cities. It is claimed that Mr. Richardson, who designed the Courthouse and other buildings, so changed and perfected the Norman Romanesque as to create a distinct style. The massive strength, noble outlines and rich ornamentation of these structures place them in a class clear, defined and separate from all others. The architecture of the Postoffice will bear no comparison with that of the Courthouse. It seems confused, indefinite, and lacks the wonderful symmetry of the latter. The façades of many of the business blocks are rich and creditable, and will bear comparison with similar buildings in the other large cities of the United States. Many of the buildings erected thirty years ago are of the Italian style, and look rich in comparison with the massive Norman Romanesque. The First National Bank building looks well from comparison. Commercial architecture is represented in the Carnegie and the Park buildings as types. If America has designed any distinct style it is the Commercial as represented by a steel skeleton base, ornamented with band courses, bays, colonnades, etc., from the older styles. Iron fronts were first used in Pittsburg back in the forties, and were made complete by Pennock & Hart and others, and were first common in the fifties, but at that time they were largely incidental or ornamental. It remained for later years to introduce steel as a structural feature for the purpose of carrying brick, stone and terra cotta to conceal the skeleton. The purpose of Commercial architecture is utility, and such buildings will eventually be almost wholly steel and glass, to save space and furnish the greatest amount of light. American architecture therefore is technic; all other is copied.

Real estate transfers in 1896, despite the hard times, reached a grand total of nearly \$15,000,000. The expiration of the Schenley leases is an important

event, and will continue from time to time. More than 5,000 buildings have been erected on this estate.

The question has been propounded whether real estate in Pittsburg has advanced in value in the last few years or not. The opinion of Controller Gourley is that property values, taking the whole city, have receded. This view in part is confirmed by a comparison of the cash valuation of taxable property made in 1894 with the same of 1897. The total of three years ago figured up \$279,811,033. The present result of the officials concerned foots up \$295,316,262. But for city real estate proper, the footing for 1894 is \$209,038,452, whilst for 1897 it is only \$189,101,172. This difference is accounted for by the allowances for agricultural and rural properties. The Twentieth Ward showed up three years ago as having \$8,320,000 of rural property, and at present that is put down as worth \$23,658,000. The total of this ward is now nearly five millions smaller, and its full, or urban property, some eleven millions less than three years ago. The Fourteenth Ward has remained nearly stationary in its total valuation between the two periods considered. But its full rating has changed from nearly \$12,000,000 to \$6,700,000 (a).

The report of Building Superintendent J. A. Brown for the year 1897 showed a decided increase in building operations in Pittsburg over the previous year. Up to the middle of December permits for new buildings were issued to the number of 1,532, at a total cost of \$6,031,518, irrespective of additions, alterations and repairs, which, of course, would swell the total. October was the banner building month. The table by months follows:

	Buildings.	Cost.
January .....	77	\$ 202,525
February.....	84	139,852
March.....	142	293,421
April.....	153	361,643
May.....	183	703,844
June....	149	568,821
July.....	100	323,475
August.....	153	594,158
September .....	176	722,950
October.....	176	1,177,087
November.....	144	942,342
December (estimated).....	75	265,000
Totals.....	1,612	\$6,295,118

The County Commissioners, the last of June, 1897, completed their report to the State, showing the number of taxables in the county, the value of real estate and other property and the amount to the State, showing the number of taxables and other property and the amount of taxes levied. The number of taxables was as follows: Pittsburg, 92,537; Allegheny, 37,118; McKeesport, 8,055; boroughs, 43,207; townships, 40,977, making a total of 221,894. The value of all real estate is divided as follows: Pittsburg, \$269,986,715; Allegheny, \$86,599,140; McKeesport, \$13,397,720; boroughs, \$62,554,970; townships, \$71,455,130; total, \$503,993,675. Of the above the following amounts are taxable: In Pittsburg, \$233,431,285; Allegheny, \$74,720,360; McKeesport, \$12,395,440; boroughs, \$58,289,740; townships, \$60,266,445; total, \$439,103,270. Pittsburg has \$36,555,430 exempt from taxation; Allegheny, \$11,878,780; McKeesport, \$1,002,280; boroughs, \$4,265,230; townships, \$11,188,685; total, \$64,890,405. The number of horses and their

(a) Chronicle Telegraph, January, 1898.



value in the county is as follows: Pittsburg, 7,163, valued at \$504,730; Allegheny, 3,038, \$235,995; McKeesport, 571, \$27,645; boroughs, 3,612, \$167,175; townships, 13,403, \$660,890; total number, 27,787; aggregate value, \$1,596,435. Pittsburg has 1,479 cows, valued at \$29,890; Allegheny, 576, valued at \$12,760; McKeesport, 114, valued at \$2,340; boroughs, 1,488, valued at \$31,705; townships, 15,037, valued at \$302,165, making the total number 18,694, and the aggregate value \$378,860. The money earned at occupations is as follows: Pittsburg, \$22,386,400; Allegheny, \$9,719,600; McKeesport, \$1,324,600; boroughs, \$7,556,065; townships, \$5,710,360; total, \$46,697,025. Pittsburg has \$256,395,610 taxable property; Allegheny, \$84,712,435; McKeesport, \$13,756,200; boroughs, \$66,061,175; townships, \$66,940,615; total, \$487,866,035. The following shows what the county tax amounts to: Pittsburg, \$512,791.22; Allegheny, \$169,424.87; McKeesport, \$27,512.40; boroughs, \$132,122.35; townships, \$133,881.23; total, \$973,732.07. In Pittsburg the State tax amounts to \$187,676; Allegheny, \$73,066.64; McKeesport, \$3,964.56; boroughs, \$31,425.98; townships, \$32,396.30; total, \$328,469.48.

Soon after the Revolutionary War a racetrack was prepared on the northeast of Pittsburg, and for many years was the source of amusement for lovers of racing and an eyesore to the churches. Usually three prizes were offered; one of \$40, one of \$60 and the sweepstakes. The entrance money was usually \$4 on the first day, \$3 on the second and \$1 on the third. The papers of that day spoke of the track as being "over a handsome course near this place." Races were usually run in two-mile heats at catch weights, free to any animal, agreeably to the Pittsburg Jockey Club rules. This club had been organized as early as 1788, and for twelve or fifteen years continued in existence. In 1801 the track having been removed, William Irwin, who felt aggrieved at a decision of the club, said "that neither justice nor pleasure could be expected from the races at McKeesport, held under the auspices of the Jockey Club." He claimed that his horse Dancing Master had won the first race and the purse of \$60, and that the judges had unfairly decided against him. In October, 1801, the *Gazette* said:

"But the great evil is the collection into the town of the most disorderly and unprincipled from all quarters, in their worst habits and moods, with our youth exposed to the contagion of their example and their importation of frauds, tricks and debaucheries left among us, while our schools and shops are shut up or deserted, and the youth of both sexes run to harm, folly and debauchery at this fruitful seminary of all vice. The money, too, which ought to be expended in the honest maintenance of families and payment of debts is squandered on sharpers, gamblers, sutlers, etc., etc., and the laws of the State and the borough openly violated and cast into contempt. I am sure these practices are detested by the sound and sober part of the borough. Let all unite in discountenancing and suppressing them, and let the magistrates of the State and the borough, if they wish this place to have any reputation for decency, sobriety and industry, exert their authority, carry the laws into execution against these corruptions of manners and morals, and drive these gross dissipations out of our bounds."

The earliest citizens of Pittsburg brought with them from the East their love for theatrical entertainments. Accordingly, they began at an early day to give public performances under the management of military men or local amateurs, and lawyers and doctors were usually the leading characters. In April, 1790, the officers of the garrison gave a theatrical representation of the tragedy "Cato," followed by the farce "All the World's a Stage." It was announced that the entertainment would take place "at the theater in the garrison."

In February, 1803, the young gentlemen of the town presented a comic opera entitled "The Poor Soldier," followed by the farce "The Apprentice," at the Courthouse, to a large assemblage. The price of admission was seventy-five cents for the box and pit, and fifty cents for the gallery. Tickets were for sale at Mr. Scull's printing-office. It was announced that the curtain would rise precisely at half-past six o'clock. This performance was repeated by special request for benevolent purposes.

In January, 1803, Messrs. Bromley and Arnold, assisted by a number of young gentlemen of the town, presented "The Gamester," and were well patronized. About this time Messrs. Delile & Co. entertained the citizens with philosophical experiments and empiric fireworks at the Courthouse. About this time, also, Mr. and Mrs. Gette, of Baltimore, exhibited at the house of John Reed, innkeeper, life-sized figures of Franklin, Bonaparte, Voltaire, the sovereigns of France and England, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Sleeping Beauty, the Old Bachelor, the Old Maid, etc. Price of admission twenty-five cents; children half price.

At the commencement, dancing-masters were well patronized by the citizens of Pittsburg. Scarcely an old copy of the *Gazette* can be picked up without finding the notice of some dancing-master. Mr. Blackmer conducted a dancing class at Reed's ballroom in 1802. About the same time Blondel D. St. Hilaire opened a dancing-school and advertised that he would teach the minuets, particularly the De la Cœur minuet, and every popular French and English dance, and that subscriptions to his class would be received at Scull's printing-office.

Mr. Cuming wrote in 1808 that there were here two dramatic societies—one of law students and one of respectable mechanics. Often the two societies united to produce something strong. The entertainments were given in the "great room" of the Courthouse, and owing to the contiguous jury rooms to serve as green or dressing rooms, excellent facilities were furnished to the actors. Mr. Dearborn was useful as a machinist, dresser, scene painter, shifter or actor, and was particularly good in the part of the garrulous Mrs. Bulgruddery in the play of "John Bull." William Wilkins excelled in genteel comedy; Mr. Johnston did justice to the part of an Irishman; Mr. Haslet made an excellent Yorkshire farmer or country squire; Mr. Linton in low comedy was the leader of Pittsburg, and Mr. Van Baun, it was declared, "would be an ornament to any established theater, either in the sock or buskin, he being equally excellent in Octavian as in Fribble." Men who essayed female parts made a lamentable failure. "On the whole, however, the dramatic societies exhibit in a very respectable manner a rational entertainment to the inhabitants of Pittsburg about once monthly during the winter." Even as early as 1808, according to Mr. Cuming, companies of actors from the Eastern cities came here to perform, and he speaks of there having been here a small theater, meaning, presumably, a hall, other than the Courthouse, in which theatrical entertainments were given.

In September, 1812, a Mr. Webster, who claimed to be a celebrated actor from Europe, and recently from Philadelphia, assisted by the citizens, performed a musical piece entitled "Variety, or the Songster's Jubilee," followed by "The Exile of Erin," at Mr. L. Peter's large room. The admission price was seventy-five and fifty cents. Previous to 1813 the Thespian Society, consisting of a number of young ladies and gentlemen of Pittsburg, was organized for the purpose of improvement in theatrical work. In February, 1813, they rendered "Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage," followed by a comic farce in two acts, entitled "Sprigs of Laurel, or the Rival Soldiers." At a later date they presented the play "She Stoops to Conquer." In May, 1813, Jerome and Clarke exhibited a museum of waxworks, representing prominent historical figures. In November, 1813, the Thespian Society entertained the public with "Venice

Preserved, or A Plot Discovered," "Liberty or Death," "Matrimony," etc. Among those who took prominent part were Messrs. Jones and Kennedy and Mesdames Turner, Toige and Cipriani. In September, 1813, the society presented "Ways and Means," "The Hunter of the Alps," "Merchant of Venice," "Pizarro, or the Death of Rolla," "Of Age To-morrow," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Highland Reel," "The Apprentice," "Lovers' Vows, or the Natural Son," "Love a la Mode" (written by Charles Macklin, Esq.), "Douglas, or the Noble Shepherd," "Raising the Wind, or How to Live Cheap," "The Man of Fortitude, or the Mysterious Castle," "Love Laughs at Locksmiths," etc. At this time the Thespian Society was conducted by a board of managers, and many of the brightest and most prominent residents, particularly from among the young people, took part in the performances. The theater was under the Masonic Hall on Wood Street. Messrs. Robertson and Williams were connected with the Thespian Society at that time.

In 1814 Messrs. Pepin, Brishard and Cayetano conducted a circus in Pittsburg, one of the first, if not the first, ever brought to the town. In 1816 Alexander Brackenridge was president of the Thespian Society of actors, and continued as such for several years. In May, 1819, the society played for the benefit of the Eagle Fire Company, and netted a considerable sum. In 1818 a "grand exhibition of living animals," consisting of a lion, ape, pelican, African crown bird, marmoset of Barbary and others, was exhibited on the Diamond.

In November, 1818, the young gentlemen of the Thespian Society, in the absence of professional actors from the East, presented the play entitled "Cure of the Heartache," followed by the farce "The Wag of Windsor," which was well received by the ladies and gentlemen of Pittsburg. It seems that the young ladies and gentlemen of the city at this time organized the Dramatic Benevolent Society, for the purpose of assisting the poor and unfortunate of this locality, and during the winter of 1818-19 they gave several entertainments to crowded houses, and raised a considerable sum of money for that purpose. In September, 1818, Vincent Dumilieu and Professor Herbert, from Paris, give exhibitions of "the magick art," among which were the feats of swallowing a sword twenty-two inches long, and of the silver needle. These entertainments were given before the Dramatic Benevolent Society, and consisted principally of legerdemain. In January, 1819, the Dramatic Benevolent Society presented "A Poor Gentleman," "The Boarding-House," "The Sleep Walker," etc.

In March, 1827, the "Fifth Street Museum," which had a short time previously been established, was under the management of Messrs. Smith and Rainey. It is not improbable that this museum was the one afterward conducted so successfully by James R. Lambdin. At any rate, in 1828, "Lambdin's Museum" was the most prominent spot in the city for amusement lovers to congregate. Mr. Lambdin, from time to time, collected many curiosities, and for many years his establishment enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity. Connected with his museum was a gallery of paintings, which he had managed to collect, and which represented the best American talent. He was himself an artist, and was ranked among the leaders of that day. In 1830, at his museum, was exhibited for the first time in Pittsburg an Egyptian mummy.

"It is proposed to build a theater at Pittsburg. A committee has been appointed to receive subscriptions" (b). In 1826 a subscription list was circulated for the purpose of securing means to buy a theater lot upon which a suitable building should be erected. James S. Stevenson headed the list with the largest subscription. He gave more than \$500. James S. Craft subscribed \$500; Alexander Johnston, \$200; Benjamin Darlington, \$200; Abishai Way & Co., \$200;

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(b) Niles Register, December 3, 1825.

James Correy, \$200; William McKnight, \$200. The property selected was on Fifth Street, and was owned by William McKnight. The subscribers appointed Mr. Stevenson as agent to secure the property on their behalf. This he did, taking the property in his own name, but, for some reason, he refused, in 1829, to convey the property to the subscribers. The controversy was finally settled in the courts. In January, 1832, George A. Cook, W. M. Carlisle, R. H. Douthett, C. F. Spang, M. B. Miltenberger, W. W. Fetterman, Cornelius Daragh, Samuel Fahnestock, Robert Riddle, Samuel Roseburg, Thomas S. Clarke and Robert Scheyer were elected directors of the Pittsburg Theater for the ensuing year. The new theater building on Fifth Street was ready for occupancy in September, 1833. A London artist was employed to prepare the stage scenery. The lease was given to Fras. C. Wemyss, who at once organized a stock company, and was prepared in September of that year to support any artist of note who would come here from the Eastern cities or from Europe. It was announced by the manager that among those who had been engaged for the season were Edwin Forrest, the great American tragedian; Mr. and Mrs. Hilson, Miss Clara Fisher, Mrs. Knight and Mr. J. R. Scott, all of whom had attained prominence in the Eastern cities.

"The Theatre.—General complaint is made that the manager of this affair treats his audiences with a great degree of contempt; that he takes their tips and levies without giving them bellowing to the amount agreed upon in return. It appears that the manager makes the Pittsburg Theatre the drill ground for the awkward squad, and as soon as the stage-struck boy is 'put to trap' and has learned when to speak low and when loud, when to roll up the eyes, and when to clasp the hands expressive of love, anguish, etc., he is packed up and directed to the Chestnut Street theatre, and a Johnny Raw is pressed to do duty in his stead. It would appear that this game has been going on for some time, and that our theatrical critics have only lately made this discovery. 'Our sufferings is intolerable!' the theatre-going folks might exclaim. We would advise the manager to close his doors and sell out. That is the only plan we see open for adoption by way of remedy" (c).

The erection of the new theater in 1833 was the signal for the appearance here of the most prominent actors of this country and of Europe. After that date, with the exception of occasional suspensions, theater-goers of Pittsburg were entertained as well as were those of the Eastern cities.

Mr. Wemyss continued in charge of the theater until April, 1841, when Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Porter assumed the management and endeavored to conduct it successfully, but after a short season were obliged to relinquish it. Mr. R. Smith, a native of Pittsburg, did their artistic painting.

Mr. W. Dinneford, who had previously managed one or more theaters in the Eastern cities, took control of the Pittsburg Theater, and in October, 1841, opened with a strong stock company. The opening play was the "Lady of Lyons," following which came "The Stranger," "London Assurance," "School for Scandal," "Much Ado About Nothing," and, in fact, the whole range of plays presented to the theater-goers of that day. Among the stock company were Mr. Logan and Mrs. Hunt. During the intermission the people were entertained with music by a competent orchestra. C. H. Eaton was a prominent tragedian connected with the stock company. "For several years theatricals in this city have been carelessly and badly conducted, and, as a matter of course, the drama was sinking in public estimation, and brought misfortune and ruin to the managers. The present effort promises great improvement and reformation" (d). "The London Assurance" was played on Saturday for the first time

(c) Times, November, 1838.

(d) Mercury and Democrat, October 27, 1841.





in a style which reflects the highest credit upon the manager and all his people. The piece was repeated to full audiences on Monday and Tuesday, and will be reproduced again to-night" (c). In November, 1841, after about two months of success here, Mr. Dinneford took his entire stock company to Cincinnati, where he presented the same plays that had so entertained the citizens of Pittsburgh.

It was during the thirties that Jim Crow Rice appeared in Pittsburgh for the first time. He carried everything before him like a storm. Ethiopian melody received such stimulation at his hands that it sprang into immense popularity, and the houses were not capable of holding the crowds that assembled to hear him. "How many are there who remember 'Griffith's Corner' and the celebrated row that Rice, with his fine improvising talent, reproduced next night on the stage, and out of the very brawl of which, 'the bloods of dis town' were the authors and himself the rogue and sharer, read to themselves a wholesome moral lecture, and, while he flattered their gallantry, made them ashamed of their rowdyism?" There is little doubt that the popularity given to Ethiopian melody by T. D. Rice had much to do in directing the early musical genius of Stephen C. Foster. The latter composed his first song soon after 1840, and issued his first great successes, "Uncle Ned," "Louisiana Belle" and "Oh, Susanna," about 1845. While his musical genius was extremely versatile, the demands of the times could not be disregarded, and he accordingly wrote many of his best Ethiopian melodies during the forties and fifties. The demand was greater than the supply, and at all times he was solicited to furnish new songs for the burnt-cork artists. Several Ethiopian companies were organized in Pittsburgh, composed either partly or wholly of home talent, and among their most popular songs were the melodies of Mr. Foster. The Sable Harmonists and the Ethiopian Melodists were two companies well remembered to this day by the old citizens. "Jim Crow Rice" first appeared here about 1832, when Mr. Foster was a boy, and when his musical genius was undergoing development. It was but natural that young Foster should keenly appreciate and enjoy the jokes, songs and delineation of the negro character by the popular Rice. It may be presumed that not only was the musical taste of Mr. Foster turned by Rice and others in the direction of Ethiopian melody, but that the wave for that sort of music which swept over the country carried him on its crest until he was forced to supply the demand. His first compositions were pastimes and naturally took the direction of the popular taste. The fact that he could break through the wave and write such songs as "Gentle Annie," "Old Dog Tray," "Ellen Bayne," etc., proved the versatility of his genius. Had classical music swept the country as Ethiopian melody did, his compositions would have taken that form. Sentimental songs were not unpopular, and thus it is found that several of his best compositions belong to that branch of music.

It was during the forties that Concert Hall and the Eagle saloon became popular resorts for the music-lovers of this vicinity. Foster, Kneass and other composers assembled at those places, where were heard from time to time the grandest voices and the sweetest music of that day. The performances consisted of concerts, at which a few noted singers from abroad would be assisted by local talent. In 1840 W. J. Davis, assisted by Mr. Henry Kleber, then a young musician of prominence, gave such a musical entertainment at Concert Hall. The principal instruments were the piano, violin and flute, but many popular songs were interspersed throughout the programme. In May, 1841, E. S. Connor and Mrs. Porter were the leading local artists. The decade of the forties saw a wonderful advancement in the character of theatrical performances in

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(c) Mercury and Democrat, December 1, 1841.

Pittsburg. The Ethiopian comedians sprang into a prominence little dreamed of a few years before. As early as 1845 the Nightingale Ethiopian Opera Company, composed almost wholly of home talent, gave entertainments at Masonic Hall, which was then the largest auditorium in the city. Here were sung the first popular songs composed by Stephen C. Foster and Nelson Kneass. So great became the furor for this class of entertainments that legitimate opera and drama were almost wholly neglected, and the managers of the old Pittsburg Theater for several years had a hard time of it. More than one newspaper of the time, in commenting upon the character of the theatrical entertainments, while acknowledging the superior merit of the Shakesperean tragedies and the popular comedies of that day, spoke enthusiastically of the performances given by the Ethiopian companies. This will show to what extent the craze for farce and light comedy was carried. On the other hand, the artists had been trained for the presentation particularly of the Shakesperean tragedies, and they continued to perform to empty houses.

In 1846 Mr. C. S. Porter and wife were still the managers of the Pittsburg Theater. The leading lady of his stock company at that time was Mrs. Lewis, and his principal male character was Mr. Silsbee. In April, 1846, John Oxley appeared as "Shylock" and other Shakesperean characters, and Mr. A. A. Adams appeared as "King Henry IV.," "Macbeth," etc. In May, 1846, the elder Booth appeared here in repertoire, among which were "King Lear," "Richard III.," etc. About the same time James E. Murdoch appeared as "Hamlet," "Claude Melnotte," etc. Mr. Murdoch was supported by Miss Porter, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Howard, Mr. Morris and Mr. Grierson. At this time Mr. Templeton was leader of the orchestra. Mr. A. A. Adams was a popular tragedian and presented on the Pittsburg boards the whole range of tragedies. His delineation of the character of Macbeth was considered faultless by the local critics of that day. It was further said that Mrs. Lewis represented the character of "Lady Macbeth" with extraordinary fidelity and force, and that Mr. Morris made a creditable "Macduff." Mr. J. S. Silsbee was one of the most popular comedians of the day in the estimation of the Pittsburg theater-goers. His characterization of "Sam Slick" was praised without limit. In 1846 appeared here for the first time Messrs. Owen Mestayer, W. M. Foster and Mrs. Rowe. They excelled in comedy. Among the strongest players of that period was Mr. Hackett, the greatest favorite of the people here, except Mr. Powers. His versatility made him successful in both tragedy and comedy. It was said that he was the most successful "Sir John Falstaff" ever in Pittsburg up to that time. The *Commercial Journal* said that his delineation of the character of "O'Callaghan," in the play of the "Last Legs," was superb. Mr. Murdoch's power and versatility were likewise fully appreciated. While playing "Hamlet" with a degree of intelligence and power rarely, if ever, seen here, he could, the next night, assume the leading character in a farce that would set the house in a continuous roar. During the winter of 1846-7 Mr. Davenport, assisted by Mrs. Mowatt, entertained the Pittsburg public. At this time Allegheny had no theater nor jail. In 1847 the famous "Mrs. Partington" gave an entertainment in Pittsburg. About this time the Swiss bellringers appeared here. The Sable Harmonists, in 1847, met with crowded houses. Previous to this Mr. C. S. Foster had leased the Pittsburg Theater, but his patronage was somewhat limited. In October, 1847, Mr. and Mrs. Newton gave him a benefit. About this time Mr. Youngson, of the *Dispatch*, was the agent of the Sable Harmonists. Among the leading artists here in 1847 were Messrs. John Dunn, Barney Williams, John Stickney, Neil Jameson, Oxley, Petrie, Salzman and Parsloe, and Miss Annie Malvina Porter.

In January, 1848, after continuous and strenuous efforts, William M. Foster

succeeded in opening for the first time the Pittsburg Atheneum. The first entertainment, which was rendered January 25, 1848, was "Damon and Pythias," with Mr. C. J. Smith in the leading role. Thus the second legitimate theater in Pittsburg was opened. C. J. Smith was manager and J. Duval treasurer. Mr. Smith was himself the principal actor, and was assisted by Mrs. Cantor, Mrs. Sanders and Mr. Archer. Their presentation of Maturius in the tragedy of "Bertram," followed by the farce "Dead Shot," met with immense success. No Irish comedian who visited Pittsburg in early years was more popular or met with larger patronage than Barney Williams. The newspaper critics could find no fault with his performances, except that the rooms were not large enough to seat all who assembled to hear him. Henry Placaide appeared here in comedy in 1848. At the Pittsburg Theater, in 1848, Charles D. Pitt essayed the character of "Othello," assisted by Mr. Oxley as "Iago" and Mrs. Porter as "Desdemona." It was in 1848 that Miss Matilda Herron began her stage career by rendering in Pittsburg the character of "Camille." The critics of that day bestowed upon her the highest praise, and predicted for her unqualified success, which the future abundantly realized. Mr. Oxley excelled in tragedy and Mr. John Dunn in comedy. Mr. Anderson, an English tragedian, presented "Othello" here in 1848, and was assisted by Mr. Oxley as "Iago." The *Commercial Journal*, in March, 1848, said that Mr. Oxley, in the presentation of the Shakespearean tragedies, and particularly in the character of "Iago," had but one equal on the American stage, and that was the elder Booth. The Model Artists appeared here in the spring of 1848, but their performances were denounced as indecent by the local press.

In 1848 the Eagle saloon and Apollo Hall continued to be famous for the song entertainments rendered therein. All the great singers of the day appeared there from time to time, and had much to do with strengthening the musical impulse enjoyed by Pittsburg during that melodious era.

In May, 1848, Edwin Forrest appeared here in repertoire. He was assisted by Mr. Oxley and Miss Porter. His rendition of the characters of "Virginius" and "Othello" were considered absolutely faultless. "Mr. Forrest, after playing the greatest engagement ever witnessed in the Pittsburg Theater, leaves to-night for the East" (f). About this time the only P. T. Barnum appeared here with his museum of curiosities. The celebrated actor Mr. Raymond appeared here in June, 1848, and delighted the public with his performances. In June 1848, Samuel Lover, the distinguished author, poet and actor, appeared here as a vocalist and story-teller, and met with an enthusiastic reception.

In July, 1848, Dan Rice & Co.'s famous "Metropolitan and Hipodramatic Circus" opened up here, and "his tent was crowded to suffocation." Late in 1848 the Ethiopians, composed entirely of Pittsburgers, rendered themselves exceedingly popular by the high character of their musical performances in Apollo Hall. In September, 1848, the Herron family appeared here in a varied entertainment of sketch acting and music. Van Amburg's Museum visited Pittsburg in 1848. Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Connor entertained theater-goers with repertoire in November, 1848. In the winter of 1848-9 Dan Marble surprised the local theater-goers with his wonderful versatility in the realistic drama "Home in the West," and in the farces "Angel of the Attic," "All the World's a Stage," etc. His rendition of the character "Shubael Rabbit" in Bradbury's drama "Home in the West" was said to have been without a parallel. In August, 1849, the Empire Minstrels gave in Pittsburg their thirty-ninth consecutive entertainment, and were still greeted with satisfactory houses. In the autumn of 1849 Miss Fanny Wallack, supported by Mr. Moorhouse, appeared here in

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(f) *Commercial Journal*, May 29, 1848.

"The Stranger," "As You Like It," "Romeo and Juliet," etc. In December, 1849, Junius Brutus Booth appeared as "Hamlet," "Richard III.," and a full repertoire. He was assisted by Mrs. Maclean. Edwin Booth was present for the first time in minor characters. During the winter of 1849-50 Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble gave readings from the Shakespearean plays, particularly from "Measure for Measure," "Much Ado About Nothing," "As You Like It," etc. In 1850 Michael McBride, a young lawyer of Pittsburg who had previously appeared upon the stage, resumed that vocation and thereafter, for several years, was seen on the local boards. In November, 1850, Charlotte Cushman appeared here in the plays "The Stranger," "Macbeth," "As You Like It," "Lady of Lyons," "Henry VIII.," "Guy Mannering," etc. She met with an immense reception, and many of the most prominent families invited her to their homes.

In 1850 the Pittsburg Theater, which had suffered seriously from time to time from lack of patronage and other causes, was leased by Joseph C. Foster, who put the building in excellent shape and opened with a strong company in September. He judged correctly that the languishment of interest in theatrical performances was due to a surfeit of tragedies. It was true that one tragedian after another, all of distinguished merit, had appeared here until people longed for something else. He therefore put his stock company at work upon all the new and popular comedies, and the success which followed his efforts proved the correctness of his judgment. His scenic pieces surpassed anything ever before seen in Pittsburg. To some extent his stage mountings and properties anticipated the spectacular displays of a later period. Almost from the start he met with an unprecedented success. His company was one of great strength, and after a season at Pittsburg he took them on the road, visiting Wheeling, Cincinnati and other cities. Charles Foster appeared as an actor in 1851. In that year the Alleghenians scored a great success here in a programme of songs, solos, duets, trios, quartettes, etc. They were well known in all parts of the United States, having visited every city of importance. The Ethiopian Warblers achieved a notable success at Wilkins' Hall in 1851. In April of this year Miss Jean M. Davenport made her first appearance here as "Pauline" in the "Lady of Lyons," and was assisted by Charles Foster in the character of "Claude Melnotte." She also presented "Much Ado About Nothing," "The Play of Love," "Evadne," "Charlotte Corday," etc. In April, 1851, Pittsburg was enabled to furnish a hall for any sort of an entertainment. The new Masonic Hall, by far the largest in the city, and just completed, comprised 10,138 square feet of flooring, the Atheneum 4,237 feet, Lafayette Hall 4,200 feet, Wilkins' Hall 3,420 feet, and the Pittsburg Theater about the same as the latter. In the spring of 1851, upon the appearance of Jenny Lind, the Masonic Hall was secured, owing to its size. Tickets were sold at auction and brought \$5 each. In the spring of 1851 the Arch Street Theater was opened by Mr. Oxley. In June, 1851, upon the appearance of Dan Rice's circus, it was stated by the newspapers that he was received at the river landing like a king or conqueror by the populace. Many exhibitions of legerdemain were presented here about this time, and on such occasions it was customary for the audience, at the close of the entertainment, to resolve themselves, so to speak, into a committee of the whole and pass resolutions expressive of their pleasure for the entertainment, and thanking the performer for his efforts. In 1851 the celebrated Fox sisters, of Rochester, New York, who were traveling throughout the country giving exhibitions of spirit rappings and other manifestations, appeared here in a series of entertainments.

In April, 1852, the celebrated young tragedian, J. B. Roberts, began a season of entertainments, presenting "Richard III.," "Hamlet," "Richelieu," etc. In March, 1854, the Siamese twins, Eng and Chang, were exhibited here.

It was in January, 1854, that, for the first time in Pittsburg, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was played to immense audiences. The crowds that gathered were phenomenal, but can be accounted for owing to the intense excitement which then prevailed throughout the country over the subject of slavery.

In 1855 the "Olympic Cricket Club" was organized with Charles W. Ricketson as president. The following autumn this club went to Cleveland, where a match game was played with the organization of that city. The Pittsburg club was defeated by foul means, it was claimed at the time, though this was probably not correct.

In January, 1855, Mr. Foster, lessee of "Old Drury," as the Pittsburg Theater was called, failed financially, but was assisted by friends, and soon reopened, apparently as strong as ever. He was greatly assisted by T. B. Johnston, an accomplished actor. In 1855 Miss Maggie Mitchell appeared here for the first time. Her performances were greatly praised. Mr. Buchanan, a tragedian, entertained the Pittsburgers about this time. One of the most popular pieces upon the local boards in early years, and one of which the public seemed never to tire, was "Old Heads and Young Hearts," by Dion Boucicault. It invariably met with an enthusiastic reception. Mr. Bailey played the leading role. In May, 1855, the Ravels Family, consisting of eight or ten members, appeared here in a variety performance. In March, 1856, Miss Adelina Patti appeared here for the first time, and was assisted by Aug. Gockel, E. Barilli and Paul Julien. Her performance was given in Masonic Hall. In 1857 Edwin Booth appeared here in leading roles, such as King Lear, Hamlet, Iago, etc. At this time he was about twenty-three years old. In 1857 John Drew, the famous Irish comedian, entertained the public. Prof. Thalberg's orchestra furnished the music for many of these entertainments. Thalberg himself was a composer principally of instrumental music, and was an expert pianist. Ole Bull visited Pittsburg occasionally, and invariably met with a warm and profitable reception. M. Strakosch, a well-known and popular musician, often appeared in Pittsburg during the forties and fifties. Mr. C. W. Coudock was a popular tragedian to the theater-going public during the fifties.

In 1857 a difficulty arose between Mr. Simpson, owner of the Pittsburg Theater, and J. C. Foster, lessee and manager. The result was that the latter projected a new theater, and within a few months had succeeded in securing subscriptions to the amount of \$14,000. In the meantime Mr. Foster rented Masonic Hall, fitted it up with suitable apparatus, and opened up therein with what was said to be at the time, with some humor, "a piece applicable to his own business condition." It was Douglas Jerrold's "Distraint for Rent." Mr. Foster was succeeded by Miss Kimberly, who assumed the lease and management of "Old Drury." Her first performance was "Hiawatha," ending with the farce "Nothing to Wear." It was about this time that Foster's Gaieties attained great prominence, not only here, but in other parts of the Union where they exhibited. Harry Langdon about this time gave successful and popular imitations of Forrest, Murdoch, Booth, Anderson, Wallack and others. Miss Kimberly was a successful public reader, having attained fame in that role before she undertook acting. Upon her first presentation here, in December, 1857, of the "Lady of Lyons," she appeared as "Pauline," and Mr. DuBois as "Claude." She was received with such enthusiasm by the audience that she could not proceed, it was declared, for ten minutes. She stated to the audience that she had come here but six weeks before in the character of a star and had no idea of taking charge of so prominent a theater as Old Drury, but, having been urged to do so by Colonel Simpson, she finally consented.

In 1858 Foster's New National Theater was finished and ready for occupancy. Among those who first appeared therein were Charlotte Cushman, Mr.



J. E. McDonald, Mr. Hackett as "Falstaff," James Bennet as "Iago" and others. Miss Cushman appeared for three nights, and the receipts were as follows: First night, \$247.50; second night, \$254.50; third night, \$428.25; total, \$930.25. Of this amount Miss Cushman was paid \$400; the orchestra was paid \$22; the city license amounted to \$20, and the remainder went to the manager and company. This new theater, which had a seating capacity of nearly 1,500, was built, it was stated, in six weeks. It occupied a room in the new Odd Fellows building. Later in 1859 the National Theater began to be called the Apollo. In 1860 there were two regular theaters and eight halls.

There are in the city twelve theaters and music halls and sixty-six other rooms in which societies and other bodies meet. The former are as follows: Alvin Theater, Sixth Street, with a seating capacity of 2,200; new Grand Opera House, Fifth Avenue, between Wood and Smithfield streets, seats 2,300; Hopkins' Duquesne Theater, Penn Avenue, near Sixth Street, seating capacity 2,112; Bijou Theater, Sixth Street, will accommodate 2,650; Avenue Theater, Fifth Avenue, between Wood and Smithfield streets, will comfortably seat 2,600; Harry Williams' Academy of Music, 812 Liberty Avenue, seating capacity 2,480; World's Eden Music, 11 Federal Street, Allegheny, will seat 1,800; Adams' East End Theater, Collins Street near Station Street, East End, seating capacity 1,320; old City Hall, Market Street between Fourth and Fifth avenues, will seat 3,000; Exposition Hall, Duquesne Way, near the Point, can be made to seat about 10,000; Carnegie Music Hall, Carnegie Library building, entrance to Schenley Park, Fifth Avenue, has a seating capacity of 2,000; Carnegie Music Hall, in the Allegheny Library building, seating capacity about 1,200.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

SOCIETIES—MASONS AND ODD FELLOWS—MECHANICAL SOCIETY—BLENNERHASSETT—  
 HUMANE SOCIETY—FRANKLIN SOCIETY—BENEVOLENT EFFORTS—PENITENTIARY—  
 YOUNG MEN'S SOCIETY—SNAG MARINES—ALLEGED EXPOSURES OF MASONRY AND  
 ODD FELLOWSHIP—HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY—NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY—RECENT  
 SECRET ORGANIZATIONS—THE METEORIC SHOWER OF 1833—ITS CAUSE—THE  
 PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY—THE LITERARY SOCIETIES—BALLOON ASCENSIONS—THE  
 LYCEUMS—EARLY LECTURES—THE PHILOLOGICAL INSTITUTE—VARIOUS RE-  
 FORMERS AND REFORM MOVEMENTS—WOMAN'S RIGHTS—THE CALIFORNIA  
 GOLD FEVER—INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES—FIRST HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
 —FIRST DAGUERRETYPE—CEMETERIES—HELP FOR THE POOR—ORPHAN  
 ASYLUM—A SKELETON—PROVIDENT SOCIETY—FREE SOUP—THE SHIP LAW-  
 RENCE—ALLEGHENY OBSERVATORY—THE MORGAN MEDAL—LORD  
 RENFREW—THE PARKING—LIBRARIES—MONUMENTS—TEMPERANCE—  
 LIQUOR LAWS—THE MOVEMENT OF 1830—ITS EXTRAORDINARY GROWTH  
 —TEMPERANCE CELEBRATIONS AND CONVENTIONS—TOTAL ABSTI-  
 NENCE—OPPOSITION OF THE LIQUOR ELEMENT—CRUSADE OF THE  
 BALTIMORE REFORMERS—ANOTHER ADVANCEMENT—LICENCES  
 AND LOCAL OPTION—OTHER TEMPERANCE ORGANIZATIONS—  
 JOHN B. GOUGH—SUNDAY SELLING—WOMAN'S CRUSADE—THE  
 MURPHY MOVEMENT—INSURANCE—FIRST FIRE COMPANIES—  
 FIRST INSURANCE COMPANIES—THE BUCKET BRIGADES—FIRES  
 —THE OLD ENGINE AND HOSE COMPANIES—FIREMEN'S PARADES  
 —TEST OF STEAM FIRE-ENGINES—THE GREAT FIRE OF 1845—  
 REORGANIZATION OF FIRE INSURANCE COMPANIES—REIGN OF  
 TERROR—FIREMEN PERMIT A FIRE TO RAGE—LATER INSU-  
 RANCE COMPANIES—OTHER FIRES—FIREMEN'S ASSOCIA-  
 TIONS—TEN STEAMBOATS BURNED—PAID FIRE DEPART-  
 MENT ORGANIZED—RECENT EVENTS AND STATISTICS.

The records of Royal Arch Lodge, No. 3, of Philadelphia, show that John Hudess was "duly and lawfully entered, passed and raised at Fort Pitt in 1759 by our brethren John Mains (soldier), James Woodward (captain) and Richard Hadley, all Royal Arch Masons." This action was no doubt taken by the officers and soldiers who were then stationed here to hold the place and to build Fort Pitt. It is not improbable that others were initiated between that time and the date of organization of the first Masonic lodge in Pittsburg in 1785. The first was organized on December 24th of that year and was numbered 45. Soon after the Whisky Insurrection, Lodge No. 113 was instituted. During the War of 1812 Lodge No. 145 was established, and a few years later Lodges No. 165 and No. 173 were organized. Among the early Masons were Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, Isaac Craig, Thomas Collins, William Hamilton, William Parke, James Johnston, William McCandless, William Steele, James W. Riddle, Walter Forward, Solomon Brown, Alexander Pentland, W. W. Fetterman, Nathaniel Fetterman, Magnus M. Murray, William Porter, Anthony Beelen, Henry Baldwin, Samuel Pettigrew, Shepley R. Holmes, Robert B. Mowry, James S. Stevenson, Charles Shaler, Patrick McKenna, George Miltenberger, Samuel Jones, Francis G. Bailey and John Birmingham. The beautiful Masonic Hall, built in 1856-7, was burned in 1887.

In June, 1829, Mechanics' Lodge No. 9, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was instituted in Pittsburg by Thomas Small, P. G. M. It steadily grew in numbers, and soon others were established. All secret societies suffered during the Anti-Masonic craze, but at no time were they in danger of total extinction.

As early as March, 1788, the following notice appeared in the *Pittsburg Gazette*: "Society was the primeval desire of our first and grand ancestor, Adam. The same order for that blessing seems to inhabit more or less the whole race. To encourage this, it seems to be the earnest wish of a few of the mechanics in Pittsburg to have a general meeting on Monday, the 24th inst., at 6 o'clock p. m., at the house of Mr. Andrew Watson, tavern-keeper, to settle on a plan for a well-regulated society, and for that purpose this public method is taken to invite the reputable tradesmen of this place to be punctual to the appointment." The meeting was held and an organization was effected, but the details cannot be given. This Society of the Mechanics was for many years the principal organization which drew together the working people for their mutual improvement. Masonic Lodge No. 45 was the earliest social organization of Pittsburg. It soon had a large membership, composed of many of the principal citizens of this vicinity. Meetings of the Mechanical Society were held at the house of John Gibson, Adamson Tannehill, Mason Smith and elsewhere. Dr. Andrew Richardson was one of the leading Masons of the borough. His oration delivered on St. John's Day, in 1799, was published in full in the *Gazette*, and was considered a masterly production. At this time William Wusthoff was secretary of the lodge. The Order of Cincinnati had a number of representatives here, who participated in the obsequies of General Washington in 1799. In September, 1799, the Masons buried, according to the rites of their lodge, Lieutenant David Thompson, a member of the order, who died at Fort Fayette. In 1799 Robert J. Clow was secretary of the Mechanical Society. The following notice appeared in the *Gazette* and the *Tree of Liberty* in November, 1801: "*Resolved, unanimously*, That the brethren of Lodge No. 45 will dine together at Brother Beebe's, in the borough of Pittsburg, on St. John's Day, 27th of December next; that the brethren of the vicinity are requested to join, and that notice thereof be given in the Pittsburg papers. T. Bates, secretary."

In the evening of January 7, 1801, Pittsburg was startled by the explosion of a large meteor in the southeast, which lighted up the whole heavens, and was followed by a rumble like an earthquake. It was noticed throughout the southwestern part of the State. Herman Blennerhassett, who was concerned in Burr's conspiracy, was a distinguished counselor in Dublin. He landed in Philadelphia in the summer or fall of 1796, and came to Pittsburg soon after his arrival there, accompanied by his wife, an accomplished lady, and resided here all of the succeeding winter, occupying the house of Dr. Bedford on Liberty Street (a).

In 1802 St. Patrick's Day was celebrated by the Irishmen of the vicinity at the house of William Irwin. Many were present, and an elegant supper was spread for the enjoyment of those who had assembled. Sixteen toasts were drunk. In 1803 Zadoc Cramer was president of the Mechanical Society. In 1802 the Hibernian Society was organized and a constitution adopted. In 1804 William Eichbaum was secretary of the Mechanical Society. Attached to the Mechanical Society in 1808 was a circulating library, a cabinet of curiosities and a chemical laboratory. In 1813 the Masons occupied a comfortable hall on Wood Street. Connected with Lodge No. 45 at this time were George Robinson, John Gorman, Henry Bayard and Robert Graham. In June, 1813, Lodges No. 45 and 113 united in a celebration of the festival of St. John. At this time

(a) *Gazette*, October 30, 1838.

Dennis S. Scully was secretary of Lodge No. 45, and William Steele of Lodge No. 113.

In the summer of 1813 the first humane society organized in Pittsburg was established, and committees were appointed as follows: For Monongahela Ward, W. Mason, John Johnston, R. Patterson, John Semple, William Woods and Rev. J. Taylor; for Point Ward, Thomas Perkins, George Boggs, Rev. Francis Herron, James Lea, Reese Fleeson and John Scull; for Grant Ward, Rev. Thomas Hunt, John Hannen, Edward Gowdy, J. B. Clow, Rev. R. Bruce and J. Roseburg; for Allegheny Ward, W. Hays, P. Anderson, J. Irwin, Nathaniel Irish, J. Brown and M. Evans. Thomas Hunt was secretary of the ward committees. Meetings of the society were held at the Pittsburg Academy. Contributions were called for by the society. "Its general object is to search out and judiciously to extend relief to the sons and daughters of adversity." John M. Snowden was first secretary of the society. The Humane Society was one of the most prominent and useful of the early social and benevolent organizations of Pittsburg. Its membership was composed of the best citizens of the city, and the churches particularly rendered the organization great assistance. Constant collections were taken up for its benefit during all seasons of the year. In 1817 Rev. Joseph Stockton was president and John Hodge secretary.

In 1814 the Pittsburg Franklin Society was organized for the encouragement of patriotism, and its first celebration was held on July 4th of that year, on which occasion many loyal toasts were drunk. During the winter of 1813-14 the Pittsburg Chemical and Physiological Society was organized. In March, 1814, a special lecture on nitrous oxide, or exhilarating gas, was delivered at A. M. Bolton's Academy for the purpose of raising funds to aid the society. In 1815 the following were the officers of Encampment No. 2 Knights Templar, of Pittsburg: Francis G. Bailey, G. M.; Andrew Scott, G.; William Porter, C. G.; George Steward, S. B.; Henry Bailey, H.; Robert Henderson, C.; Jesse Hamilton, R.; George Miltenberger, Tr.; Colonel McAllister, S. B., and Phillip Connor, O. G. In 1818 the Adelphi Society, which will be found described elsewhere, began to attract attention by its usefulness. Another of the early organizations was the Erin Benevolent Society, which was established previous to 1818. In that year Alexander McClurg was secretary. In January, 1819, R. I. Dunn advertised that he kept for sale the most elegant Masonic aprons ever brought to Pittsburg. "There is little time devoted to amusements or to the cultivation of refined social pleasures. . . . Luxury, pomp and parade are seldom seen. There are, perhaps, not more than one or two carriages in the place" (b). In 1819, "in consequence of the distresses existing among numbers of aged and infirm widows in this city," a society of ladies was formed, called the Female Benevolent Society, for the purpose of alleviating their sufferings and contributing to their relief. This society began to solicit donations for that purpose, and numbered among its active workers the leading ladies of the city, among whom were Mesdames Page, Scull, McKnight, Manson, Irish, McClurg, Wickersham and Davis, and Misses Doane, E. Bakewell, R. Brock, M. Herron, M. Evans, C. Cowles and A. Scull.

In March, 1818, the State Penitentiary was projected here. The State appropriated \$60,000 for its construction, and commissioners were appointed to select a site of not less than ten acres for its location. The amount was to be paid by installments as the work progressed. By November 30, 1818, there had been spent on the building \$31,300. The height of the wall was twenty-five feet, and the two towers were thirty-five feet in height. The site chosen by the commissioners was on the public common in Allegheny. From time to time addi-

(b) Navigator, 1817.

tional improvements were made by special acts of the Legislature; in fact, the penitentiary may be said to have been in process of construction from 1818 to 1833. Many changes were made in the original plan, which necessitated additional appropriations, but in the end the institution became satisfactory to the State commissioners, and was accepted. The plan of the institution was that each prisoner should have a solitary cell, and this plan was kept in view from the commencement. From time to time the commissioners in charge of the work were changed and new ones appointed.

On May 3, 1828, when the cornerstone was laid for Washington Lock No. 1, of the Pennsylvania Canal, Masonic lodges Nos. 45, 113, 165 and 173 took part in the ceremonies. Another early organization was the Caledonian Society, of which, in 1828, Andrew Watson was president. The old Mechanic Society seems to have expired, for in 1830 another of the same name was organized with a list of 180 members, of which Rev. Robert Bruce was president and Thomas Bakewell secretary. Its objects were to promote the useful arts and sciences, the improvement of its members in practical knowledge, and the advancement of popular education. The committee to prepare a constitution were Thomas Bakewell, John Danforth, Robert Peters, Jr., Orin Newton and Frederick A. Bemis. The society regularly gave full courses of lectures on educational and scientific subjects during the winter months. In 1830 a society called the Snag Marines, consisting of the captains and other officers of the steamboats, was organized. On the 4th of July, 1830, they gave a celebration, and devoted the collections to the benefit of the heirs of Robert Fulton. In January, 1832, one of their entertainments netted \$63, which amount was turned over to the Female Benevolent Society. In January, 1833, a typographical society was organized with Porter Sawyer chairman and M. M. Grant secretary. One of the most important of the early social organizations was a society of young men, established in 1833, which had for its object improvement in education and morals, and was much similar in all respects to the Young Men's Christian Association of to-day. From the commencement this society waged a relentless warfare upon the theater, which at that time was gaining a strong foothold upon the amusement-loving public of Pittsburg. The organ of this society was *The Friend*, in which, from time to time, appeared caustic articles denouncing the theater as a social and moral disorganizer. It was about this time, also, that there was organized here the Pittsburg Internal Improvement Society, the object of which was revealed by its name.

The murder of John Morgan in September, 1826, was made the cause, among other things, for extensive opposition to the Masonic organization, and lead to the formation of the Anti-Masonic party. The latter soon had a strong following here, and severe pressure was brought to bear upon prominent men who aspired to political preferment, by reason of their connection with that organization. In September, 1834, a large meeting was held in Pittsburg, on which occasion a memorial and resolutions were adopted addressed to the Masonic order, urging a dissolution of their lodges and chapters, a sale of their property, and their utter dispersion in the interests of peace and harmony; but the lodges refused to take such action, and, in fact, paid little or no attention to the demand, not even ceasing to hold their regular meetings. Much excitement and bitterness over this question were exhibited in this community.

One of the early organizations was a Horticultural Society, which gave public exhibitions of products, with occasional intermissions, beginning during the decade of the twenties. Benjamin Bakewell, in 1834, was president and George Ogden treasurer. Their exhibition of June, 1835, was given in Musical Fund Hall, on Penn Street, near St. Clair, on which occasion premiums were given for the best displays of vegetables, fruits, flowers, etc.



In 1836 James Alford issued a small work purporting to be an exposure of Odd Fellowship, for which act he was severely persecuted and denounced by his former friends of that order. In 1836 the *Statesman* accused A. W. Foster, Jr., of being an informer on the organization of Odd Fellows, whereupon the latter brought suit on three different charges against the editor, Mr. Butler. The secret societies were quiet until after the Anti-Masonic party had begun to wane at the beginning of the decade of the forties. Such organizations then began to grow rapidly, and within six or eight years could marshal their membership by the thousands. A Masonic parade, which took place in June, 1846, was an imposing affair, there being in line, it was estimated, nearly 800 men. The Odd Fellows' organization had also increased greatly in membership. In September, 1846, at one of their celebrations there were nearly 300 men in line. During the forties there was organized here the New England Society, composed of persons born in that section of the United States, and in 1847 Walter Forward, a native of Connecticut, was president. In December, 1847, they celebrated the birthday of New England. In October, 1851, the Masons celebrated the completion of their new Masonic Hall, on which occasion the largest procession ever conducted by secret societies up to that time passed through the public streets. A few years later the Odd Fellows' Hall was likewise dedicated with a large procession. In June, 1852, the number of Odd Fellows' lodges in Allegheny County was twenty-six; the number of contributing members, 2,444; number of widowed families relieved in six months, 23; brothers relieved, 240; past grands in good standing, 196; revenue for six months, \$811.53; paid for relief of brothers, \$2,576.32; paid for the relief of widowed families, \$369.75; total relief, \$3,602.53. In 1865 the Odd Fellows had 28 lodges in Pittsburg and environs. In 1870 they had 39 lodges and 10 encampments; in 1880 they had 57 lodges and 15 encampments; in 1890, 45 lodges and 8 encampments; and in 1895, 52 lodges and 12 encampments. In 1865 the Masons had 11 blue lodges, 2 chapters, one council and one commandery. In 1870 they had a total of 21 lodges, chapters, etc.; in 1875, 36; in 1880, 41; in 1890, 46; and in 1895, 47. In 1870 the Order of Red Men had 4 tribes in Pittsburg and vicinity. In 1880 they had 12 tribes; in 1890, 10 tribes; and in 1895, 12 tribes. In 1870 the Grand Army of the Republic had 6 posts in this vicinity; in 1880, 10 posts; in 1890, 28 posts; in 1895, 29 posts. In 1875 the Knights of Pythias had 37 lodges; in 1885, 31 lodges; and in 1895, the same number. The Junior Order of United Mechanics had 27 councils in 1885, 57 councils in 1890, and 67 councils in 1895.

In the two cities are forty-one different secret and benevolent societies, having a total of 740 lodges, as follows: Masonic (including Knights Templar, Scottish Rite, etc.), 48 lodges; K. A. E. O., 6 senates; Knights of Malta, 4 commanderies; Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 47 lodges; Rebekah lodges, 11; encampments, 14; cantons of the Patriarchs Militant, 3; National Union, 7 councils; Ancient Order of United Workmen, 33 lodges; Royal Arcanum, 20 councils; Improved Order of Heptasophs, 30 conclaves; Beneficial and Protective Order of Elks, 2 lodges; Knights of the Golden Eagle, 14 castles; Order of the Golden Chain, 5 lodges; Knights of Honor of Pennsylvania, 13 lodges; Good Templars, 9 lodges; Junior Order United American Mechanics, 62 lodges; commanderies of the United American Mechanics, 2; American Protestant Association, 16 lodges; Knights of Pythias, 25; D. O. K. K., 1 lodge; Uniform rank, Knights of Pythias, 6 companies; Grand Army of the Republic, 17 posts; Union Veteran Legion, 2 encampments; Sons of Veterans, 8 posts; Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, 18 circles; Knights and Ladies of Honor, 24 lodges; Order United Friends, 15 councils; Subordinate Councils Daughters of Liberty, 24; Protected Home Circle, 16 circles; Ladies of the Union Veteran Legion, 2 encampments; Improved Order of Red Men, 9 tribes; Knights of the Mystic Chain, 35 assem-

blies; German Beneficial Union, 28 districts; Fraternal Legion, 13 branches; Knights of the Maccabees, 2 lodges; Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, 39 branches; Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association, 30 branches; Order of the World, 11 lodges; Sovereigns of Industry, 31 councils; North American Sængerbund, 39 societies.

The following description of the great meteoric shower of November, 1833, was written by a resident and published in the *Gazette*: "I awoke about 4 o'clock. Upon going into the open air I was struck with the appearance of the heavens, every part of which seemed to be filled with meteors. I supposed the phenomena were but momentary. To my surprise, the longer I continued to gaze the more luminous they appeared. I remarked that they all came from one common center and were propelled in every conceivable direction. It is difficult to give a conception of their appearance. If a thousand rockets can be conceived to have started from the same point at the same instant, scattering blazing stars and fiery serpents in every direction, it may perhaps give some idea of this singular phenomenon. At times it was indeed a shower of fire. The meteors seemed to fall to the earth in all directions. Several appeared to light on an engine factory in my immediate neighborhood, and many were not extinguished until they had passed into the yard in the rear of the building. Having the Coal Hill in front I could distinctly perceive thousands of these strange fires falling at one time between me and the hill, and apparently plunge into the river. To my view this was so extraordinary that I roused my family from their slumbers to partake of my enjoyment and interest. So long as I continued out these appearances were unabated; this was upward of an hour. I observed, too, after the dawn of day, that the meteors were still passing through the atmosphere, although the light of the morning had dimmed their luster. The sky was uncommonly clear. What struck me as somewhat singular in this phenomenon was that the meteors all radiated from a common center and did not seem affected by the course of the wind."

In the *Gazette* of November 16, 1833, Mr. Craig said: "We have received and will publish in our next a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of Wednesday." The explanation was as follows: "Our atmosphere was, on Tuesday, very dark and comparatively moist. We had Indian summer; but it was not that dry air which is filled with particles of smoke only—the cause of our usual Indian summer—the smoke was moistened by an abundance of vapor in the lower regions of the atmosphere. The weather for four days had been uncommonly warm for the season of the year, and owing to the heat and the universally distributed moisture, a rapid decomposition of the leaves of vegetables took place. The preceding evening was warm, and from 3 to 4 o'clock in the morning of Wednesday a rapid decrease of temperature took place, and the moisture in the air was cooled down below the freezing point. This change of temperature was accompanied with a sudden excitement and liberation of the electrical fluid, a thing that in such rapid changes from heat to cold always takes place. In ordinary circumstances the electrical discharges take place without being perceived; but after a warm day in the autumn every cold evening exhibits more or less of these meteors, which shoot along the heavens like stars falling from the firmament. The moisture that was in our atmosphere, and distinguished this season our Indian summer, detained the gases which rose from the decaying vegetables by absorbing both the hydrogen and phosphorus, the only gases which ascend into the atmosphere from decaying vegetables. Sometimes these appear in will o' the wisp, and at other times they ascend to a great elevation, where they are set on fire by the electricity in the higher regions of the atmosphere. They, on Wednesday, were low, and when the water in the air congealed by the cold, they were left dry, and the radiations of the electrical fluid set them on fire;

and they burned in the strata as they were separated and showed the innumerable squibs and rockets which were so beautiful and so harmless."

In December, 1827, the Pittsburg Philosophical and Philological Society was organized, but was not put in good working condition until February, 1828. Its objects were the dissemination of scientific knowledge. Rev. Robert Bruce, D. D., was the animating spirit of the organization, being its first president. For many years, with occasional intervals, this society was the leading literary factor in Western Pennsylvania. All the prominent citizens, divines, professors, lawyers, doctors and students of special subjects took part in its performances and assisted in maintaining its usefulness. To show the character of its work, the following is given as its order of business during the winter of 1828-9: Lecture on astronomy, Rev. John Taylor; on architecture and civil engineering, Professor John Behan; on anatomy and philosophy, Dr. J. P. Gazzam; on geography, natural philosophy and mechanics, Rev. Robert Bruce; on moral philosophy, Rev. John H. Hopkins; on geology, mineralogy and zoölogy, Professor Robert Peters, Jr.; on mathematics, Rev. Joseph Stockton; on botany, Magnus M. Murray; on chemistry, Dr. Troost, and on the learned languages, Rev. John Black. Weekly debates were held by the society, on which occasions the most celebrated speakers of Pittsburg displayed their oratory, skill and learning. During the winter of 1832-3, on one occasion the question "Was Brutus justified in taking the life of Cæsar?" was discussed. On the affirmative were Messrs. Harper, Hanna, Robinson, Liggett, Riddle, Holbrook, William McCandless, Guthrie, Judson and Birmingham; and on the negative were Miltenberger, Wilson McCandless, Lea, Lislér, Stewart, Daley, Douthett, Forward and Brown. At this time Thomas M. Howe was the presiding officer. The literary societies of the University contributed much to the intellectual advancement and pleasure of this community. The Tilghman Literary Society was organized in 1822, and later came the Wirt, Philomathean and Marshall literary institutes. In 1838 Rev. Dr. William Elder, a man of great learning and force of character, was invited to deliver a course of lectures to the people of Pittsburg on mental and moral philosophy. Mr. Elder accepted the invitation, which was signed by the following gentlemen: R. C. Beatty, William Lecher, James M. Crane, John McMasters, C. L. Magee, Thomas Mellon, H. Parry, W. Thorn, F. B. McConnell, T. J. Bigham, J. C. McFarland and Josiah Copley.

It was advertised in 1835 that a balloon ascension would take place July 4th at Penn and Wayne streets, and the proceeds from the sale of seats thereto be devoted to the building of a flying machine. On September 12, 1837, Professor Richard Clayton made from Pittsburg his fourteenth ascension in his balloon, and landed within four miles of Brownsville.

In 1836 N. R. Smith, who had first introduced into Pittsburg as early as 1826 the monitorial system of education, instituted here a system of lyceums, branches of the Pennsylvania Lyceum, the objects of which were advancement in declamation, popular oratory, extemporaneous and forensic debates, moot courts, literary criticism and lectures on literary and scientific subjects. It was designed that there should be connected with the museums a cabinet of curiosities, of which Mr. Smith, as a member of the State Lyceum, should be curator. There were organized here through this influence a Young Ladies' School Lyceum, a Young Merchants' Lyceum, a Children's Lyceum and a County Lyceum, all of which were managed by a board of controllers. The charges were \$5 per quarter. After a year or two, the novelty having worn off, the system fell into decadence.

The books of the old Wirt Institute were burned in the great fire of 1845, as were also many valuable newspaper files belonging to the Board of Trade.

The Philological Institute seems to have almost died out early in the forties,

but was revived in 1846, at which time it was referred to as a time-honored institution. One of the questions discussed in 1846 was, "*Resolved*, That the universal and practical recognition of the equal rights of man would of itself secure the progress of the race in religion and virtue." The leaders in this debate were John A. Willis on the affirmative and William H. Williams on the negative. Dr. Edward D. Gazzam was the orator at the anniversary of the Institute in 1846.

Thus early in the history of Pittsburg the literary taste was cultivated. At first local lecturers occupied the rostrum, but at a later day all the celebrated orators of the United States, besides many from Europe, were secured by the societies, or other organizations, to interest and instruct the citizens of Pittsburg on the great questions of the day. Early in the forties Mrs. Abbie Kelly Foster and her husband, Stephen S. Foster, lectured here for several nights in succession on anti-slavery, anti-church and anti-state subjects. Temperance Hall could not hold the crowd which gathered to hear them. The citizens of this community were much interested at that time on the subject of slavery, temperance, anti-Catholicism, Fourierism, and other reform movements that were sweeping over the country. In January, 1846, while Mrs. Foster was speaking one evening, Joseph Barker, who was himself a reformer, endeavored to interrupt her and addressed her audience, but was prevented by those who had assembled from continuing. So great was the crush on this occasion that windows in old Temperance Hall were broken, and many people were bruised. Speaking of these lectures, the *Gazette* of January 14, 1846, said: "No good that we can see can come of these meetings. At any rate, men will hardly be made better or wiser by listening to abuse of every institution they hold valuable in government and Christianity." Previous to this, Mrs. Frances Wright Darusmont lectured here on the subject of "Knowledge." This lecture was ridiculed and denounced without limit by the *New York American*, *New York Commercial Advertiser*, and many other Eastern journals. The lady was a native of England, and a coëditor of the *New Harmony Gazette*, and was a public speaker of rare eloquence and power. Probably the principal objection to her was the opposition which the masses of mankind then entertained toward the appearance of a woman on the lecture platform. She met with no serious opposition here, but in other cities was often bombarded with stale eggs and other offensive missiles and epithets.

From this time forward all the leading lecturers of the United States appeared in Pittsburg. Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association in the forties on the subject of "Worship." He was opposed by many here then and afterward, because it was thought he leaned too much toward infidelity. It was even asserted in the local newspapers and elsewhere that he was a pantheist. Beecher, Fred Douglas, Garrison and others were here at different times. Miss Lucy Stone lectured here on the subject of "The Social and Industrial Disabilities of Woman." She was well spoken of by the newspapers, one of which previously surmised in a humorous vein that she would probably appear in top boots and a surtout. She was greeted by an immense crowd and good order. "The Bloomer Costume.—Two or three women in this city appear every day in the streets dressed in the bloomer costume. Whether they or their dresses are ugly, we know not, but they certainly do not appear to much advantage; nevertheless they are generally followed by a score or two of admiring youngsters" (c). John G. Saxe entertained the public here in the forties and fifties. Wendell Phillips, one of the greatest orators America has yet produced, lectured here in the fifties on the subject

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(c) *Gazette*, July 26, 1851.



of "The Philosophy of the Reformation of Slavery." George W. Curtis, "the talented satirist of fashionable snobism," and author of the Potiphar papers, who, as Nathaniel Willis had said, "bewitched the fashionable world of New York by abusing it," lectured here early in the fifties on "Gold and Guilt in Young America." The Christian newspapers continued to denounce the theaters and all reforms similar to Fourierism. The *Christian Advocate* spoke of the latterism as a system of infidel development, but the secular press combated this position. At this time there were many persons here who believed in Fourierism and in the reforms advocated by Robert Dale Owen. In 1848 the Fourierites effected an organization in Pittsburg, and held meetings at the residences of the members, where the principles of their faith were discussed. Horace Greeley lectured here several times in the forties and fifties on the subject of reforms and reformers. One of the lectures of Wendell Phillips was entitled "Lost Arts." Bayard Taylor entertained the Pittsburg public with lectures on the subject of his travels and observations. Mrs. Swisshelm was a favorite lecturer as well as writer, owing to the freshness and vigor with which she disclosed the hypocrisy and shams of the day.

Early in 1849 the California gold fever took absolute possession of this community. Even as early as February residents of the county began to leave in considerable numbers singly and in small squads for the new Eldorado. Late in February a large company was formed here for the purpose of crossing the plains in a body and conducting mining operations in a concerted manner after California had been reached. On March 15th the company of about 250 men, under the command of Captain Ankrin, left on the steamer *Consignee* for the California gold fields. Previous to their departure they were presented with flags and listened to an address of good advice from Colonel S. W. Black, who dwelt upon the necessity of military discipline and united action. It was said by the newspapers at the time that as many persons assembled to see this company depart as had gathered a few years before to see the volunteers leave for Mexico. The history of this company is extremely interesting and would fill a small volume. A reorganization of the company has been effected in recent years and is still maintained. Companies continued to leave as late as 1852.

In 1838 the Pittsburg Institute of Arts and Sciences was incorporated by the Legislature. An organization has been effected several years previously, and the objects of the organization were the promotion and encouragement of manufactures and the mechanical and useful arts by the establishment of popular lectures. In 1842 the Catholic Institute, devoted to the improvement of literary taste, was established here. In after years many prominent lecturers appeared under the auspices of this institute.

In 1848 the Scientific Association of Western Pennsylvania was organized in the hall of the Western Pennsylvania University, and the following officers were elected: Professor Lemuel Stephens, president; W. W. Wilson, recording secretary; John Harper, treasurer; Thomas Hind, librarian; G. W. Fahnestock, curator. Another early organization was the Pittsburg Gymnasium, which was established early in the decade of the thirties with Professor S. Barrett in charge. This organization, after a few years, suffered a lapse, but was revived in the fifties and incorporated. Its principal object was to afford gymnastic exercises for young men.

On February 27, 1834, the first historical society established in Pittsburg was organized, and the following officers elected: Benjamin Bakewell, president; W. W. Fetterman, vice-president; John Harper, treasurer; Wilson McCandless, secretary; Charles H. Kay, librarian. The society continued in existence for eight or ten years and accumulated a library of several hundred volumes, but finally seems to have become extinct. Early in the forties it was revived by



Rev. George Upfold and others (d). After a few years it again expired. The Polytechnic Association of Pittsburg was organized in the fifties, and in 1857 was conducted by the following officers: William Owens, president; A. W. Gazzam, vice-president; J. D. McFadden, secretary; F. Van Gorder, treasurer. In May, 1840, Dr. George D. Bruce exhibited here probably the first daguerreotype ever seen in Pittsburg. In 1847 a special relief committee, appointed by the citizens, collected for the suffering Irish a grand total in money and supplies of \$40,487.22.

The Allegheny Cemetery was incorporated by the act of April 24, 1844. By January, 1849, it comprised about eighteen acres laid out in lots, of which 630 had been sold. The first burial, that of a daughter of George A. Bayard and wife of James A. Briggs, took place September 4, 1845. By October, 1848, 505 burials had occurred. The product of lot sales by October, 1848, amounted to \$50,896.33. George A. Bayard, of whom the land had been purchased, had been paid \$22,503.67. At this time the cemetery consisted of about 100 acres, of which sixteen had been sold, yielding \$51,000.

Uniondale Cemetery was incorporated in 1846 and now comprises about 110 acres. The total number of interments is about 37,000. Homewood Cemetery was incorporated in 1878 and embraces about 176 acres. Previous to 1897 there were over 7,000 interments therein. Calvary Cemetery consists of 104 acres and was incorporated in 1886. The number of interments previous to 1897 was over 3,000. St. Mary's Cemetery consists of about thirty-two acres, and Millersville Cemetery of about ten acres. There are a few others.

Pittsburg almost from the start took public action for the care of its poor and helpless. Laws were passed providing for the raising of funds to be devoted to that purpose. From time to time buildings were created by the towns, boroughs and county, and improvements were made as the population increased. Special efforts were made in 1818, owing to the fact that many emigrants bound for the West became stranded here and were unable to proceed. It was about this time that Pittsburg built its first poorhouse. There was much complaint over the expense. The *Gazette* stated that in 1818 Pittsburg spent at least \$3,000 for the care of the poor. It was stated in 1822 that the poorhouse, which stood about half a mile northwest of Allegheny, was the best institution of the kind west of the mountains. The inmates were clean, the house well regulated, and could comfortably accommodate about thirty persons, although the inmates at that time were but fifteen. Overseers of the poor managed the institution. In 1827 Charles Craig was superintendent and Mrs. Anne Mason matron. For the year ending March 31, 1827, the care of the poor cost Pittsburg \$1,915.78.

In April, 1832, a number of ladies of Pittsburg and Allegheny assembled at the house of Rev. Joseph Stockton to consider the expediency of forming an asylum for orphans in this vicinity. Mrs. Page presided. Little was done on this occasion, and a second meeting was called for the third Tuesday in April, on which occasion Mesdames Page, Bruce, Wade, Tiernan, Robinson, Denny and Halsey were appointed a committee of arrangements. On this occasion William Robinson, Jr., presided, and Ross Wilkins served as secretary. A constitution which had been drafted was read and approved by the meeting. A committee was appointed to memorialize the Legislature for a charter, and another was appointed to solicit contributions to aid the undertaking. Mrs. Denny was appointed first directress, Mrs. Page second directress, Mrs. Halsey secretary, and Mrs. Robinson treasurer. The managers were Mesdames Bruce, Wade, Sellers, Wilkins, Higbee, Lothrop, Tiernan, George, and Misses Mary Page, Mary Herron, Cowan and Baird. Thus was established an institution

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(d) Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. IV, p. 122.





which survives at the present day, and has done an amount of good which cannot be calculated in words and figures. The name adopted was the Orphan Society of Pittsburg and Allegheny, and the act of incorporation was approved March 20, 1834. In 1833 the ladies of the asylum gave a public fair, which realized, it was stated, the sum of \$1,800. In 1834 another fair brought \$437.60. In 1838 there were thirty inmates, and at this time the building for the asylum was nearly completed, at a total cost of \$7,040, exclusive of \$400 which, it is estimated, would be necessary for the construction of fencing, stabling, etc. The indebtedness at this time amounted to only \$1,436. The State had previously donated \$10,000 to the institution, to be paid in annual installments of \$1,000.

"In August, 1837, workmen unearthed a skeleton on Water Street, between Wood and Market. It was found two feet below the surface, fleshless and grim, and on examination proved to be that of an Indian. Several trinkets of silver and a piece of scarlet cloth, still undecayed, fringed and decorated with beads, and a brass band around the skull were found with the skeleton. It was placed in the Pittsburg Museum" (c).

In 1839 the Pittsburg Provident Society was organized, with Thomas Bakewell as president, and the objects of the organization were to furnish unfortunates, during the cold weather, with soup, light lunches and other necessities. Another early benevolent organization was a German society established in 1832, the objects of which were to relieve German emigrants on their arrival here. At the head of this institution were Rev. D. Kemmerer, Dr. E. King, George Weyman and Conrad Upperman. During the winter of 1837-8, owing to the hardships brought upon the poor by the panic of that year, the city authorities found it necessary to make special provision for the relief of temporary distress. In the month of December alone 6,000 bushels of coal were given to the poor. In January, 1838, a society was formed to assist indigent females by giving them employment and temporary support. This movement was under the management of Dr. Herron, Charles Shaler, Dr. Black, Dr. Kerr, E. B. Fisher, Dr. Dunlap, John M. Snowden and others. This organization was one of the most effective instituted in the early years. In 1840 they gave employment to 46 women, and distributed 928 garments, besides an immense quantity of provisions and other supplies. In 1841 Mrs. William Robinson, Jr., was president of this organization. During the forties the city erected its first poorhouse, and issued bonds to obtain means for that purpose. At the same time authority was received from the Legislature to levy a special tax for the support of the poorhouse and for the retirement of the bonds. The institution was managed by the guardians of the poor. It was an independent corporation, guided solely by its charter. In 1846 the city poor tax amounted to five mills on the dollar, but in 1847, under the new law, the tax was but two mills. In 1854 the board began the construction of a spacious poorhouse on the farm which had been purchased. Both Allegheny and Pittsburg, and even the surrounding boroughs, had several organizations of ladies and others, the objects of which were to afford either temporary or permanent relief to the helpless. In January, 1855, the Young Ladies' Association for the relief of the poor distributed 165 loads of coal, 85 pairs of shoes, 15 comforts, 11 made-up garments, materials for 55 woolen garments and 53 cotton garments, 40 pieces of second-hand cloth, \$168 worth of groceries, and gave temporary relief to 268 families. This was but a single instance of the assistance furnished by the various benevolent organizations. Owing to the hard times of 1854 the succeeding winter entailed great hardships upon the poor of this vicinity. Accordingly the ladies' benevolent organizations opened special soup-houses in the city, where large numbers

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(c) Pittsburg Times, August 9, 1837.

of poor people could get wholesome food gratuitously. The first soup-house was opened on January 25, 1855, and in thirteen days 4,167 applications, representing 19,006 persons, were received. In one day 604 applications, representing 3,031 persons, were presented. The distress prevailing was so unprecedented that the entire city was called upon for assistance. Mr. R. Chester, of the Howard Association, opened the first soup-house on January 25th, on Seventh Street. By 2 o'clock on that day fifty-six gallons had been served—all the association had on hand. In less than one week, about this time, 266 loads of coal were distributed by the guardians of the poor. An average of 100 applications were received daily by them. In one day at the Seventh Street soup-house 250 gallons of soup and 1,000 loaves of bread were distributed, when the supply ran out, although others were waiting to be served. An account of the benevolent acts of the citizens since the Rebellion would fill a volume.

In November, 1841, the ship "Lawrence" was received in Pittsburg by a committee of citizens. It was brought here by two hundred citizens of Westmoreland County on horseback and in carriages, and delivered to the original owners. Judge Wilkins formally received it in an eloquent speech. A splendid supper accompanied with toasts closed the services of the day.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Society held its first stated meeting January 10, 1859, at the Merchants' Exchange. The first business was the election of officers. A letter from Neville B. Craig withdrew his name from the list of candidates for the presidency. Balloting resulted as follows: Wilson McCandless, president; James Veech, Rev. Dr. Jenkin, Rev. Dr. Howard, Neville B. Craig, and H. M. Brackenridge, vice-presidents; D. L. Eaton, secretary; F. R. Brunot, treasurer. Complete organization was effected at this time and provisions were made for future meetings. This society continues in existence, the president at this date being Rev. A. A. Lambing.

Dr. W. M. Wright in April, 1841, took good daguerreotypes here. "It is hardly necessary to add that likenesses taken by this process are facsimiles, the veritable reflection drawn by the hand of nature of the human face divine" (f).

"Daguerreotype Miniatures.—Our ingenious townsman, Dr. Wright, has made improvements in this beautiful art which have been without rival. The usual objections of indistinctness and vagueness of outline are entirely obviated in his specimens. In them every lineament is brought out with surprising precision and delicacy and the likeness is, of course, proportionally strong, being, in fact, a veritable transcript of the face of the sitter" (g).

In 1860 the Allegheny Observatory was erected by the aid of funds raised by popular subscription, and soon afterward the institution was placed in charge of the Western University of Pennsylvania. Professor S. P. Langley was the first director and continued in charge after the University had assumed control. It was due to his efforts that in 1860 observatory time was made uniform throughout the United States. This institution has become noted for its original investigations and discoveries and has made numerous improvements in astronomical and scientific research.

"A beautiful copper copy of the medal granted to General Daniel Morgan for gallantry at Cowpens was exhibited here by Alfred Keevil in July, 1860" (h).

On October 1, 1860, the Prince of Wales (Lord Renfrew) visited Pittsburg. Preparations on a grand scale had been made for several weeks to receive him. A committee had been sent from this city to Toronto some time before to invite him to visit Pittsburg on his passage through the United States. The committee sent to Alliance, Ohio, to receive the royal party were William Robinson,

(f) *Advocate and Emporium*, April 30, 1841.

(g) *Advocate and Emporium*, June 11, 1841.

(h) *Dispatch*, July, 1860.



Dr. W. H. Denny, Wilson McCandless, William Bagaley, John S. Cosgrove, W. H. Smith and Dr. Phillips. Upon the arrival here of the royal party in the evening an immense crowd gathered, which was with difficulty managed by the police and the Duquesne Grays. The distinguished visitors, among whom were many eminent Englishmen, were conducted in carriages to the Monongahela House. They were entertained in a manner befitting their exalted positions, and the next day were escorted to the train for the East (i).

Strange as it may seem, Pittsburg had no parks until about a dozen years ago. Since that time it has managed, largely through the influence of E. M. Bigelow, to secure several and to improve and beautify them, until now the city has a total of eight, embracing about 753 acres. The first established was the famous Schenley Park, of which 300 acres were donated by Mrs. Mary E. Schenley in 1889, and to which tracts of land 106 acres in 1890, 9 acres in 1891 and several smaller purchases have since been added by the municipality. Schenley Park contains a total of 433 acres and is admirably fitted for the purpose intended. The surface is cut with deep ravines and abounds in steep slopes and abrupt inclines and numerous streams of water. At the entrance of the park stands the Carnegie Library, and near the entrance is Phipps Conservatory, one of the largest and best equipped in the country. The conservatory was donated by Henry Phipps, Jr., and cost \$110,000. Additional expenses have swelled the cost of the Schenley Park greenhouses to about \$180,000. The electric fountain was donated at a cost of \$10,000 by the Pittsburg Traction Company. The Highland Park, which is second in size, consists of about 290 acres and is already well improved. The first purchase of forty-six acres was bought from James McCully in 1872. The beautiful entrance cost \$45,000. Besides these there are the Grandview Park, comprising seventeen acres, the West End Park nineteen acres, Bedford or Central Park five acres, Herron Hill Park thirteen acres, Holliday Park three and one-half acres, Maple Grove Park sixty-three acres. All of this ground has recently been purchased by the city, and the parks account for considerable of the bonded debt of the municipality. Pittsburg for several years has appropriated annually for the improvements of its parks about \$500,000. The fact that the city in a period of about nine years has secured so many beautiful parks and so well improved them is due largely to the efforts of Mr. Bigelow, for whom a splendid statue costing \$10,000, and raised by popular contribution, was erected at the entrance of the Schenley Park. The parks of Allegheny comprise ninety-eight acres, originally given by William Penn as a public common, and the River View Park. In 1867, by act of the Legislature, the "commons" were transferred to the city for park purposes. River View Park contains 245 acres and was purchased by means of a popular subscription at a cost of \$110,000 for the first 217 acres; this park is now being rapidly improved and is sometimes called Watson Park, from the fact that the estate of Mr. Watson was embraced within the boundaries of the park. City Hall Park lies at the corner of Federal and Ohio streets. Both Pittsburg and Allegheny are thus well supplied with breathing places, but there is much yet to be done to improve them, and no doubt additions will be made in the future.

On January 24, 1788, John Boyd announced in the *Gazette* that "so soon as 100 subscribers can be procured, a circulating library will be opened in the town of Pittsburg." He announced that the opening would be made with 500 books; that twenty shillings per annum would be charged each subscriber; and that any book could be retained for fifteen days. Whether this library amounted to much cannot now be ascertained. In 1801 Zadoc Cramer issued a proposal to establish a circulating library, access to which should be charged at the fol-

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(i) Dispatch, October 2 and 3, 1860.

lowing rates: \$1 per month, \$2 for three months, \$3.50 for six months, and \$5 per year. City people were permitted to retain books four days and country people two weeks. It was announced that the library would be open on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 9 a. m. to 1 p. m., and from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m. In time this library consisted of about 2,000 volumes. In November, 1813, the Pittsburg Permanent Library Association, which had been previously organized, held a meeting with Samuel Roberts in the chair and Charles Wilkins, Jr., acting as secretary. A committee, consisting of Rev. Francis Herron, James O'Hara, William Wilkins, Anthony Beelen and Aquilla M. Bolton, was appointed to frame a constitution for the association. At this time Messrs. Bolton, Bollman, Spear and Charles Wilkins, Jr., were appointed a special committee to confer with the old Pittsburg Library Company, which had been instituted by Zadoc Cramer, to ascertain upon what terms a coalition of the two could be effected. Negotiations between these two companies seem to have been prolonged for several years. However, in 1816, their union seems to have been accomplished, for at that time books were in circulation, and it was ascertained that about 2,000 volumes were in possession of the company.

In February, 1829, the Pittsburg Reading-room was established by popular subscription. Rules and regulations were adopted, and arrangements were made to obtain the leading periodicals of the country. Benjamin Bakewell was president, George Buchanan secretary, Colonel John Ramsey treasurer, Michael Allen, Henry Holdship, Thomas Bakewell, William Eichbaum, Henry M. Watts and John S. Riddle, managers. The reading-room was opened in April, 1829, at the corner of Market and Fourth streets. About this time the Franklin Library Association was in existence at the corner of Grant and Fourth streets, under the charge of Linton Rogers, librarian. In 1831 this library consisted of 1,500 volumes. The Franklin Library seems to have been to some extent, at least, a private institution, because Mr. Rogers, in his advertisements, signed himself as proprietor. This library was one of the most important and best patronized of those established during the early years. In 1838 it contained over 2,000 volumes, and the subscription price was \$5 per annum. At this time Mr. Rogers was agent of the library, and kept what would now be called a news-stand, where periodicals from all parts of the world could be procured. In 1831 John I. Kay & Co. opened a circulating library and reading-room over his store, and kept for the perusal of subscribers books, magazines, reviews, but no newspapers. In 1833 the Apprentices' Library and Bible Class had a circulating library of about 500 volumes. In 1835 a circulating library, consisting of 500 volumes, was conducted by Joseph A. Smith at No. 34 Fourth Street, for the subscription price of \$2.50 a year. In July, 1837, the Washington Circulating Library was opened at the southwest corner of the Diamond by Kennedy & Allen, the terms being \$3 per annum. A little later in the year Kennedy & Foster succeeded Kennedy & Allen in charge of this library. In 1841 the Pittsburg Athenaeum opened a combined reading-room and library of fifty magazines, fifty newspapers, of which ten were dailies, and several hundred volumes of miscellaneous books, for the benefit of subscribers, who were charged \$3 per annum. On November 1, 1841, the association had over 100 subscribers, and at that time D. Harker was librarian. The library which had been opened by Kennedy & Allen was conducted at a later date by J. W. and J. B. Kennedy, who continued to charge \$3 a year, or 37½ cents per month. Their works consisted of history, biography, poetry, romance, drama, novels, and other miscellaneous works. By the act of May 8, 1854, the German Library Association was incorporated by John G. Backofen, Edward Fendrich, F. S. Schenck, Th. Umbstatler, Reinhold Siedle, Charles Barchfield, M. Doerfflinger, William Wierneburg and Alexander Holstein.

The exact origin of the present Mercantile Library Association cannot be given with certainty. It seems to have originated from several older ones early in the year 1835, and was sustained by several young merchants, who felt the need of a place to go in their leisure moments where they could read and study. Connected with it at the start were Messrs. Ramsay, Green and Wheeler. By July, 1835, about \$1,800 had been subscribed. The charter was secured in 1835, and an amendment thereto was obtained in 1837, at which time the volumes on hand numbered about 1,200. In the autumn of 1835 the library occupied comfortable quarters on Fourth Street, but after 1837 seems to have been dormant for several years. On the 13th of July, 1847, the Pittsburg Library Association was founded, and on the 29th of the same month an organization was effected with the following officers: Samuel M. Wickersham, president; John Finney, vice-president; Robert Finney, secretary; William P. Townsend, treasurer; John R. Hersh, David Holmes, Jacob Weaver, Charles H. Grant and W. R. Nimick, managers. In August a constitution and by-laws was adopted, and in 1849 the association was incorporated. In January, 1850, the Young Men's Mercantile Library and Mechanic Institute possessed 1,200 volumes, but at this time the patronage was rather slack. It was stated in the act of incorporation that the objects of the association were the promotion and encouragement of general information upon commerce, manufactures, and the mechanical and useful arts; and it was provided that the annual income should not exceed \$5,000. In June, 1853, the *Post*, in a caustic editorial, declared that it was a disgrace that Pittsburg had no public library.

Early in the fifties Colonel James Anderson, of Allegheny, presented that city with a select library of several thousand volumes, upon condition that the councils should take care of the same. The latter secured rooms and appointed a librarian, but the institution languished and was finally closed, but was revived by the Young Men's Christian Association, at which time the Allegheny City Councils granted it a yearly appropriation. However, the institution did not thrive, and the books were finally boxed up. The Anderson Library Association was incorporated by act of April 14, 1851. This library, like all the others of early years, lacked in the number of its paying subscribers. It was easy to issue books to those who did not pay, but it was difficult to keep upon the subscription rolls the names of men who promptly and regularly paid the amount of their subscription. In July, 1855, the Anderson Library was opened under the management of Mr. Campbell with twenty-two subscribing members. At this time the library consisted of 1,350 books. Mr. Campbell had donated 1,500 volumes originally, but the others had been lost.

In January, 1857, the Young Men's Library Association possessed 2,763 volumes. During 1857 seventy-three volumes were added and 1,724 were taken out by subscribers. The library contained at this time twenty-eight daily and weekly newspapers and twenty-five magazines and other periodicals. At this time Felix R. Brunot was president, W. H. Kincaid secretary, and G. J. Townsend treasurer. In 1859 the Mercantile Library Hall Company was incorporated by an act of March 18th, and was authorized to erect a building for the Young Men's Mercantile and Mechanic Institute of Pittsburg. The leading members of the new organization were George W. Jackson, Thomas M. Howe, James Park, Jr., J. K. Moorhead, W. F. Johnston and Felix R. Brunot. They were empowered to purchase land and to erect thereon the necessary buildings, or to rent land in perpetuity for the purposes designed to be carried into effect by the association. After this the company was known as the Mercantile Library Association or Hall.

In April, 1865, subscriptions to the Library Hall aggregating \$73,500 were secured from about 120 subscribers. Among the subscribers were: Ex-Governor

W. F. Johnston, Thomas M. Howe, Felix R. Brunot, Thomas M. Marshall, William Thaw, James Park, Jr., J. K. Moorhead, George W. Cass, G. W. Hailman, B. F. Jones, N. Holmes and W. S. Haven. It was stated at the time that this subscription was remarkably large in view of the fact that the above-named men had contributed so liberally and worked so hard here during the previous four years of the war. Their act was spoken of as one of "unexampled generosity." The building was finished in 1869, and the library was duly installed therein. In 1871 the Library Hall Association and the Mercantile Library Association agreed that the latter should control the building upon the payment of the interest upon \$180,000 of mortgages, the floating debt, and six per cent. on the stock, and should own the building when the debt was extinguished. Litigation followed, and the case was taken to the Supreme Court, where it was held that the Library Hall Association held the property merely as trustees for the beneficiary owners. Many complications have arisen over the property, and what will be the final result cannot now be foretold. Efforts have recently been made to merge this library with one of the Carnegie branches, but so far without success.

The pride of Pittsburg and Allegheny is their great libraries. The construction of both is due to the generosity of Andrew Carnegie. He made his first offer about 1882, but it was not until the newspapers had stirred up the citizens that they began to see wherein they were remiss. In 1890 his offer of \$1,000,000 was accepted. He has already given to the Pittsburg branch \$1,100,000 and to the Allegheny branch \$500,000. In 1895 he gave as an endowment fund for the Pittsburg Art Gallery and Museum \$1,000,000 additional. The Pittsburg Library Building is a beautiful structure of Romanesque architecture with Italian finishings and ornamentations. It was built of Cleveland gray sandstone and cost \$820,000, and is divided into four departments—music, art, science and library. Music hall has a seating capacity of 2,100. The library proper occupies the principal portion of the building and is designed to shelve 250,000 volumes. So rapid has been the accumulation of books under the management of Edwin E. Anderson, librarian, that about 36,000 volumes are now in the library. The art department comprises three galleries and the department of science has rooms for a museum and for special exhibitions. The gift was given by Mr. Carnegie with a proviso that the city should appropriate a sufficient sum annually to maintain the building. For some time a law concerning city appropriations in aid of such projects stood in the way of an acceptance of Mr. Carnegie's proposition. Later the law was amended, and now the city appropriates annually \$40,000 for the maintenance of the various departments of the building. The Allegheny Carnegie Library is built in the Norman-Romanesque style, was opened in 1890, and is divided into library, art, and music departments. The capacity of the library is 100,000 volumes; and there have been collected through the energy of William M. Stevenson, librarian, about 35,000 volumes. The city appropriates \$20,000 annually for its maintenance. The building cost \$300,000. Mr. Carnegie's plan is to provide the leading suburbs with branch libraries and already five are in various stages of completion—at the East End, in Lawrenceville, on the South Side, in Homewood, and in Braddock. The building at Lawrenceville has recently been erected. The Braddock Library cost \$250,000, and the Homewood Library, now in process of construction, will cost the same sum. Already the art galleries of Pittsburg and Allegheny are known to the artists of both hemispheres. The prizes that are offered at the annual exhibitions are sufficient to bring to Pittsburg the work of the best artists of the world, and in the end, if properly managed, are certain to place Pittsburg among the leading art centers of the United States. The museum of the Pittsburg Carnegie Library, although as yet com-



paratively new, contains many rare specimens and furnishes an excellent school for the students of this vicinity to obtain a knowledge of the unusual and curious features of the earth. In addition to these Pittsburg has the library of the Young Men's Christian Association, of the Pittsburg Library Association, of the Pittsburg Medical Association, the German Library and the Law Library. Allegheny has a free Public School and Citizens' Free Library, established in 1865, and comprising about 12,000 volumes. It is supported by taxation. Several other small libraries are scattered throughout the cities and suburbs.

The soldiers' monument in Allegheny will be found described in the chapter on the Rebellion. In 1872 another in honor of the soldiers was erected in Allegheny Cemetery from \$2,500 left over from the fund raised for the Allegheny monument. A monument erected in memory of the women and children killed in the arsenal explosion during the war stands in the same cemetery. The total cost of the fine monument to Mr. E. M. Bigelow, which stands in Schenley Park, represents an outlay, including pedestal and foundation, of \$12,746.05. The Hampton Monument was erected in Allegheny in 1871. Humboldt Monument, Allegheny, was erected in 1869 to the memory of Alexander Von Humboldt. A beautiful equestrian statute of George Washington stands on the North Common, Allegheny. Armstrong Monument was erected in honor of Thomas A. Armstrong, a prominent labor advocate, and its cost of \$10,000 was raised by subscription.

The passage and enforcement of the Excise Law of 1791 were the case of the Whisky Insurrection of 1794. During the War of 1812 Congress levied a heavy tax on stills, retailers and importers of liquor, and this tax in Allegheny County in one year amounted to \$5,210.

The date at which the first temperance society was organized in Allegheny County cannot be given. However, the movement was lukewarm until February, 1830, when, for the first time, the friends of temperance united and unfurled their banner in opposition to the liquor traffic. At that time they met with open and violent opposition from liquor manufacturers and dealers. It was declared by the latter that the temperance people were bent upon depriving them of their source of livelihood; that liquor manufacturing and selling was a legitimate trade; and that the temperance people had no legal right to interfere with them in the transaction of a business not denied them, and, in fact, conceded them by the law.

On March 15, 1830, the officers and a number of workmen at the United States Arsenal, together with several citizens of Lawrenceville, met and organized a temperance society, and likewise organized as an adjunct connected with it a saving-fund society, and a constitution was adopted providing for the reception and safe investment of money. Lieutenant Edward Harding was elected president, George Hurst, Sr., vice-president, Benjamin Moore, Sr., treasurer, and Virgil David secretary. The society immediately went into operation under the state law for saving-fund associations, with twenty-five subscribers, and at the same time elaborated and put into working condition the temperance branch of their organization.

On March 26, 1830, pursuant to a general call, a large meeting of the friends of temperance was held in Pittsburg, on which occasion Rev. Francis Herron presided. At this time there were several temperance societies existing in Allegheny County. Among those present on this occasion were R. N. Havens, Rev. J. F. Halsey, John H. Irwin, and at this date a large increase in the membership of the society was secured. During the progress of the meeting it was shown that, in 1829, 129 tavern licenses were granted in the city of Pittsburg and 162 in the remainder of Allegheny County. It was shown that there was one



saloon for every 123 persons in the county. It was likewise stated that in 1829 a petition, to which were signed 1,116 names, was presented to the grand jury of the Mayor's Court, praying that the number of saloon licenses granted might be decreased. In 1830 it was declared that Pittsburg contained 123 saloons, and 98 more were located in the suburbs. At this time the society issued an earnest appeal to the public against the liquor traffic. R. N. Havens, chairman of the committee of the board of managers, read a strong address on the evils of intemperance, which was ordered printed and circulated by the meeting. On this occasion, twenty-eight prominent citizens signed the constitution of the society.

In April, 1832, Charles Shaler was chairman of an important county temperance meeting held here, and Walter Forward was president of the Pittsburg City Temperance Society. The latter organization was effected April 26, 1832. Robert Christy was chosen secretary, and Ross Wilkins, George Selden, J. B. McFadden, Moses Atwood, R. W. Poindexter, Edward Hale and L. Packard, executive committee. The City Society was organized as an adjunct of the County Temperance Society. The most famous temperance organization in the county at this time was in Lawrenceville. It met in the basement of St. John's church, and about this time Robert Wallace was president and Alfred Beckley secretary. Lawrenceville was the first location in the county to make a concerted effort against the advancements of intemperance. In fact, it led the county in temperance work. At first the friends of temperance did not go so far as to advocate total abstinence. It required development before that view could be generally adopted. However, in July, 1833, the Pittsburg Total Abstinence Society was organized in the Presbyterian church on Smithfield Street. In May, 1834, the Western Pennsylvania Temperance Convention was held in Pittsburg, which resulted in a large accession of members, and the strengthening of the position taken by the enemies of the liquor traffic. The liquor law of 1834 was found not to answer the desires of its friends and projectors. The grand jury advised against granting so many licenses and stated that it was reported to them that liquor dealers were in the habit of supplying small boys with one cent's worth of liquor. In March, 1834, they reported a total of 173 saloons in the city and advised an increase in the license. On the 4th of July, 1835, the first public celebration held by the temperance people in Allegheny County was held at Pittsburg, and it was remarked that "not a drink but water could be obtained upon the ground." It was at this time that Thaddeus Stevens, the father of the school law and the friend of temperance, addressed the citizens of Allegheny County upon invitation.

By 1836 the temperance societies throughout the county were many in number and well organized. A county convention of the societies was held on May 24th, on which occasion the Allegheny County Society was represented by Thomas Fairman, D. H. Riddle and Rev. J. T. Pressly, D. D.; the Allegheny Society by Rev. E. P. Swift; the Western Theological Society by L. G. Olmstead and James Shaw; the Young Men's Society by H. Newcomb; the Sabbath-school Society by William McCombs; the Associate Reformed Society by Rev. Dr. Pressly and H. Nixon; Birmingham Society by Samuel Hare; Methodist Episcopal Society by John McGill; the Mechanics' Society by Thomas H. Patton, Thomas McKee, and James Watt; Pittsburg Total Abstinence Society by Rev. Mr. Bryan; the Reformed Presbyterian Society by John Alexander, T. L. McMillan, and Gabriel Adams; the County Society of Colored People by Messrs. Lewis, Woodson, and others; East Liberty Society by T. McCleary, H. W. Lang, Rev. W. B. McIlwaine and F. G. Bailey, and other societies. At this convention it was recommended for all temperance societies of the county to adopt the principle of total abstinence; to place a temperance almanac in every house; to oppose the buying and selling as well as the manufacture of all ardent spirits.

owing to the fact that the traffic was not neutral, and, therefore, could not be safely permitted; to petition the Legislature for the passage of an act prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor. Several thousands of people attended this convention, and even representatives from societies in other counties were present to take part in the proceedings. A temperance hotel was conducted at this time by Mrs. Lusher.

In May, 1837, another immense convention of the friends of temperance was held in Pittsburg, on which occasion all societies were required to adopt the clause concerning total abstinence. At this time the following committee was appointed to request the mayor to call a meeting for the purpose of considering the evils of intemperance, and the best way to suppress tippling houses: A. M. Bryan, T. J. Bigham, John Irvin, Alfred Nevin, John Dickson, M. F. Eaton, Robert Wray, Robert Dunlap, William Petit, H. Parry and John D. Baird. In January, 1838, the temperance people prepared a memorial, signed by many hundreds, praying the City Councils to decrease the number of tavern licenses, and adopt measures for their better control. The fight continued. The liquor element was determined that their business should not be interfered with. The temperance people declared that the business was immoral, unchristian-like, and dangerous to the welfare of society, and, like any other business possessing those injurious qualities, must give place to higher principles and purer laws.

In 1841 the greatest temperance revival in the history of the county up to that time occurred. It was inaugurated by the Baltimore temperance reformers—reformed drunkards, who were then traveling through the country for the purpose of organizing and strengthening temperance organizations. The churches in which the meetings were held could not hold half the crowds which assembled. In less than one week 400 persons signed their ironclad pledge. Mr. Vickers, one of them, said to liquor drinkers, "You must join us, or we will run over you." This community had never before been so thoroughly aroused on the subject of intemperance. All the leading men of the vicinity not only attended the meetings, but signed the pledge, and otherwise gave their influence to encourage the proceedings. It was at this time that the Washingtonians organized their first society here. They were really an outgrowth of the efforts of the Baltimore reformers. In July, 1841, the *Daily American* said that the various temperance societies had received in fourteen days an accession of 3,600 members, and that after several weeks only two cases of relapse were known. The paper also stated that previous to this great increase the societies had an aggregate membership of about 1,500. In addition to the above great increase, it was further stated that the Roman Catholic societies had secured an increase of 2,500 members, making a grand total temperance membership in this vicinity, by July 10th, of 7,600. The *Danville Democrat* of July, 1841, said: "Progress of Temperance.—Pittsburg is alive to the temperance reformation, the mayor and several of his officers having signed the pledge. The celebrated Dravo House, one of the largest hotels in the city, has become a temperance house." The president of the first Washingtonian Society was James Reeder; vice-president, John Williams; recording secretary, I. J. Ashbridge; corresponding secretary, David Boyd; treasurer, Cornelius Kingsland. The society was organized and fully equipped for active work immediately after the departure of the Baltimore reformers, and was modeled after the parent organization in that city. Mr. Harris, in the *Gazette* of July 27, 1841, said: "All the wards of the city and several of the towns, villages and townships immediately around have formed separate societies auxiliary to the general one. About 10,000 of all classes have already joined the several societies in Pittsburg and Allegheny, in the boroughs, and within a circle of five miles around the city, viz.: The Roman Catholic churches, upward of 2,500; have joined the

societies in the last month, since the arrival of Vickers and Small, 4,000; belonging to all the other societies of our cities, villages and churches, 3,500; total, 10,000."

The act of March, 1841, attempted to regulate the sale of liquor by granting licenses in proportion to the amount of sales, but was found to be impracticable. On October 21 and 22, 1841, an immense temperance convention was held here, on which occasion a large procession paraded the streets with flags, banners and mottos. "The procession extended nearly the length of Market Street." The newspapers rejoiced in the success of the temperance cause, and it was announced that a temperance newspaper would soon be established.

In 1846 the famous temperance and reform lecturer, Mrs. Abbie Kelly Foster, appeared here, and delivered a course of lectures in Pittsburg and Allegheny. She took an extreme position not only on intemperance, but on the great questions then dividing the American people. She sharply criticised the Revolutionary fathers for permitting slavery to secure a foothold in the United States; denounced many of the churches for their doctrines, and, in general, pointed out what reformers of that day considered the faults of the social organism. She drew immense audiences, and the newspapers congratulated the citizens on the fact that she had been permitted to speak without serious interruption, whereas such a thing would not have been permitted five years before. In February, 1846, succeeding the Foster lectures, a large temperance revival occurred, and many members were added to the societies.

In March, 1846, a temperance organization known as the Marthas was established here. At this time a temperance lecture was delivered in the county jail, and twenty-seven signatures were obtained from the toppers who had been locked therein. Isaac Harris was one of the most prominent of the temperance workers. He donated hundreds of dollars to the cause, and distributed many thousands of circulars, pamphlets and books at his own expense, and in the end, by his course of philanthropy, wrecked his business establishment. From January 1, 1842, to January 1, 1845, he distributed 1,250 copies of the *Temperance Journal*, 103,300 *Youth's Temperance Advocates*, 3,812 temperance hymn and song books, 1,260 temperance bound books, 4,468 tracts and pamphlets, and 9,100 temperance almanacs. In March, 1846, the temperance organizations of the county were very strong, but the liquor element was alert, persistent and determined.

The old Washingtonians were organized in periods of excitement, and lacked the elements of perpetuity. Therefore, within a short time after a period of temperance revival, they usually relapsed and the societies became extinct. Not so with the regular temperance organizations. With them it was a matter of deliberation and principle, and the older members had enlisted for life. In 1846 the Allegheny Temperance Society appointed a committee to inquire into the nature and tendencies of the Sons of Temperance, a recent temperance society, and a secret organization.

By act of the Legislature, in 1846, the question of licensing was submitted to the voters in 1847. In January, 1847, the Legislature was petitioned by 100 business firms and others, praying for such a change in the license law as would allow wholesale dealers and the principal hotels to deal in liquor. This was opposed with great unanimity by the temperance element here. The cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny and the borough of Manchester gave an aggregate of over 2,000 votes against the sale of liquor. In Allegheny the vote stood 105 for and 619 against. "Sons of Temperance.—There are now about 400 members attached to this order in the two cities. It is still increasing in numbers" (j).

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(j) Commercial Journal, July 10, 1846.

In September, 1848, the Sons of Temperance had increased to immense proportions, and on that date gave a public installation, and participated in a public parade. It was stated by an eyewitness that 3,273 members of that organization were in line, all being handsomely robed in regalias and led by bands of music, and enlivened with banners and mottos. Many organizations from other counties were present on this occasion. The Indiana division captured the prize banner by reason of the most orderly and largest delegation. Birmingham division stood second. One of the most interesting features of the day was the large procession of children, known as Cadets of Temperance. It was related that a half tipsy spectator, who stood clinging to a lamppost, became so interested in them that he made the following proposition to a companion: "Sam—hic—! I say, Sam, let's take all these little fellows into Weaver's and—hic!—treat 'em to all they can drink."

The cause of temperance continued to grow, and many of the most noted lecturers in the United States visited Pittsburg from time to time. In February, 1851, John B. Gough lectured here on temperance, holding his meetings successively in schoolhouses and churches in the two cities and surrounding boroughs, and succeeded in securing 1,200 new signers to the pledge. In May, 1852, he again lectured here for two weeks, and succeeded in securing 3,000 new signatures to the pledge. Under his fiery appeals, immense crowds assembled, no hall or church being large enough to contain all who struggled to hear him.

In May, 1851, the liquor dealers assembled, and passed the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That we hold the opinion that every citizen should be his own guardian in the use of drinks as well as food and raiment. *Resolved*, That from this time forth we pledge ourselves to a united effort to cast off the insolent spirit of proscription that has obtruded itself into the Court of Quarter Sessions and has dared to dictate the course to be pursued herein by the judges. *Resolved*, That we will not vote for any candidate for the State Legislature, irrespective of party considerations, unless a written pledge be given to use every honorable effort to repeal the present license laws, and throw the business of selling liquor, as every business should be, free to every citizen. *Resolved*, That we believe a miserable minority called temperance men should not have the power to act as censors or dictators in this Commonwealth. *Resolved*, That we are perfectly satisfied that all and every one of the human family may quit the use of all drinks, even water, if they please, provided we may be let alone in our business as other citizens. *Resolved*, That we disapprove making our grievances the subject of party action unless compelled to do so by our opponents, a portion of whom, previous to our recent meeting, took the initiatory step in imparting a political character to a temperance movement."

The law of 1847, which submitted the question of licensing to a vote of the people of wards, boroughs and townships, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Wilson McCandless argued the case before the court. The temperance people, early in the decade of the fifties, took steps to secure the re-enactment of the law, with the unconstitutional features omitted. The result was the passage of a more stringent license law. The temperance people objected to this law because they wanted no man to sell liquor. The liquor men objected to it because they wanted all men to sell liquor. After 1851, which permitted the issuing of licenses, great pressure was brought to bear upon the local authorities to prevent the issuing of permits. Many retailers openly violated the law. Many suits resulted, and great excitement prevailed throughout the county. The courts were thronged with the friends and enemies of temperance, and at times business, in a large measure, was suspended. Petitions and remonstrances poured in upon the authorities, and the question of selling liquor



on Sunday was brought forward to add still greater confusion to the times. Judge McClure held that liquor licenses could not be granted to eating-houses, coffee-houses, restaurants, etc., but only to taverns where there were beds, house-room, stabling, etc. All the churches united in meetings of large size, pledging themselves to vote for no man not in favor of the temperance cause. It came to be fully regarded at this time that the temperance question was destined to become a strong feature in politics. In December, 1851, the Allegheny Temperance Society forwarded a petition to the Legislature praying for the passage of a law abolishing the liquor traffic.

The passage of the acts of 1847 and 1855 to restrain the sale of liquor were really great victories for the cause of temperance, though not wholly recognized as such by temperance advocates, who thought with much sincerity that a prohibitive law should be passed. An immense stride was made toward a control of the traffic, which fact was abundantly proved as time passed. Dealers at first obeyed the law, but gradually began violations, and continued until brought into court by the observant and persistent temperance advocates.

In July, 1855, it was boasted by the liquor-dealers that they had a secret oath-bound organization, pledged to secure the repeal of the liquor law of 1847, which had a membership here of 2,500, had collected in cash \$5,000, and had subscriptions to the amount of \$15,000 more, all of which was to be used in securing the repeal of the law of 1847. In 1855 the Temperance League, organized for the enforcement of all laws restricting and prohibiting the traffic in liquor by legal and honorable means, had a large membership in this community, and at this times James Marshall was president, J. H. Foster secretary, and C. L. Magee treasurer. Meetings were held by this league weekly, and great results were accomplished.

The crusade movement, afterward destined to become widespread throughout the United States, originated in the little town of Hillsboro, Ohio. It soon reached Pittsburg, and its promoters met in the Third Presbyterian church, on March 2, 1874, and elected the following officers: President, Mrs. Rev. Samuel Collins; vice-presidents, Mrs. L. H. Eaton, Mrs. Dr. Sterrett, Mrs. Finley Torrens, Mrs. Rev. A. M. Milligan, Mrs. H. D. McGaw, Mrs. W. W. Grier, Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. Woods, Mrs. J. K. Smiley, Mrs. Rev. Cranage, Mrs. Livingston, Miss Lizzie Cook, Mrs. George Finley, Miss Beeson, Mrs. W. A. Herron, Mrs. Linford and Miss Haller. Mrs. Hill was made secretary and Mrs. S. B. Robinson treasurer. On March 16, 1874, the following names were added to the list: Mrs. W. G. Reed, Mrs. Oudry, Mrs. A. W. Black, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Mawhinney, Mrs. Rev. Bain, Mrs. Gormley, Miss Mary Duncan, Mrs. Graham, Mrs. King, Mrs. Bryan, Mrs. Rev. Squier, Mrs. McGonnigle and Mrs. J. B. Herron. The interest and enthusiasm increased from day to day, and unions were formed in Allegheny and most of the neighboring towns. Delegations were sent to the mayors of the two cities asking them to enforce the law prohibiting the selling or giving away of intoxicating drinks on Sunday, and they promised to do so. Members of the union also visited the manufactories and foundries and called on the workers there to sign the pledge. The jail and workhouse were also visited and many signers obtained in these institutions. After some time it was decided to visit the saloons, and on April 8, 1874, the band of crusaders, thirty-two in number, started out on that mission. They were joined by a big crowd and by the time they reached the "Scotch Hill House" on Ross and Fourth Avenue, there was a perfect mob. They were refused permission to hold a service in this house, so they stationed themselves in front of it and sang hymns. Meantime the bartenders in the saloon were busy waiting on the thirsty crowds, and the crusaders were subjected to many taunts and jeers. They subsequently called at the Monongahela House and the La Belle House, across the street, in both of



which places they were courteously received by the proprietors. After undergoing many disagreeable experiences, Lieutenant Hager arrested the band at a wholesale house, and they were arraigned before Acting Mayor McMasters on a charge of disorderly conduct. The liquor men complained that the meetings in and about their places interfered with their business. The mayor discharged them with an admonition on this occasion. The next day, May 21st, the band continued on its mission. After being at Hostetter & Smith's, policemen arrested the band. They were marched to the Diamond Alley lockup and put under a guard. The information contained only three of the names of the band, Watt Black, Mrs. A. W. Black and Mrs. Van Horn. They were charged with singing and praying on the street and obstructing the sidewalk. Mr. Black was fined \$100 and Mrs. Black and Mrs. Van Horn \$25 each. They protested against the fines, and the mayor said they could appeal to court, but must pay them. W. D. Moore came forward, and, against the protest of the party, gave his check for the amount and they were discharged. On Saturday, May 23d, the band resumed its mission to saloons, and they were for the third time arrested and taken to the lockup. The mayor decided to hold them for a hearing on the Monday morning following at 9 o'clock in the sum of \$30 each, but he subsequently made it \$10, and Dr. Collins filled out a check for that amount, when they were released. On Monday the thirty-three crusaders were arraigned for "disturbing the city by holding religious meetings on the streets." The acting mayor announced that as there was an appeal in the former cases before the court, which would probably be decided in a few days, he would hold the case over until the appeal was decided. On Thursday, May 28th, the appeal was heard before Judges Stowe, Sterrett and Collier. Attorneys Marshall and Swartzwelder appeared for the crusaders, and Attorney Coyle for the mayor. Judge Stowe, in rendering the decision, said that singing and praying on the public streets were not disorderly. This had been done from time immemorial. He ordered that the decision of the acting mayor be set aside, restitution be made, fines and costs returned, the city pay the costs and the crusaders be set free. The other judges concurred in the decision. Following are the names of the thirty-three crusaders who were placed in the city lockup, May 23, 1874: Mrs. J. S. Collins, Mrs. A. W. Black, Watt Black, Mrs. W. W. Morris, Mrs. Van Horn, Mrs. Gormley, Miss McClurg, Mrs. Moffet, Mrs. Makin, Miss Carnichael, Mrs. Matchett, Mrs. Gilchrist, Mrs. Logan, Mrs. Gray, Mrs. Johnston, Mrs. Albin, Mrs. Tutell, Mrs. Hill, Miss A. Starr, Miss Pearl Starr, M. D., Miss Lee Starr, Mrs. M. B. Reese of Ohio, Mrs. Youngson, Miss Foster, Mrs. Caldwell, Mrs. Allinder, Miss Beeson, Mrs. Courtney, Mrs. Nelson, Mrs. Woods, Mrs. Foster, Misses Hopeful and Bessie Black. After a time the members of the original band of crusaders joined other temperance organizations and their work as a distinctive organization ceased. The Law and Order Association, established in 1878, was an outcome of the crusade, several members of the band being on its board of managers, and the association still exists, though the crusade feature, as far as visiting saloons is concerned, has been abandoned (k).

The Brooks law went into effect in 1887, and on the whole has furnished a satisfactory restriction of the traffic. Sunday selling has been almost wholly eliminated. However, many improvements have suggested themselves in the method of granting licenses.

The great blue-ribbon movement was inaugurated by Francis Murphy at Pittsburg in 1876. Several gentlemen, at the head of whom was George Woods, chancellor of the University, formed a temperance society, and in November secured Mr. Murphy to conduct the campaign. His first lecture was delivered

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(k) Leader, April 14, 1897.

in the Opera-house and later ones in churches—particularly the Fifth Avenue Methodist Episcopal church. He was sustained by the leading men of the city—George Woods, J. K. Moorhead, Joseph Dilworth, Colonel Hetherington, James Park, Jr., Richard Reali, Joseph Hunter and others. By the fourth week 5,000 people had signed the pledge, and by the fourteenth week the extraordinary number of 40,000 had signed. The influence of this movement was felt throughout the country and endures to this day. It is said that in 1877 there were about 1,000 saloons in Pittsburg, but this movement reduced them steadily until there were at one time less than 100, and they were thoroughly controlled. The present careful restriction had its origin in the movement conducted with such wonderful success by Mr. Murphy. The efforts so well begun were not permitted to lag in the least, and when Mr. Murphy finally concluded his lectures about 80,000 had signed the pledge. On Christmas, after the movement had been started a sumptuous dinner was given to the unfortunates who presented themselves. Hundreds of men are met in Pittsburg to this day (1898) who thank God for the movement that reclaimed them from drunkenness. Mr. Murphy secured a world-wide reputation, which subsequent years have still further improved and enhanced.

The subject of insurance to property was considered in Pittsburg as early as 1794, at which time the owners of flatboats afforded insurance on cargoes of household goods destined for points down the Ohio River. Not only owners of flatboats, but a few of the leading business men here afforded such insurance to owners of property. To what extent such insurance was based upon the property of residents cannot be definitely determined, but it is certain that the leading citizens at that early day represented in some cases Eastern insurance companies.

The Eagle Fire Company was organized in 1794, soon after the borough was created. The hand-engine was brought from Philadelphia, and John Johnston was first engineer, and Jeremiah Barker and Robert Magee assistants. William Leckey was engineer in 1800, and William Eichbaum in 1811. In the latter year the Vigilant Fire Company was organized, with William Wilkins as president and John Thaw secretary and treasurer. The hand-engine cost \$600 and was brought from Philadelphia at a cost of \$98. The Neptune Fire Company was organized in 1815.

The hazard of shipping goods down the Ohio River, and especially to points in the vicinity of New Orleans or in the Gulf of Mexico, was well understood. At that early day it was necessary, when goods were shipped in the Gulf of Mexico, to protect them by arming the crews of flatboats with rifles, and provide the vessels themselves with cannon. The gulf and the lower Mississippi were infested with pirates, who took every advantage to capture the rich produce boats from up the river, and murder their crews. A little later Peter Lafitte was the terror of the gulf. It was claimed that in one year he and his band captured \$25,000 worth of slaves and sold them in Cuba, Mexico and other foreign ports.

The borough owned a fire-engine and a number of buckets as early as July 3, 1801,, but complaint was made at that time that there was not enough of the latter. They were used to supply the engine with water, as well as to pour water on the fire. Michael Adams' house burned on the night of July 3d, in spite of all efforts to extinguish the flames. In August, 1801, an ordinance providing for the purchase of more fire-buckets was passed.

By the act of March 10, 1810, it was provided that no outside company should carry on insurance in this State except under a heavy penalty. One of the first companies to insure here was the Pittsburg Manufacturing Company, which began business in 1812, and it is well known that during the War of 1812 it did an extensive insurance business. No doubt other companies here during

the same period were engaged in insuring property both against fire and water.

On the night of July 23, 1812, at about 11 o'clock, a fire started in Davis' bakehouse, on Market Street, between Front and Water streets, and before it could be quenched destroyed nearly twenty buildings. At that time the borough owned two engines, and although the citizens poured out in great numbers with buckets, the flames could not be checked. Blair's brush factory was destroyed. Among the sufferers were Messrs. Cannon, Mays, Tannehill, Peters, Barnwell, Ewalt, Banton, Kepner, Hamilton, Scott and Liggett. Mr. Hamilton lost \$500 in banknotes, supposed to have been dropped by him in the confusion. This "awful calamity" was used by the newspapers to urge the necessity for another engine and more buckets.

In 1818 the principal insurance companies doing business here were the Pennsylvania, North American, Union, Phoenix, Philadelphia, Delaware, Marine and United States, all of which had headquarters in the East.

In 1819 the Pittsburgh Navigation and Insurance Company was incorporated, with a capital of \$100,000, but it was announced by the company that no insurance would be afforded until a later date. In 1819, also, the Western Navigation and Insurance Company was organized here, the object of which was to furnish transportation, and at the same time satisfactory insurance upon all goods sent down the river. "Pittsburg.—A large frame house took fire in this city a few nights since, and, terrible to relate, a young lady and two children, six and eight years old, perished in the flames" (1).

Among the first agents of distant companies to afford insurance were George Cochran, who represented the American Fire Insurance Company, and M. B. Lowrie, the Protection Insurance Company. Others of the leading citizens represented Philadelphia insurance companies. On April 2, 1826, a fire at 5 o'clock a. m., on Wood Street, between Fifth Street and Diamond Alley, destroyed sixteen buildings. In 1827 John Snyder represented the Ohio Insurance Company of Cincinnati. On January 19, 1827, a meeting was held here to form a fire insurance company. Michael Allen was made chairman and James S. Craft and Thomas Bakewell secretaries. Messrs. Sample, Eichbaum, Allen, Craft and Bakewell were appointed a committee to draft a constitution to be presented at a subsequent meeting. In March, 1827, a destructive fire on St. Clair Street caused such a heavy loss that a public subscription for the sufferers to the amount of \$1,380 was collected.

One of the first fire companies to be organized here was the old Eagle organization, connected with which, either in an honorary capacity or otherwise, were several of the most prominent citizens. Another early organization was the Pittsburgh Hose Company, established in December, 1828, which, in May, 1829, passed resolutions to dissolve, owing to the failure of the city to afford them a suitable appropriation. During the twenties the fire department of Pittsburgh was placed in as high a degree of efficiency as the apparatus of that day afforded. Large quantities of hose were secured from Philadelphia for the local organization. The Allegheny Fire Insurance Company was thoroughly organized by 1830, as was the first Pittsburgh Hose Company, also. In 1830 both Pittsburgh and Allegheny greatly improved their facilities for fighting fire. In 1832 the Pittsburgh Navigation and Fire Insurance Company was duly incorporated and authorized to insure against fire and against loss upon the rivers, and was likewise authorized to insure lives. The shares were fixed at 2,500 of \$100 each. Nine directors were to manage the affairs of the concern. In 1832 the cotton factory of Breed & Brewer, in Northern Liberties, was destroyed by fire, and the loss, amounting to about \$8,000, was promptly paid by the

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(1) Niles Register, November 29, 1823.

various insurance companies. Of this amount \$4,000 was held by the Pittsburg Navigation and Fire Insurance Company. For many years Michael Allen continued to be president of the Pittsburg Navigation and Fire Insurance Company.

In 1833 the various fire companies of Pittsburg and Allegheny formed a general association for mutual benefit and assistance. One of the early organizations was the Vigilant Fire Company, under James Crossan, president, which, by 1833, had attained a high degree of usefulness. The Allegheny Engine and Hose Company, of which Benjamin Darlington was president, was thoroughly organized by 1832. Under the act of the City Councils, fire wardens were appointed to cooperate with the fire companies.

By act of April 15, 1834, the Firemen's Insurance Company, with a capital of 10,000 shares of \$25 each, was incorporated, and was soon on a substantial basis. Much of the stock was subscribed at a big meeting, firemen and their widows and orphans being given the preference.

"The Pittsburg Navigation and Fire Insurance Company are earning golden opinions in ready and cheerful payment of losses sustained by them. Instances are mentioned which show that this establishment is in the hands of practical business men" (m).

In 1834 the following engine and hose companies were represented here: Eagle, Allegheny, Neptune, Vigilant, First Pittsburg Hose Company and Union Hose Company, and small appropriations were made by the City Councils for their maintenance. All these companies were united in 1835 into the Pittsburg Firemen's Association, of which John P. Bakewell was secretary. Other companies were organizing, until in September, 1835, the following were represented in a large public parade: Eagle, Allegheny, Union, Neptune, Columbus, Phoenix, Fame, Juniata, Vigilant and the First Pittsburg Hose Company. The rate of insurance varied with the degree of risk. All the insurance companies afforded protection both from fire and from water on the rivers. The usual rate of insurance varied from one-half to two per cent. In 1837 a reign of terror ensued here by reason of many incendiary fires, as well as from many false alarms. In October, 1837, a large fire at the water-works was subdued by the Allegheny and Neptune companies. It was customary in those days, at least once a year, usually in the autumn, to hold a general firemen's parade, on which occasion the efficiency of the department was thoroughly tested. The organization of the companies was not as thorough as at the present day. Upon the burning of Mr. Burnett's store, in 1837, the firemen all got drunk, and continued their spree and uproar all night. The only two companies here in 1842 were the Pittsburg Navigation and Fire Insurance Company and the Firemen's Insurance Company.

"Trial of Engines.—On Saturday last there was a trial of the power of the engines and the skill of the engineers. In this we are happy to record that the superiority of Pittsburg firemen, as well as the excellence of Pittsburg engine-builders, was fully proved. It had been a matter of boast among the Philadelphians that by the combined power of three of their engines water had been thrown from a one and one-quarter inch nozzle a distance of 200 feet. By the combined power of three Pittsburg-built engines water was thrown 245 feet from a nozzle one-eighth of an inch larger. The parade and exercises terminated without any accident or untoward circumstance" (n).

On March 31, 1841, the Pennsylvania Insurance Company was organized here, with a capital of \$200,000, in shares of \$50 each, and authorized to issue risks upon property and life. In January, 1848, the Pittsburg Navigation and

(m) Niles Register, August 16, 1834.

(n) Mercury and Democrat, June 9, 1841.







Fire Insurance Company, pursuant to the law of April, 1842, made the following report:

Discount notes with approved endorsers.....	\$ 70,418.51
Premium notes.....	11,694.38
344 shares in Exchange Bank.....	17,200.00
253 shares in Pittsburg Nav. & Fire Ins. Co.....	10,100.00
Cash in Exchange Bank.....	7,592.72
Due from other companies.....	4,190.98
Due from individuals.....	3,778.64
Domestic creditors, State scrip.....	1,026.00
Bonds and mortgages.....	375.00

Total.....\$126,376.23

By act of February 15, 1842, the Pittsburg Navigation and Fire Insurance Company, which seems to have lapsed for a number of years, was again incorporated, and from this time forward, notwithstanding the great fire of 1845, managed to exist and do a fairly successful business. By a supplemental act of 1846 its duties were enlarged and its usefulness increased. By act of April 4, 1844, the Allegheny County Mutual Insurance Company was incorporated, the first directors being William Robinson, Jr., John Sampson, James Wood, William Bagaley, Sylvanus Lothrop, John Morrison, Lot O. Reynolds, Thomas W. Steward, Lyman Wilmarth, Griswold E. Warner, E. W. Stephens, S. R. Johnson and Harvey Childs. By act of April 15, 1845, it was provided that the Allegheny Mutual Company might receive cash premiums at such rates and for such periods as the directors should determine, and such premiums might be returned to persons insured after ten per cent. had been deducted to cover the expenses and losses incurred by the company.

Shortly after noon of the 10th of April, 1845, the great fire of Pittsburg commenced. It broke out at the corner of Second and Ferry streets, from some shavings which had been ignited under a wash-kettle in the yard of a dwelling. The bell of the Third church was the first note of warning. Previously, for several weeks, the weather had been extremely dry, so that the conditions were favorable for such a fire. In addition to that, a high wind prevailed, but it is doubtful whether the fire could have been stopped by the companies and citizens had there been little or no wind. Soon buildings across Ferry Street took fire in the teeth of the wind, and the cotton factory on the opposite side of Second Street burst into flames. As in all such cases the fire did not progress steadily from block to block, but great masses of burning wood were carried high into the air by the wind and the intense heat, and new fires were kindled therewith, in several instances more than a block distant from the line of advancing flame. The wind was blowing from the south or southwest, and it was only through the efforts of the fire companies that the Third Presbyterian church was saved and the line of fire directed up the Monongahela River. Had this change not been made it is not improbable that the extent of the conflagration would have been much greater. When once fully started the progress of the fire was extremely rapid, and the sight was beautiful to beholders. In less than an hour the fire was sweeping everything before it on the east. The entire fire force of both cities could do nothing whatever to stay its course after it had once well commenced. The heat was so intense that people could not approach within a block of the line of flame, and everything, including glass, iron, brick and stone, melted or crumbled under the intense heat. The fire spread over what was at that time the wealthiest and best business portion of the city, covering nearly sixty acres. The tract extended from Second and Ferry streets, spreading out to Fourth Avenue by the time it reached Wood Street, thence expanding until it

reached Diamond Street, and then extending eastward until it was checked at Pipetown for want of further material. In other words, its boundaries may be described as follows: From the corner of Ferry and Second to Wood, thence to Fourth, thence to Diamond Alley, thence to Ross, thence irregularly eastward to Pipetown, thence to the Monongahela, thence down the same to place of beginning. About 1,100 dwellings, warehouses, churches, hotels, stores, schools and other public buildings were burned, and the loss by the most accurate accounts was from \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000. Some placed the loss at \$25,000,000, but this figure was undoubtedly much too high. The citizens could do nothing but look on with horror as their houses and possessions, and the city in which they took so much pride, were thus devastated, and, as they then believed, ruined. Only two lives were lost, those of Samuel Kingston, a lawyer, and a Mrs. Brooks. The fire created great hardships, particularly among the poor, and in many instances business men were ruined; but, as a whole, it was a real benefit to the city. New capital poured in, other enterprising citizens took the place of those who were burned out, and within two years, so rapid was the growth, it was difficult to tell over what section of the city the fire had spread. The State Legislature appropriated \$50,000 for the relief of the sufferers, and passed an act exempting from taxation, under certain conditions, property within the fire limits. Large quantities of supplies of all kinds, such as provisions, clothing, household articles, money, were received from all parts of the United States, and even from Europe. In all, the State contributed \$109,889.66; other States, \$88,332.46, and Europe \$651.28. Those who witnessed this greatest fire Pittsburg ever suffered never forgot the sight, and often recalled its horrors at the request of later generations. The Legislature enacted that the whole amount of State and county tax, previously assessed and unpaid, upon personal property, and real estate upon which buildings had been destroyed, in the First and Second Wards and in Kensington, should be returned to persons liable for the same, and on such property no tax for State and county purposes should be levied for the three years 1846 to 1848, inclusive. Persons whose merchandise had been destroyed by the fire were released from the payment of licenses for 1845. At this time the State was in bad financial condition, and it was provided that the cancellation of relief notes should be temporarily suspended, to enable the State treasury to pay the \$50,000 appropriated for the relief of the Pittsburg fire sufferers.

Soon after the great fire of 1845 the Pittsburg Navigation and Fire Insurance Company issued notices in the newspapers that it had paid nearly \$200,000 losses from the fire; that, notwithstanding this calamity, it was in first-class condition; and that, inasmuch as it was wholly a domestic concern, the citizens should patronize it instead of companies from abroad.

In September, 1846, an extensive firemen's parade occurred, on which occasion the following companies participated: Hope Engine and Hose Company, William Penn Engine and Hose Company, Washington Engine and Hose Company, President Engine and Hose Company, Uncle Sam Engine and Hose Company, Eagle Engine and Hose Company, Allegheny Engine and Hose Company, Duquesne Engine and Hose Company, Neptune Engine and Hose Company, Niagara Engine and Hose Company, and Vigilant Engine and Hose Company. The six last named comprised the Pittsburg Firemen's Association, while the Washington, William Penn, President and Uncle Sam comprised the Allegheny Association.

Soon after the great fire the several insurance companies located here reorganized. The Firemen's Insurance Company and the Mutual Insurance Company both took on a new lease of life. New stock was placed by both companies upon the market, and soon a fair degree of business was enjoyed. In 1846 a bill introduced in the State Senate by Mr. Dorsey, providing that insurance

companies of other States might enter Pennsylvania to carry on their business, was violently opposed by the insurance companies of this vicinity.

Previous to this the law of the State placed a heavy penalty on outside insurance companies doing business here, and it is declared that the law was originally passed to give to Philadelphia companies the monopoly of the insurance business of the State. Within the two or three years succeeding the great fire the Pittsburg Navigation and Fire Insurance Company was the only local institution doing a fairly successful business here, nearly all the risks being taken by Philadelphia companies. One company established immediately after the fire was the Penn Insurance Company, of which J. Finney, Jr., was secretary. He continued to call for installments of stock from time to time during the year 1846. In 1846 the large bell, weighing 1,000 pounds, used so long by the Duquesne Company, was cast by A. Fulton. In 1847 the Pittsburg Mutual Life Insurance Company was duly chartered by the Court of Common Pleas, and Mr. Foster, of the *Dispatch*, became actuary. Within one month thereafter over 100 applications for policies in the new company were placed on file (o). In January, 1848, a destructive fire broke out on Water Street, in the Cadwallader Evans stone mill, and before it could be checked about \$70,000 worth of property had been destroyed. During the year 1848 incendiary fires were of such frequent occurrence that the City Councils took steps to increase the number and efficiency of the night watch and of the number of engine and hose companies. In April, 1848, at one fire, 715,000 pounds of bacon were destroyed, the fire affording a brilliant display of light and smoke. Fires, instead of decreasing in number, continued to increase during the year 1849, there being a total in Pittsburg of 46 fires and 113 false alarms. It was truly a reign of terror, and called for energetic action on the part of the City Councils and fire companies.

On March 7, 1849, the Citizens' Insurance Company was incorporated for \$200,000 capital, in shares of \$50 each, and was authorized to accept premiums upon property and lives. Both these companies were successful from the start, and were soon enjoying a high state of prosperity.

In December, 1849, the Western Insurance Company, which had just been organized, lost \$22,000 on steamboat insurance, but promptly met the loss. By act of March 20, 1849, the Western Insurance Company was incorporated with a capital of \$300,000 in shares of \$50 each, and authorized to take risks upon both property and lives.

In 1849 occurred a memorable incident connected with the fire companies of these cities. A large fire broke out on Ohio Street, in Allegheny, and, as usual, the companies quickly responded to the call; but a number of the companies which had not been paid for their services, and to which no appropriation had seemingly been made, not only refused to take part in subduing the flames, but forcibly and violently prevented other companies from doing so. "Never in any city in the United States did the blessed cause of law and order receive a more severe shock than it did at the late fire in Allegheny, when hundreds of men, well named in this instance firemen, stood by exulting in the progress of the flames they might have quenched" (p). Immediately succeeding this the insurance companies raised their rates of insurance in Allegheny to such a high figure as to call for a protest from business men, but they refused to reduce the rates unless it was made a certainty that the firemen would not be interfered with at subsequent fires. The Pittsburg companies which had been prevented from quelling the flames passed resolutions not to go to Allegheny in future, and in some instances further resolved that they would resign sooner than take part in quelling any other fires in Allegheny.

(o) Post, June 23, 1847.

(p) Gazette, October 2, 1849.

The trouble in Allegheny over the refusal of the Allegheny companies either to quench the fire themselves or permit the Pittsburg companies to do so, became known as the Allegheny Fire Riots. The difficulty arose from the negligence of the authorities of Allegheny to properly compensate the firemen for their labors. The act seems to have been deliberately planned and carried into execution. They had previously sent in a memorial for an increase of the appropriation intended for their respective companies, but had failed to get any response from the City Councils. They accordingly determined to let the next fire take its course. They even went so far as to attack firemen from Pittsburg who insisted on quelling the flames, cut their hose, pelt them with brickbats and engage with individuals in bloody fights. The trouble resulted in a trial of the Allegheny boys upon the charge of rioting, and several of them were fined. They were defended in court by C. Naylor and C. S. Eyster. Charles Shaler assisted the prosecution.

In September, 1850, at a largely attended firemen's parade, the following companies were represented: Eagle, Allegheny, Duquesne, Neptune, Vigilant, Niagara, Good Intent, Independence, Relief, Lafayette, Fairmount and Goodwill. In May, 1851, in spite of the fire companies, sixteen houses were destroyed on Wylie and Chatham streets.

By act of April 26, 1850, the Associated Firemen's Insurance Company of Pittsburg was incorporated, with a capital of \$200,000, in shares of \$25 each. This company was authorized to take risks on both property and lives. On January 25, 1851, the bridge over the Allegheny River at Hand Street was destroyed by fire, the scene being a grand one, as span after span was destroyed and fell into the river. The bridge cost \$40,000, and was insured for about \$30,000, and the fire is said to have been of incendiary origin.

In 1851 the stock of the Western Insurance Company was worth \$12.50 per share, Citizens' \$11.50 and Associated Firemen's \$6. During the year 1851 there were eleven fires and four false alarms in Pittsburg and Allegheny. In 1851 the Firemen's Insurance Company was authorized by an act of the Legislature to receive deposits of money, and pay interest on the same, not exceeding six per cent. In 1851 the Fairmount Fire Company of the Fifth Ward was doing considerable business. "*Resolved*, That from and after the publication of this notice no fire risks, whether original or continued, shall be considered as taken by any insurance office in this city until the premium is paid in cash" (q). In 1851 the State Mutual Insurance Company, which had established a branch here, had in circulation over 2,000 policies in this vicinity. On February 10, 1851, the Pittsburg Life Insurance Company was incorporated, and among the incorporators were George S. Hoon, Joseph S. Leech, John S. Dilworth, Charles A. Colton, Samuel McClurkan, William Phillips and John H. Wilson. The capital was fixed at \$100,000, in shares of \$50 each. This was probably the first company authorized to do business solely upon life policies. Special privileges were given by the law to this company to enable it to issue policies to women and children on behalf of their husbands or fathers.

On January 7, 1854, a large fire in Allegheny, which was of incendiary origin, destroyed seventeen houses, entailing a loss of about \$50,000. In February, 1854, a \$25,000 fire occurred on Sycamore Street, near Columbia, a portion of which was insured. In March, 1854, an immense fire occurred in Birmingham, starting in the glasshouse of Mr. Ihmsen, and destroying about \$150,000 worth of property before being checked. In April, 1854, the Monongahela Insurance Company of Pittsburg was incorporated, with a capital of

(q) Action of Board of Underwriters, March, 1851, A. W. Marks, secretary.



\$500,000, in shares of \$50 each, among the incorporators being Sperry Harbaugh, William Holmes, Edward Rahm, George W. Jackson and Rody Patterson. It was during this year also that the Pennsylvania Insurance Company was incorporated, among those active in its organization being A. A. Carrier, who became its first secretary and treasurer and later its president. By November, 1857, this company had paid out on losses nearly \$250,000. In March, 1854, another big fire in Birmingham destroyed about seventy buildings, the loss being approximated at \$60,000. In January, 1854, occurred the Seminary fire, where several thousand volumes of books were destroyed. The donation of Rev. Dr. Halsey, in the building at the time, was about one-half saved. This institution was the Western Theological Seminary, of which, at this time, Dr. Elliot was president. In April, 1855, the Eureka Insurance Company was organized, and soon began doing business. The Commonwealth Insurance Company of Harrisburg opened a branch office here in 1855.

In May, 1855, occurred a notable incident in the history of the fire departments of these cities. It was the testing of the first steam fire-engine brought to this vicinity. The engine was owned by a Mr. Shawks. A stream of water was thrown 186½ feet; the engine weighed from two to three tons, and was said "to resemble a locomotive more than anything else." It is a singular fact that the crowd which had assembled to witness the exhibition was sorely disappointed, having, it is said, expected to see wonders performed, from the boasting which had previously been done. One fireman stated that he expected to see the engine throw water a mile. Other trials of this engine were made, with increasing success. Strange as it may seem, even after the steam fire-engine had made a most creditable exhibition, many firemen, as well as citizens, opposed the innovation of the new machine. It was argued that eleven minutes required to raise steam were a serious obstacle in the way of its adoption. Besides this the liability of breakage might prevent the quelling of a fire.

In 1855 intense jealousy and rivalry were manifested here between the various fire companies. Not infrequently this condition of affairs led to bloody fights between members of the companies, and in more than one instance engines were battered and bruised, passing along the street, by showers of brickbats and stones thrown from the envious members of rival companies. On one occasion the Vigilant engine was thus attacked, the men controlling it put to flight, and the engine itself was battered out of shape. In 1855 the insurance companies doing business here were the Western of Pittsburg, Reuben Miller president; the Granite of New York; the Pennsylvania of Pittsburg, William F. Johnston president; the Marine of Philadelphia; the Citizens' of Pittsburg, William Bagaley president; the Navigation Insurance Company of Pittsburg; the Pittsburg Life, Fire and Marine, Robert Galway president; the Northwestern; the Eureka of Pittsburg, John H. Shoenberger president; the Merchants' of Philadelphia, and the Etna of Hartford, Connecticut. In 1855 the Firemen's Association of the city was well organized, each company sending thereto three delegates. At this time a two-mill tax was required to support the fire companies.

In 1856 the greatest fire since 1845 occurred. It commenced on Try Street in the Second Ward, and started in Phillips, Best & Co.'s flint-glass works. One hundred families were burnt out, fifty houses destroyed, but the loss was only about \$20,000. In December, 1856, over 1,400 shares of the Monongahela Insurance Company were subscribed in one day.

In 1857 a \$13,000 fire occurred in Allegheny, at Rebecca Street and Bank Lane. In March, 1857, the Fort Pitt Works, owned by Knapp, Wade & Totten, were destroyed, the loss amounting to about \$125,000. All the local companies had risks on this property. The Western lost \$6,000, the Citizens'

\$6,900, the Reliance \$3,000, and the several Philadelphia companies a portion of the balance. All the fine machinery for the manufacture of heavy guns, which had been the pride and boast of Pittsburg for many years, was destroyed by this fire. However, the institution was promptly rebuilt, and did splendid service during the Rebellion. In 1858 a law was passed providing that all insurance and trust companies should be authorized to purchase, hold, sell and convey ground rents.

"Annual Inspection of Hose for 1859.—The annual inspection of hose belonging to the various fire companies took place under the supervision of the Committee of Conference and Inspection and the chief engineer of the fire department, G. W. Leonard. A large portion of the hose was condemned as utterly worthless, while some was passed as good which is, in fact, useless. This course the committee deemed necessary from the fact that the councils have failed to make an appropriation for new hose, which are much needed for the efficiency of the department. The Independence is short five sections, fifteen sections having been reported in their possession at the last inspection. No report from the Vigilant, that company declining to bring their hose upon the inspection ground as per order. The following is a partial report of the committee:

Companies.	Good.	Indifferent.	Condemned.	Total.
Eagle has.....	17	0	6	23 sections.
Allegheny .....	14	4	2	20 sections.
Duquesne.....	2	7	2	11 sections.
Neptune....	13	3	7	23 sections.
Niagara....	14	5	1	20 sections.
Good Intent .....	8½	6	5½	20 sections.
Relief.....	11	3	1	15 sections.
Independence ....	7	3	0	10 sections."

In May, 1859, ten steamboats lying at the Monongahela wharf were destroyed by fire. They were the Cremona, Belmont, Potomac, Commerce, Jenny Gray, Panola, Henry Graff, Council Bluffs, James Wood and J. H. Conn. From \$10,000 to \$12,000 worth of goods on the vessels was also burnt. The total loss was estimated at over \$100,000. The insurance was \$73,600, among which the Citizens' held \$24,000, Monongahela \$16,500, Eureka \$19,000, Pennsylvania \$3,500 and Western \$3,000.

In the spring of 1861 Pittsburg had two steam fire-engines in the possession of the Eagle and Niagara companies. The funds to procure them were raised mainly by the companies themselves. In 1864, under an act of the Legislature, N. Grattan Murphy was appointed fire marshal of Allegheny County. Assistants in the ten wards of Pittsburg were appointed in May, 1865.

A paid fire department was established by act of the Legislature in March, 1870, and the full management thereof was placed in the hands of the councils. The first step was to levy a heavy assessment on insurance companies and agencies, but this method was soon found to be unwise and unsatisfactory. In 1873 a loan of \$200,000 was negotiated and the necessary engines and equipments were purchased. Direct management was placed in charge of a board of fire commissioners. All the old companies were absorbed in 1870, new companies were organized and all sections of the city were provided with means of extinguishing fires.

In recent years the burning of the Masonic Temple and of the Hamilton building on Fifth Avenue are memorable. In May, 1897, the burning of the Horne and the Jenkins buildings seemed to show that neither the Pittsburg fire department nor the fireproof character of recent large buildings can prevent great destruction from fire. When the full force is unable to prevent a

fire from leaping across the street and burning such a structure as the Horne building, property owners are led to inquire what real security from fire may we expect from the department? The property destroyed was valued at about \$2,000,000. In recent years insurance has been carried into many new fields, and the latest project is the union of all the fire insurance companies into one association. Another recent advance is the location here of a life insurance company. It is estimated that Pittsburg and environs have sent East for each of several years from \$6,000,000 to \$8,000,000 for premiums on life insurance. Why local capital has not sought this profitable field would be difficult to explain. There are now in the city about twenty engines, nearly all being modern and powerful. A fire-boat will be placed on the rivers soon, the people at the last bond issue having voted \$45,000 for that purpose. Child insurance, burglar insurance, guarantee of debts, insurance against dishonesty, accidents, floods, tornadoes and the destruction of all kinds of property, such as plate glass, etc., are modern inventions. Since Chief Humphreys has assumed control of the fire department he has introduced a system of inspection by the officers and men which has greatly reduced the fire hazard and the number of conflagrations. The firemen are required to familiarize themselves with the buildings in their district, the mode of ingress and egress, the nature of the business, the storage of materials, etc. The down-town territory is divided into five districts. The captain makes a periodical examination of the buildings within the precinct, then the lieutenant goes around, and later the men. When a fire breaks out the firemen know what to expect and what to do. The plan is of mutual benefit to the property owners and the firemen. Chief Humphreys says the business people, with few exceptions, have been glad to see the firemen, have afforded them every facility to go through their buildings, and that the recommendations and precautions offered are kindly received, and, in most instances, carried out. The following are the leading insurance companies in 1897:

	Est'd.	Capital.		Est'd.	Capital.
Allemannia . . . . .	1868	\$200,000	Mfrs' and Mchts' . . . . .	1865	\$250,000
Allegheny . . . . .	1859	100,000	Monongahela . . . . .	1854	175,000
Armenia . . . . .	1872	250,000	National . . . . .	1866	100,000
Artisans' . . . . .	1866	100,000	People's . . . . .	1862	150,000
Ben Franklin . . . . .	1866	150,000	Pittsburg . . . . .	1851	100,000
Birmingham . . . . .	1871	200,000	Teutonia . . . . .	1871	125,000
Citizens' . . . . .	1849	500,000	Union . . . . .	1871	100,000
City . . . . .	1870	100,000	Western . . . . .	1849	300,000
German . . . . .	1862	200,000	Central Accident . . . . .	1895	100,000
German-American . . . . .	1873	100,000	Pittsburg Life . . . . .	1897	300,000
Humboldt . . . . .	1871	100,000			

## CHAPTER XXXII.

MORALITY—FIRST RELIGIOUS SERVICES—EARLIEST CHURCH ESTABLISHED—NAMES OF THE FIRST PASTORS—BUILDINGS ERECTED—EARLY MEMBERSHIP—APPEARANCE OF INFIDELITY—MISSIONARY SOCIETIES—WAVES OF RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND REGENERATION—NEW CONGREGATIONS FORMED—BRACKENRIDGE'S BILL—LOTS GRANTED BY THE PENNS—THE CHURCH LOTTERY—CHURCHES OF 1808—PITTSBURG BIBLE SOCIETY—SINFUL AMUSEMENTS OPPOSED—WESTERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY—UNION SUNDAY-SCHOOL SOCIETY—A FREE SCHOOL SUPPORTED—DEATH OF LIEUTENANT CRAIG—SUNDAY-SCHOOLS ENUMERATED—LIST OF CHURCHES IN 1819—UNITED FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY—SUNDAY-SCHOOLS REORGANIZED IN 1825—RESOLUTIONS AGAINST DUELING AND INTEMPERANCE—CATHOLICISM OPPOSED—EXTRAORDINARY GROWTH OF RELIGION IN 1831-3—ATHEISM AND THE MANUFACTURER—USEFULNESS OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION—NEW CREEDS—YOUNG MEN'S SOCIETY—DANCING CONSIDERED—OTHER BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETIES—CRUSADE OF 1840-1—OPEN-AIR PREACHING—THE PURISTS—A CATHOLIC PROTEST—PITTSBURG CALLED "THE CITY OF CHURCHES"—GROWTH OF SPIRITUALISM—BARKER AND KIRKLAND—YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL DENOUNCED—THE CATHOLIC QUESTION AGAIN—CHURCHES OF 1855—REPORTS OF SOCIETIES—REVIVAL OF 1858—GROWTH OF CHURCHES DOWN TO THE PRESENT—LATER ASSOCIATIONS—STATISTICS OF 1890.

The first religious services in Pittsburg were held in 1749 by Jesuit Father Bonnecamp, who accompanied the expedition of Captain Louis De Céloron. At that time that officer took possession of the Ohio Valley and planted the plates to signalize the event. Five years later services were held by Denys Baron, of the Order of Saint Francis, who came down the Allegheny with Captain Contrecoeur. These men were attached to the military commands and did not come here for permanent religious labor. Father Baron left with Captain Contrecoeur when the latter deserted Fort Duquesne in 1758. The Catholics were not represented here, so far as known, by any priest until after the Revolutionary War. By 1784 it was estimated that there were probably 75 Catholic families living in the Monongahela Valley and in the vicinity of Pittsburg. A messenger was sent in 1784 to the Superior at Baltimore asking that a priest might be supplied to the Catholics of the Monongahela Valley, but owing to the lack of priests the request could not be granted. Succeeding that date, and previous to 1798, only occasionally a priest visited Pittsburg. Among them were Rev. Patten Lonergan, Rev. Peter Helbron, the latter of whom came occasionally from Sportsman Hill, near Latrobe. While here the latter stopped at the house of General O'Hara, who had formerly been a Catholic. Only a few families of Catholics lived in Pittsburg, and the records show that the priests found very few adherents of that faith to call them to Pittsburg. In November, 1808, Rev. William F. X. O'Brien was appointed the first resident priest. His residence stood on Second Street, near Grant, and one of the rooms therein was fitted up as a chapel. About this time, or the following year, the first Catholic church, which stood at the corner of Liberty and Washington streets, was commenced, and after great difficulty was finally dedicated in August,

1811, by Bishop Egan, of Philadelphia, the first bishop to cross the Alleghany Mountains and hold services in the West.

It seems to be the prevailing opinion that the Lutherans were the first religious body to form an organization in Pittsburg. They are known to have had a small congregation here as early as 1783, and at the same time the Reformers were represented here by an organization. These facts were made known by the German traveler Schoepf, who visited America and published two works on his travels. The two congregations of Lutherans and Reformers held services in the same building and at first were ministered to by the same pastor. The branches represented were the Protestant Evangelical Lutherans and the Protestant Reformers. The Penns donated to these organizations two lots. The congregations were too small and poor to warrant them in sustaining more than one minister, and unfortunately the name of the first one cannot be obtained. Neither can the date when these societies were first organized be given, but probably not earlier than 1781 and perhaps not until 1783. Among the early ministers were Revs. Steck, Schnee and Geissenheimer.

On November 26, 1758, two days after the departure of the French from Fort Duquesne, Rev. Charles Beatty, chaplain of Colonel Clapham's regiment, preached a thanksgiving sermon for the great victory which had been given to the English army. No doubt he afterward preached other sermons at Fort Pitt. In 1766 Rev. McLagan was present at Fort Pitt, and a little later Rev. Mr. Anderson also held services here. These ministers were members of the Presbyterian Church. In 1771 Rev. James Findley crossed the mountains to the West, but did not settle in what is now Western Pennsylvania until 1783, when he located in Westmoreland County. In 1774 Rev. Joseph Power visited the Western settlements, and two years later brought his family out. Rev. John McMillan came to Washington County in 1776; Rev. Thaddeus Todd to the same county in 1771, and Rev. Joseph Smith to the same county in 1780. In 1784 the latter was assigned by the Redstone Presbytery to Pittsburg, his ministrations to begin in August of that year. During 1784 and 1785 occasional preaching by the ministers of the Redstone Presbytery, of which Pittsburg was a part, was held here. In the autumn of 1785 Rev. Samuel Barr began regular pastoral work in Pittsburg. In September, 1787, the first Presbyterian congregation was incorporated, and about the same time a small log church was erected on lots which had been donated by the Penn heirs. Rev. Barr's ministrations ended in 1789, and after that the congregation was furnished with "supplies" only until 1800; at which date an important revival was held and so increased the membership that the Presbytery began to take greater interest in the affairs of the flock at Pittsburg. In 1802 the Synod of Pittsburg was formed and after that time the congregation had a continuous and fairly prosperous existence. Among the earliest ministers connected with the congregation were Robert Steele, John Andrews, Francis Herron, Joseph Stockton, Robert Patterson and Elisha P. Swift. In 1802-3 several families withdrew from the First Presbyterian Church and organized the Second Presbyterian congregation. In 1802 the First Church of the Western Missionary Society was formed. For the first twenty or thirty years the First and Second congregations were the only representatives here of that denomination. In 1814 the First Presbyterian Church of Allegheny was formed, and in 1828 East Liberty congregation was organized.

The First Associate Church was organized in 1801, and the following year Rev. Ebenezer Henderson was assigned as its pastor. He continued to serve until 1808, when he was succeeded by Rev. Robert Bruce, who ministered to the congregation with great satisfaction and success for nearly forty years. The Second Associate Church was organized in 1815, and the following year Rev. Joseph McElroy was assigned to the congregation.



The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Allegheny County was fully organized in 1799, and the pastor, Dr. Black, was installed the following year and continued to serve until 1849. At the time of the disruption of the church in 1833 he became an adherent of the New-lights. The Reformed Church was first established about 1789 or 1790, and its first building was known as the Smithfield church.

The Protestant Episcopal congregation was established in 1790 and was the first Episcopal organization west of the mountains. The Nevilles and Isaac Craig were among the first members. The building was commenced in 1790 and finished in 1791. In 1797 Rev. John Taylor was called to take charge of the congregation, and in 1805 a regular parish was organized and a charter obtained. Among the members at this time were the Nevilles, Samuel Roberts, Nathaniel Irish, James and Jeremiah Barber, Dr. Andrew Richardson, Dr. Nathaniel Bedford and Oliver Ormsby. This congregation, now known as Trinity, became the mother of all Episcopal churches in Western Pennsylvania. During the first twenty or twenty-five years the church was not prosperous, and was supplied by various rectors for short periods. In the twenties it was greatly strengthened by the Rev. John Hopkins.

The Methodist Episcopal Church had a small beginning in Pittsburg, as early as 1784, when Mrs. Mary Gaut and the three daughters of Thomas Wilson, her brother, held services by reading Wesley's sermons, and singing and praying. After a few years these few Methodists left Pittsburg, but in 1785 Rev. Wilson Lee held services in a tavern on Water Street. In 1788 the Pittsburg circuit was organized and Rev. Charles Conway was appointed preacher in charge and was reappointed in 1789, at the close of which year he reported in Pittsburg and vicinity a total of 97 members, only a few of whom resided in town. Rev. Pemberton Smith took charge of the congregation in 1789; Revs. George Callan and Joseph Doddridge succeeded in 1790, and Rev. Charles Conway again in 1791. The Methodists received their first important accession upon the arrival here of John Wrenshall in 1796. He was a man of considerable ability, great piety, and had been a Methodist Episcopal minister for sixteen years. He had a large family and followed the occupation of merchandising. He joined the congregation and regular services were thereafter held; first in the old log building of the Presbyterians on Wood Street near Sixth, which had been deserted, and later, when they were locked out of that building, in the room furnished by Peter Shiras in the old barracks of Fort Pitt. At this time the principal members were Wrenshall and wife, Shiras and wife, Robert McElhenney and wife, Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Chess and James Kerr. Mr. Shiras was a great addition to the Church, and when he left in 1802 his loss was a serious blow to the congregation; however, the following year Thomas Cooper, Sr., joined the church, and its former prosperity thereupon returned. In 1807 Nathaniel Holmes and Edward Hazleton became members, still further strengthening the class. They occupied various rooms, and finally, in about 1810, their first church, a brick structure, was erected. In 1817, so great had become the membership, a new church was commenced at Smithfield and Seventh streets and completed the following year. In 1819-20 a revival held by Rev. Samuel Davis greatly increased the membership, and thereafter its existence and prosperity were assured.

The Baptists were not represented in Pittsburg with an organization until 1812, at which date the first congregation of that denomination west of the mountains was established. They remained attached to the Monongahela Association until 1839, when the Pittsburg Association was formed. At the time this congregation was formed they withdrew from the Redstone Association, of which they had previously been a part. The first congregation consisted of six families,

comprising a membership of about twelve. Rev. Edward Jones was the first pastor, and the first services were held in houses and later in halls, until finally the congregation was chartered in 1822. Sidney Rigdon was one of the charter members. He afterward attained fame by his connection with the Mormon Church. Mr. Rigdon was a printer by trade, and in some manner came into possession of Solomon Spaulding's work, "Manuscript Found," which afterward, it was claimed, became the new part of the Mormon Bible. Mr. Rigdon was pastor of this congregation from 1822 probably until 1827, at which time he was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Williams, who afterward became prominent as an active Anti-Masonic leader. By 1843 this congregation had a membership of 314, and had dismissed several congregations. Their brick church was built in 1833 at Grant and Third streets. In 1841 the Grant Street Baptist Church was organized; in 1835 fifteen persons from the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh organized the First Baptist Church of Allegheny. In 1826 the Welsh Baptists effected an organization as a branch of the First Baptist Church.

The *Gazette* of August 26, 1786, said that "a clergyman is settled in this town of the Calvinist Church; some of the inhabitants are of the Lutheran or Episcopal church, but the distinction is brought little into view. . . . A clergyman of the German Calvinist Church also occasionally preaches in this town, and it is expected from the increase of inhabitants that a clergyman who can deliver himself in this language will, in a short time, be supported here altogether. . . . In laying out the town of Pittsburgh five lots have been assigned for churches and for burying grounds: this comprehends the former burying ground, which is adjoining the ancient cemetery of the natives, being one of those mounds before mentioned and which, from the height of the earth in this place, would seem to have been a place of sepulture for ages. These lots are about the center of the town as it is laid out, and at an intermediate distance between the two rivers. A church is on the way to be built of squared timber and moderate dimensions, which may accommodate the people until a large building can be erected." In January, 1787, Mr. Brackenridge wrote as follows from Philadelphia: "A bill is published to incorporate trustees for a religious Christian society in Pittsburgh, and when passed into a law I shall take a conveyance from the Mr. Penns of a number of lots for the use of the church or churches and the burying grounds." About a month later Mr. Brackenridge wrote as follows in a letter addressed to the people of Pittsburgh: "There are those who tell me that many of you are greatly dissatisfied with my having represented you in the House of Assembly as Christians only and not of any particular sect; and with my having proposed taking a charter of incorporation of our church, without any distinguishing characteristic of Episcopal or Presbyterian or otherwise. Now, I am of the Christian faith, as you are, but with respect to mode of church government or mode of worship they are with me of no moment. Having the same good opinion of your undertaking that I have of my own, I had believed you would have thought so likewise. I had hoped that, seated on the utmost verge of the inhabited globe and separated from the old world by a great mountain, you would have taken up things on the same principles, and presented a church like those in the time of the first apostles, distinguished by the name of 'Christian' only, and have left it to divines in futures times to dispute, as they now do, about those of Smyrna or Ephesus, whether you were Presbyterian or Episcopal. But since this cannot be, so far as I can accomplish it, you shall have your wish in all things. If it is your desire that a church be incorporated under the name 'Presbyterian,' you will signify it by instructions to that effect, and I shall obey them. It will also be necessary that you transmit me a list of the names of trustees, for I do not know who are Presbyterians amongst you, at least with certainty, and would not wish to take upon me in

these church affairs, which are of a nature extremely delicate, more than is absolutely necessary."

In January, 1790, the Presbyterians of Pittsburg assembled in their meeting-house for the purpose of extending a call to a minister for the congregation. It was announced that all who had been members thereof, and others who should actually become members by subscription, should be eligible to vote. At this time David Duncan was president of the board of trustees. The lots granted by the Penns to Trinity Church were numbers 435, 436, and a half of 437, of the general plan of the town. These lots were conveyed to John Gibson, John Ormsby, Devereaux Smith and Nathaniel Bedford in trust for the benefit of the Protestant Episcopal Church (Trinity). In March, 1806, the Legislature confirmed the ownership of the Church to these lots. The Presbyterian meeting-house stood on Wood Street at the upper end. In 1798 the *Gazette* said "that fast day was observed by all except four persons, two of whom were supposed not to be entitled to citizenship." The examinations of the columns of the old newspapers of about that date indicate that there existed here a strong element of atheism. Thomas Paine and his works were often referred to, and it is evident that his principles had several followers in this vicinity. In September, 1803, there were four religious congregations in Pittsburg, as follows: Presbyterian, Dutch, Lutheran and Covenantor or Seceder." By act of April 13, 1807, the Legislature commissioned John Wilkins, Sr., John Johnston, William Boggs and William Porter to raise by means of a lottery a sum not to exceed \$3,000, to be used in finishing the Presbyterian church at Pittsburg, and it was further provided that before the tickets should be drawn the plan of conducting the lottery should be laid before the Governor, to be by him approved. The commissioners were required to enter into bonds to conduct a fair drawing, and each was required to take oath for the faithful discharge of his duty, and two or more of the commissioners were required to attend the drawing each day and to publish the fortunate numbers in the papers and to pay prizes within six months; and it was also provided that in case any prize should not be drawn at the end of one year, the same should be turned over to the church. This lottery scheme was a total failure. The congregation became involved in debt and the church was sold under the hammer in 1811, Rev. Mr. Herron buying it in his own name. Under him it greatly prospered. By 1814 the church had \$150 surplus in its treasury, and wings were added in 1817. Regular weekly prayer meetings were added in 1817. Mr. Cuming said "that in 1808 there were seven societies of Christians in Pittsburg, as follows: Presbyterian, Episcopal, Covenantor, German Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Methodist Episcopal and Anabaptist." The Catholic church was erected on ground at the north end of Liberty Street, donated by General O'Hara. In 1810 the Methodists were busy collecting subscriptions to be used in building their church. In 1810, according to Mr. Cuming, there were here one Episcopal church, three Presbyterians, one German Lutheran, one Covenantor, one Methodist and one Catholic, the latter having an "excellent organ." The Episcopal church was an octagonal building, constructed of brick, which stood at the upper end of Wood Street and across the street, nearly opposite, was the Presbyterian brick meeting-house. The octagonal church was long a familiar landmark. On a remote street, near Grant's Hill, stood a small brick Presbyterian church, which was used by a branch organization. Near the latter stood the German Lutheran meeting-house, and in the northeastern part of the town was a "very good brick meeting-house for a large congregation of Covenantors." Outside of the town, near the residence of Mr. Woods, "a handsome brick church is building for a society of Roman Catholics." Mr. Cuming says: "A respectable society of Methodist Episcopalians meet at each other's houses, not having yet any meeting house;" and also that "the Court-

house is well built of brick, is spacious and convenient for judiciary purposes and serves for a place of worship for the Episcopal Society until their own church is finished, as also occasionally for itinerant preachers to display their oratory, and the jury-room upstairs is sometimes converted into a very good theater where private theatricals are practiced in the winter by young gentlemen of the town." In 1808 Mr. Steele ministered to the Presbyterian congregation, Mr. Taylor to the Episcopal, Mr. Boggs to the Second Presbyterian, Mr. Black to the Covenanters and Mr. Sheva to the German Lutherans. About this time the Synod of Pittsburg was constituted the Western Missionary Society, for the purpose of spreading education and Christianity among the Indians. In 1814 the Pittsburg Bible Society was organized in the First Presbyterian church. What the society accomplished during its early existence cannot be stated. During 1824 Rev. Joseph Patterson reported that the society delivered 150 Bibles, 101 Testaments, and that during the seven years ending with the close of 1824 it had delivered 2,382 Bibles and 1,180 Testaments. The *Niles Register* of April, 1815, states that there were eight places of worship in Pittsburg, as follows: "Two Presbyterian, one Episcopal, one Seceder, one Covenanter, one German Lutheran, one Methodist and one Catholic." That journal also stated that Pittsburg's permanent library consisted of about 2,000 volumes. The Bible Society was organized, as before stated, March 18, 1814, in the Academy building, pursuant to a call emanating from the Philadelphia Auxiliary Bible Society through the instrumentality of the Rev. Francis Herron, who called the meeting for that purpose. In October, 1817, the Pittsburg Synod of the Presbyterian Church reported against the use of ardent spirits, except as a medicine; this was a confirmation of previous action of the same import by that body. The synod also discountenanced "attendance upon balls, dances, routs, theatrical exhibitions and other vain amusements by the members of our church." In the report of the committee on the state of the presbyteries in October, 1817, appears the following passage: "In the city of Pittsburg and elsewhere there are a number of praying societies and Bible classes which have been formed in several of their congregations and are well attended." In October, 1817, the Western Missionary Society of the Synod of Pittsburg assembled, and Matthew Brown was chosen moderator and Francis Herron clerk. Missionaries to all of the Indian districts of the West were appointed, among whom were Revs. Michael Law, Robert Johnston, Abraham Boyd, John Munson, Lyman Potter, Thomas Hunt, John Matthews and A. G. Fairchild. In 1818 the church building for the Associate Reformed congregation was opened and dedicated. In 1818 General O'Hara presented to the First Presbyterian Church a beautiful chandelier, which had just been imported.

In March, 1818, the Pittsburg Union Society for the promotion of Sunday-school work held its first quarterly meeting. The officers were: John P. Skelton, president; Mark Stackhouse, vice-president, and James Belden, secretary. The society thus far had met with splendid encouragement, and in March it was proposed to open a free school for the benefit of the poor. General O'Hara offered to donate a lot for the school. Steps were taken to collect funds, and thus the Adelphi Free School, of which an account will be found elsewhere, was established. It was a combined Sunday and public school for the benefit of poor children. Soon after this was organized the Young Men's Auxiliary Bible Society, connected with which were the following gentlemen: "Harmar Denny, John H. Hopkins, Daniel Chute, H. Sterling, J. H. Lambdin, James Wilson, Samuel P. Bolles, Michael Allen, V. B. McGahan, John R. Stockman, A. Liggett, B. R. Evans, James Belden, John D. Davis, E. Selden and Samuel H. Richardson. Mr. Denny was president in 1818 and Michael Allen treasurer.

"For Sale or Barter.—The one-half of pew number 44, in the Second Pres-



byterian Meeting-house. The good old leader who has labored with and for us many years, and who was popular enough to preach in an old carpenter shop until he had strengthened the congregation sufficient to enable it to build a regular meeting-house, which is now finished, who has borne the heat and burden of the day, has not been considered worthy to reap the benefit of his labors, and for want of popularity has been discharged and a man more in favor has appeared in his stead. It is now thought a good time to transfer the right of said property to one of the supporters of this favorite, as the owner never went to preaching to hear popularity explained, but rather the truths of the Gospel" (a).

Lieutenant Isaac E. Craig, fourth son of Major Isaac Craig, of Pittsburg, was killed in a duel with Lieutenant Maul, at Bay St. Louis, July 26, 1819 at the age of twenty-two years. Both his father and grandfather had served with distinction in the Revolution. This melancholy event called out an earnest remonstrance from the local churches against dueling.

The first annual report of the Pittsburg Sunday-school Association was rendered in February, 1819. It was shown by that report that previous to the organization of the society several Sabbath-schools had been instituted in Pittsburg by young ladies and gentlemen, who first went in debt to secure elementary books for the poor children, who were rescued by them from idleness and vice and brought into the school. It was shown that as soon as the association was organized the debts of the various Sunday-schools thus incurred were assumed, and thereafter the affairs of the separate organizations were merged into the Union Society. In February, 1819, the association comprised ten Sunday-schools, as follows: 1. In the Methodist Episcopal church, on Front Street near Smithfield; 2. A colored Sabbath-school at the schoolroom of the colored people on Smithfield Street near the weighhouse, adjoining the alley between Third and Fourth streets; 3. In Masonic Hall, on Wood Street above Fifth; 4. At W. and R. Moody's schoolroom, on Fourth Street; 5. At John M. Riddle's schoolroom, on Wood Street; 6. At McElroy's schoolroom, on Sixth street; 7. On Smithfield Street, between Sixth and Seventh; 8. In Bayardstown; 9. In Allegheny; 10. One recently organized in Mr. Bruce's church on Seventh Street. During the first year of its existence the association gathered into Sunday-schools about 550 children and gratuitously taught a colored school. Every church in Pittsburg and vicinity had joined in the movement. The people had been liberal and expenses had been paid as fast as they had accumulated. During the year a total of \$178.62 was collected, and \$177.77 was spent. It was announced at the close of the first year by the board of management that the association would require for the coming year more funds; they announced that the year 1818 had been an experiment and had proved a most gratifying success, and all advised a continuance of united labor. Joseph Patterson was reelected president of the association, Thomas Davis first vice-president, Charles Avery second vice-president, J. M. Riddle secretary, and Daniel Chute treasurer. The directors were Messrs. Davis, Hannen, Hazleton, Thompson, Hartupie, McGahan, Fairman, Bell, Craig, Hall, Plumb, Church, Hind, Marshall, Wilson, Snowden, Clark, Smith and Hills.

Great good was accomplished in 1818-19 by the Sunday-school Association of Pittsburg, which rescued from vice, idleness and crime several hundred of children. "There is no place perhaps where institutions of this kind are more necessary than in this city. The great mass of our population consists of people who are apt to be careless of the minds and morals of their children, and the constant influx of strangers, to which we are subjected, must still further unsettle

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(a) Gazette, October 13, 1818.



our habits" (c). On Christmas, 1818, Rev. Francis Herron preached to these children, whose number and deportment under their teachers excited surprise and pleasure.

In February, 1819, there were in Pittsburg eleven religious societies, of which seven owned their own churches. The latter were as follows: Presbyterians, Seceders, Covenanters, Union Association, Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics; and the following were without buildings of their own: Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist and German Protestant. It was noticed by the *Gazette* in March, 1819, that the Episcopal church and the Catholic chapel each had a small but serviceable organ, and that several of the houses were large and comfortable buildings, with no pretense to architectural excellence, except that the Episcopal church had a "pretty cupola."

In May, 1820, the United Foreign Missionary Society, composed of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Associate Reformed Church and the Reformed Dutch Church, addressed a letter to Rev. Francis Herron requesting him to take steps to obtain a subscription of provisions and articles to be used in building for the missionary family of twenty-five persons, who were soon to pass through Pittsburg on their way to establish a mission among the Osage Indians on the Arkansas River. This was the first effort made by the society and the three churches above mentioned to spread the Gospel among the Indians of the West. Through the efforts of Dr. Herron \$1,209.85 in cash and a large supply of provisions and building materials were collected and turned over to the missionaries upon their arrival in Pittsburg.

In 1820 Mr. Patterson was reelected president of the Sabbath-school Association, Thomas Davis and Matthew B. Lowrie vice-presidents, James Hall secretary, and Daniel Chute treasurer. In January, 1822, Trinity Church was given authority to sell the triangular lot and building thereon at Wood, Liberty and Sixth streets. In 1822 the first Welsh congregation was established. In 1822 the *Pittsburg Recorder*, the first religious newspaper west of the Alleghany Mountains, was established in Pittsburg by Rev. Mr. Andrews.

The Sunday-school Association which was organized in 1818 and which started out auspiciously seems to have become extinct early in the twenties. At least in 1825 a Sunday-school association of the Presbyterian Church was organized and placed on a substantial footing. Annually thereafter anniversary services were held for many years. In 1836 this society held its eleventh anniversary meeting, and at that date James Wilson was elected president, Samuel Beatty treasurer, and O. P. Blair secretary. The society reported that during the previous year it had collected \$259.90 for the Sunday-school house at Arthursville and had received from various sources for the benefit of the seven Sunday-schools under its care a total of \$123. Of the seven Sunday-schools connected with the association six reported 456 scholars in attendance, sixty teachers and 873 volumes in their libraries.

In April, 1827, at a general meeting of all the Christian denominations of Pittsburg strong action was taken against dueling and intemperance. Dr. Black delivered a powerful lecture against dueling to a crowded house in the First Presbyterian church. He declared openly that every duelist was a violator of the sixth commandment, and in case he caused death was unquestionably a murderer. The meeting passed resolutions recommending Congress to pass a law prohibiting dueling and to disfranchise all duelists.

In 1821 the first distinctive Female Bible Society was organized, and in 1826 the first Auxiliary Tract Society was formed. In 1827 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church formally decided to locate the Western Theo-

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(c) *Gazette*, 1819.

logical Seminary in Alleghenytown, as it was then called. By 1827 the Female Bible Society of Pittsburg, the president of which was Mrs. E. F. Denny, was in a flourishing condition and doing most excellent work.

In April, 1827, the Pittsburg Sabbath-school Union made its first annual report, embracing among other important events the following statistics:

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Sabbath-school Association of the Second			
Presbyterian Church .....	3	38	190
Pittsburg Sabbath-school Association.....	3	96	476
Sabbath-school Association of the First			
Presbyterian Church.....	2	37	170
Allegheny Sabbath-school.....	1	12	120
Lawrenceville Sabbath-school .....	1	6	60
African day-school .....	1	6	60
African Ewing school.....	1	6	70
Beavertown Sabbath-school.....	1	12	90
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total auxiliary.....	13	213	1,336
Not connected with the Union were the following:			
Episcopal Sabbath-school.....	1	12	100
Rev. Mr. Tassey's church.....	1	3	40
Phoenix Sabbath-school, Bayardstown....	1	8	50
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total .....	16	236	1,526

At this time the officers of the Sabbath-school Union were as follows: M. B. Lowrie, president; John Hannen and Charles Craig, vice-presidents; Luke Loomis, corresponding secretary; Isaac Harris, recording secretary; John McKee, treasurer. The Pittsburg Sabbath-school Union celebrated July 4, 1827, in a locust grove at the south end of the Presbyterian church. There were present not less than 1,200 children. Rev. Mr. Cook opened the services with prayer, and addresses were delivered by Revs. Francis Herron and Elisha P. Swift. Many songs and hymns were sung and a fine dinner spread out under the trees was enjoyed. Rev. Joseph Stockton closed the services with prayer.

In 1827 the Pittsburg conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church numbered about ninety ministers. The adherence of this conference to the organic principles of lay delegation came near causing the bishops to dissolve that body about this time. In 1828 the Methodist Church in Pittsburg was formally incorporated. In April, 1828, action was taken by the Christians of all the different denominations toward the formation of a national society, which should have for its object the promotion of the sanctification of the Sabbath. Of the meeting taking this action Rev. Dr. Black was chairman and Thomas Fairman secretary. In 1829 the Pittsburg Sabbath-schools took united action to establish here a permanent depository for Sunday-school funds. Of this meeting Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., was chairman. He announced that it had been determined to raise \$400 for the branch depository, and a committee of twelve was appointed to solicit donations. This committee consisted of Messrs. Laughlin, Douthett, Kerr, Black, Leech, Hart, Beer, Childs, Wilson, Huston, Greenough and Lowrie. A committee of six persons was appointed to reestablish the colored Sunday-school. The members of this committee were Messrs. Williams, Torode, Reed, Beer, Marshall and Albee.

In 1830 the extraordinary spread of Catholicism over the United States began to be seriously considered by the Protestant denominations. It was



observed with alarm that many of the principal officers in the service of the Government were adherents of that faith, and the various denominations of Pittsburg held numerous public meetings in which the question of limiting the power of the Catholics and the spread of the influence of that church were discussed with becoming gravity. Later in the thirties, the influence of the Catholics having been still further extended, a newspaper war was waged against the appointment of Catholics as such to any office of trust under the Government. The appointment of Roger B. Taney, a Catholic, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States aroused an indignant protest from the Protestants throughout the country, and particularly in Pittsburg. At that time a bishop of the Catholic Church was here, and that religious body had greatly increased in numbers, and had already gained a strong foothold in the political circles of Western Pennsylvania. Many citizens and county officers were adherents of that faith, and for many years the danger of the spread of Catholicism was painted in lurid colors by the Protestant and secular press. On the other hand, the Catholics quietly and persistently pursued the inscrutable rites and ceremonies of their organization, and continued greatly to increase in numbers and in civil and political influence and prominence.

In 1831 the Sabbath-school Association of the First Presbyterian Church embraced eight separate schools, with a total scholarship of 600, and with twenty-eight male and thirty-two female teachers, thirteen superintendents and four secretaries. At this time there was introduced into at least one of the Sunday-schools the infant monitorial school system, the first of its kind commenced west of the mountains. In a short time it numbered from 80 to 100 children, ranging in age from two to ten years. This infant school was conducted in the lecture-room of the church. One of the schools was located at the lower glass-works, and another, consisting of colored children, was held in the African church. No. 8 was held in the Welsh church in Pipestown.

The early thirties witnessed an extraordinary growth of local churches. In three consecutive years, from 1831 to 1833, inclusive, there were built a total of seventeen new churches. Previous to 1831 ten church buildings had supplied the spiritual wants of the inhabitants, but commencing with the growth of the city and its wonderful prosperity at the time of the construction of the canal, the churches, like every other feature and interest, underwent a complete transformation, and enjoyed a degree of prosperity unparalleled in the previous history of this community. The new churches erected were as follows: One Methodist Episcopal church, 56 by 74 feet; Methodist Protestant, 62 by 76 feet; Reformed Presbyterian (rebuilt), 50 by 65 feet; Presbyterian church in Northern Liberties, 50 by 60 feet; Methodist Protestant in Allegheny, 44 by 60 feet; Methodist Episcopal church in Allegheny, 35 by 58 feet; Associate Reformed in Allegheny, 45 by 60 feet; Presbyterian in Allegheny, 56 by 96 feet; two small Baptist churches; one fine Catholic cathedral; Third Presbyterian, 66 by 92 feet; one large Baptist, 48 by 56 feet; Cumberland Presbyterian, 36 by 60 feet; German Evangelical Protestant, 50 by 69 feet; one Presbyterian and one Episcopalian in Lawrenceville. This immense growth of churches was caused by the influx of new inhabitants, and, to a large extent, was confined to Allegheny, which borough was then growing at an astonishing rate. It is safe to say, in the absence of exact figures, that the church membership of Pittsburg, Allegheny and vicinity increased 100 per cent. The influence of this development was immediately felt in the great increase of the number of Sabbath-schools and in the attendance thereto, as well as in the increase in the number of tract, Bible and other auxiliary church societies. This infusion of new material, so to speak, caused a complete transformation in church methods which had previously prevailed. Many new ministers came, whose influence soon began to be felt among the

discordant and vicious elements which gathered here during the early years of the canal. Taken as a whole, no period in the history of Pittsburg of so short a lapse of time ever witnessed such a phenomenal development in the fields of religion. It was at this time that the first Unitarian Church was organized in Pittsburg.

While it is true that the Christians made such advancement, it is likewise true that atheism and infidelity began to publicly manifest themselves in this community. The *Pittsburg Manufacturer* espoused the cause of atheism and infidelity, and openly advocated the principles of Thomas Paine concerning religion. The paper gained many adherents, and soon an organization was effected on the lines of opposition to Christianity. Frances Wright, who was then fast coming to the notice of Pittsburgers for her iconoclastic lectures, was sustained by the *Manufacturer*, though ridiculed in unsparing terms by nearly all the other newspapers here. Her arguments against religious societies and government met a warm response from the friends of the *Manufacturer*. The result was a three-sided war between the newspapers of Pittsburg on the subjects of Infidelity, Catholicism and Protestantism. In May, 1831, a public meeting of the friends of Infidelity, the supporters of Frances Wright and the subscribers to the *Manufacturer* was held, and the following resolutions were adopted: "*Resolved*, That however good the intentions or sincere the zeal of the promoters of the Bible, tract or religious educational societies may be, in the opinion of this meeting their tendencies are pernicious and must be in their consequences detrimental to the welfare of the Republic; and that if these objections were not above the reach of refutation, from the difference of opinion that exists in relation to the objects contemplated by their advocates, they are wholly inadequate to the wants of the people and tend to the destruction of constitutional liberty. *Resolved*, That we regard the conduct of the members of Congress and the other public functionaries, who attended a meeting at Washington on the 16th of February, for the purpose of promoting a Sunday-school crusade against the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley, as an indirect violation of their constitutional duties, as the establishment of a dangerous precedent and an insult offered to the character of the nation. *Resolved*, That we regard the defeat of the petitioners for stopping Sunday mails and the arrest of the missionaries in Georgia as happy illustrations of that spirit of generous liberality which pervades the councils of the country and which a system of equal and rational education can alone preserve."

In speaking of the course of the *Manufacturer*, the *Gazette* of February, 1835, said: "We have for a long time refrained from noticing this infamous sheet. It is one of those vehicles of vile and detestable principles which can scarcely be referred to without loathing and abhorrence. Its position heretofore has been comparatively obscure. Being one out of the four Jackson papers in this city and vicinity it moved along less conspicuously and was scarcely to be noticed except by the filthy, slimy trail which it left in its progress."

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three persons be appointed to solicit the coöperation of the several Sabbath-school associations of this city and vicinity to confer on the expediency of forming a general association, to be represented by delegates in quarterly meetings or otherwise, as may best secure a united influence of the friends of the cause" (b).

In June, 1832, upon the appearance of cholera in Pittsburg, the clergy, elders and members of the several religious denominations met in the First Presbyterian church and passed resolutions admitting that there was just cause of alarm, and that the danger was sufficient to demand that every city and com-

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(b) Action of Sabbath-school Association of the Second Presbyterian Church.



munity should have recourse to religion by an acknowledgment of sin and supplications for mercy to God that he might graciously avert his judgments or mitigate their force, and recommended that all should meet in the churches on July 6th and observe that day as one of fasting, humiliation and prayer, and humble themselves and beseech him to interpose his help in this hour of danger. The Governor was asked to issue a proclamation and appoint a special day to be devoted to religious services. The Rev. John T. Pressly was chairman of this meeting, and John M. Snowden secretary.

In April, 1833, the churches, upon investigation, learned that less than one-half of the children of the city were accustomed to attend Sabbath-school, whereupon a union meeting was held and a committee appointed to divide the city into districts and call at every house to urge the necessity of placing all children under proper religious influences. Of this meeting J. H. McClelland was chairman and H. Newcomb secretary. At this time also union prayer-meetings were instituted and many revival proceedings were conducted. In February, 1834, a Young Men's Society, a religious organization founded upon moral principles similar to the Young Men's Christian Association of to-day, was established, and in a short time had a large membership. Shortly before this date the first thorough and successful movement in the cause of temperance had been commenced. The young ladies connected with the churches also organized a Young Ladies' Temperance Society.

The most important era of moral quickening in the history of the cities occurred during the early part of the decade of the thirties. The churches greatly increased in numbers and in interest; Sabbath-schools were greatly improved; temperance societies were organized; tract and Bible societies circulated many thousands of their publications; the crimes of dueling and slavery were realized, exposed and denounced, and in many other ways this community gave evidences of great moral advancement.

It was about this time that the Universalists established an organization here. Rev. N. G. Collins was probably the first pastor. The doctrines of the Universalists as expounded by Mr. Collins were severely criticised and condemned as unscriptural by nearly all of the other denominations. Even the newspapers declared that the position of the Universalists on the question of universal salvation was untenable from a Biblical standpoint. It was at this time also that sectarian lines began to be drawn more sharply than ever before in this vicinity, and from time to time the best thinkers and speakers of each church were put forward to champion the doctrine of their denominations. All these important changes and events, coupled with the wave of infidelity and social reform, combined to make the decade of the thirties the most memorable in the religious history of Pittsburg.

In 1833 the Young Men's Society took strong grounds against theaters. Their journal, *The Friend*, was a strong factor in this movement and as a means of improving the morals of the community. It did not hesitate to attack the theater, which at that time, like everything else connected with Pittsburg, received a great stimulus. A notable argument was conducted upon the subject of the immoral influences of the theater between a correspondent of *The Friend* and a correspondent of the *Gazette* in 1833. In this discussion the good and bad tendencies and influences of the theater were revealed and explained.

In May, 1835, the Third Presbyterian Church received from H. N. Hooper, of Boston, a bell weighing nearly 3,000 pounds, which they placed in the belfry of their new church. One of the most important of the early religious features of Pittsburg was the annual meeting here of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Invariably on these occasions many prominent divines from

different portions of the United States attended and conducted services in the various churches of this vicinity.

In 1835 severe charges of immorality were brought against the inmates of Saint Clair Nunnery, situated at Mount Alvernia, near Alleghenytown. They were promptly denied by John O'Reilly, pastor of Saint Paul's Church. Bishop Francis P. Kenrick assisted in clearing up the slander. Suits were threatened and instituted, but time showed the falsity of the reports (d).

In June, 1835, the newspapers noticed especially that Allegheny had undergone a wonderful transformation. In a half dozen years the place had grown from an insignificant village to a flourishing town of nearly 5,000 people. It had a theological seminary, many church organizations, fifteen Sabbath-schools, about the same number of day-schools, and its big cotton factories were beginning to attract the attention of the country. During the years 1833 and 1834 many of the new churches were dedicated. In March, 1835 steps were taken by the united churches to establish a reading-room for the benefit of steamboat men. At the head of this movement was Rev. Mr. Herron. The steamboat men as a class were wild, reckless, improvident and immoral, and the establishment of such an institution was regarded as a valuable accession to the moral influences of Pittsburg. Accordingly, at the corner of Wood and Water streets a room was provided by some benevolent gentlemen, where religious services were regularly conducted for the especial benefit of river men. The leading ministers of the city took turns in conducting the services. In 1837 the Old School and New School Presbyterian organizations separated.

Professor William B. Lacey, who was himself a Protestant clergyman, introduced into his female institute in 1837 instruction in dancing. He was severely criticised for this course, the newspapers asking why not introduce cards and billiard tables as well? At this time all the churches conducted a rigid crusade against dancing, card-playing and similar amusements. This movement was carried to such an extent that in 1837 the receipts from a large ball held on Washington's birthday were refused by the ladies of the Pittsburg Orphan Asylum. In 1837 the Methodist Episcopal Church had in Pittsburg three Sunday-schools, eight superintendents, sixty-eight teachers, 430 scholars and 940 white and four colored church members. The only two buildings were the Smithfield Street and the Liberty Street churches. Attached to the First Presbyterian Church were five Sabbath-schools, embracing about 500 children. A correspondent of the *Pittsburg Conference Journal* wrote as follows in January, 1838: "Although it is a little more than two years since they (Sabbath-schools) were first established with efficiency in Pittsburg and the West, yet such has already been the happy result that we have sent out devoted and faithful missionaries from our Sabbath-schools to three quarters of the globe. . . . We have been in meetings where the teachers of eight or ten different denominations have met in union to consult about the best interests of the schools. . . . We have seen in Pittsburg some of the largest and most profitable union meetings of Sabbath-schools and clergymen and parents of almost all the religious denominations to celebrate Christmas, New Year or the Fourth of July together. Never can we forget the Sabbath-school meeting held in Stevenson's grove, near the canal, six or eight years ago, when about 2,500 children, about 300 teachers, about 1,000 parents and spectators and as many as eight or ten ministers of different denominations met together in a most harmonious and happy Fourth of July meeting. Several addresses by Dr. Pressly, Dr. Herron and other clergymen were made."

In 1838 the Pittsburg Female Bible Society, a branch of the New York

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(d) Niles Register, August 15, 1835.

Bible Society, made its seventeenth annual report. In November, 1839, the first meeting of the Presbytery of Pittsburg, which had been recently erected as subordinate to the Synod of Pennsylvania, held its first session in this city. Rev. David H. Riddle delivered the opening sermon. In 1840 the Society for the Sacredness of the Sabbath instituted a system of religious services on the various steamboat lines of the rivers. John T. Pressly, Charles W. Andrews, Robert Dunlap and J. R. Kerr were the publication committee. The first Universalist Church of Pittsburg was incorporated in 1840. Among its charter members were Manning Hull, Ephraim and Josiah Frisbee, Joseph Millinger, John and Henry Hartman, William Miller, Otis Young, Robert Christy, David Jenkins, W. C. Anderson, Washington Irwin and others. The year 1840 was destined to witness another period of extraordinary growth for the religious organizations of this vicinity. Nearly two years previously a revival had started in one of the Methodist congregations, and had continued with varying success more or less until January, 1840, when it culminated in the greatest religious awakening this community ever underwent. At that date a wave seemed to sweep over the country and all the other churches of Pittsburg became involved. It was stated by the newspapers that every religious organization was receiving a large increase of membership through the instrumentality of protracted meetings. In every church hundreds of persons assembled for the prayers of the congregations. During January or February services were held in the mornings, afternoons and evenings, and the members appointed committees to visit all sections of the city and all classes of people to kindle still further the work of regeneration. It was not an uncommon thing for scores to join one church in a single week. The revival continued for several months, and no doubt nearly or quite doubled the membership of the churches.

In September, 1840, a movement was commenced which resulted in a union of all Sabbath-school associations of the city into one general association under the management of a board of directors. The first board consisted of J. D. Williams, B. McLain and J. McCurdy. At this time the churches were united in a desperate fight against intemperance and many associated vices. While each church worked for its own individual prosperity, it joined the others in a general movement to increase the interest in religious practices and observances, and to expand the influence of religion into every field in need of spiritual revival. At this time a persistent effort was made by the Sunday-school Association to prevent steamboats from running on Sundays so far as a conveyance of passengers and merchandise was concerned. So great had become the extent of gambling and drinking on the steamboats down the Ohio that the Sabbath-school Association of this city held a large meeting in the Reformed Presbyterian church in Allegheny to form in conjunction with other cities on that stream a line of temperance steamboats between Pittsburg and Louisville for the better observance of the Sabbath. A committee was appointed to investigate and report at an adjourned meeting held August 18, 1840, in the First Presbyterian church of Pittsburg. This committee announced that they had secured from ninety-nine of the leading commercial houses here a pledge to patronize such a line should it be organized, giving it the preference providing that the service and rates were equally as good. A resolution recommending the organization of such a line and pledging it the influence and support of the meeting was unanimously adopted. The publishing committee of the association were John T. Pressly, Charles W. Andrews, Robert Dunlap and J. R. Kerr (e).

On September 28, 1840, the following action was taken here: "Believing that it would be highly beneficial to Sabbath-schools and very useful toward the

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(e) Gazette, August 25, 1840.

moral and mental improvement of Sabbath-school teachers to form a general association, having for its principal objects arrangements for public lectures before all the teachers and friends of Sabbath-schools, monthly meetings for the discussion of subjects relative to religious education, and hearing addresses from members previously appointed, originating measures of general benefit to the schools, and by friendly discussion and interchange of sentiment and promote more union, sympathy and intelligence among the many laborers in the Sabbath-school cause in this city and vicinity; therefore, *Resolved*, That we do now form ourselves into such an association to be governed by the following rules: First—The name of this association shall be the Sabbath-school Teachers' Union and shall be composed of all Sabbath-school superintendents and teachers" (f).

It was noted in August, 1841, that several ministers of the city had begun to preach in other buildings than churches and in the open air, one of them being Rev. Mr. Bryan of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Favorable comments were uttered. The Second Street market-house was thus used (g).

In 1842 there were in Pittsburg, Allegheny and environs fifty-five church buildings and the following number of congregations: Presbyterian, 40; Associate and Associate Reformed, 6; Episcopal, 5; Baptist, 4; Catholic, 3; Lutheran, 2; Congregational, 2; Disciples, 2; Welsh, 3; colored, 4; and Unitarian, German Reform, German Protestant, Church of God, and Universalist, 1 each; total, 76. It will thus be seen that in twelve years the number of church buildings had been increased from 10 to 55, and the number of congregations from about 15 to 76. The increase in membership, although exact figures cannot be given, may be concluded to have been in proportion to the increase in the number of congregations; in other words, an increase of probably 400 per cent. This increase was proportionately greater than the increase in the growth of the cities and was not without its important effect in subsequent years. On the other hand the growth of infidelity, and particularly of Fourierism and various doctrines more or less antagonistic to religion, likewise found here a more or less fruitful soil. There grew up a class during the decade of the forties who professed to be purists, a class which sought to destroy the customs and views that had been in vogue for centuries on the subject of sociology and morals, and to substitute therefor communistic principles with a hope that society and civilization would be benefited thereby. Many of the best thinkers joined this movement, and among them was Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm, who a little later led the reform movement in this vicinity. The reformers began a system of street preaching and a concerted attack on established institutions in so violent a manner as to bring down upon themselves the antagonism of the churches, and in the end edicts of the civil authorities to prevent their meetings. The *Commercial Journal* of October 12, 1846, said: "We heard no less than four street preachers yesterday. We believe this to be a very excellent practice and it should be encouraged. Thousands would never hear a word of moral instruction were it not for street preaching."

During the decade of the forties the Catholic laity of Pittsburg assembled and issued a formal protest against the passage of the proposed bill to vest all church property in trustees instead of in the bishops, as had been done by the Catholic Church from time immemorial. In April, 1845, there was incorporated an Aid Society of the Pittsburg Annual Conference, for the support of disabled ministers, their widows and orphans. In June, 1846, the *Alleghenian* stated that "the burning of a theater in Canada, whereby nearly 100 persons suffered death, was intended by the Almighty as a warning to all persons to avoid the theater." The *Journal* thought the imputation that God was responsible for that holocaust

(f) Gazette, October 21, 1840.

(g) Gazette, August 9, 1841.

was too much to believe, and asked how about the bursting of the gas apparatus in a church here where several men were killed? Was the latter a warning for men not to go to church? The *Alleghenian* recommended the passage of a law declaring theaters a public nuisance and the performance of Shakespeare's "Othello" a criminal offense.

In February, 1846, a society calling themselves The Christian Union was organized, the object as stated being to glorify God by practical inculcation and observance of the Christian doctrine that we manifest our love of God by doing good to our fellow mortals in peace and brotherhood. The origin of this society was somewhat indefinite. At the time it was organized Messrs. Van Arminge and Stevenson were the principal speakers and advocates of the movement. No doubt the organization was one of the many reform movements in the domain of religion that were promulgated about this time. Rev. Hugh M. Kirkland became prominent here during the forties by preaching on the streets and by advocating many reforms and innovations in old religious practices. In 1846 he made it his special duty to expose the alleged fallacies of the sect calling themselves The Christian Union, and in his advertisement he said "of himself and in the course of his sermons he will incidentally refer to other abominable heresies which have also crept into the Christian Church in America. He added that this discourse would be delivered in front of the new Courthouse."

"While we have more than a hundred churches rearing their imposing fronts upon every thoroughfare of our city, while immense sums are lavished ostentatiously upon mission schemes, and all that part of religion which is capable of parade is patronized to an unreasonable extent, not a hospital opens its doors to the homeless stranger who is sick and worn. The poor wretch who has been deprived of the light of reason is consigned to the prison, because in this pious city of Pittsburg there is no asylum to receive him. Is not this neglect too grossly inconsistent? For shame's sake, if no nobler motive will answer, let this reproach be wiped away from the character of our city" (h).

The Swedenborgians, or, as they were otherwise known, the New Christian Church, were organized about this time. Rev. D. Powell was the Swedenborgian minister in 1846. He held services in Rev. Dr. Todd's seminary on Federal Street near the bridge, and continued to lecture each evening for a week on the doctrines of that denomination. Large crowds assembled to hear him. In December, 1849, strong efforts were made by representatives of the new school and the old school Presbyterian churches to unite them, but without success.

In 1849 Mr. Kirkland, who had been previously arrested for the same offense, was again apprehended for disturbing the peace and sentenced to a short term at "Mount Airy." During the forties he caused the city authorities great annoyance by the large and disorderly crowds which he collected on the streets, despite orders to the contrary, and to which he delivered violent discourses, criticising severely the existing forms of worship and employing language not fit to be heard. Joseph Barker was his associate in these practices. In 1849 the question of whether it was better to rent pews or sit promiscuously in the churches was broached and discussed by the congregations. The Methodist Church in Allegheny had for some time adopted the method of promiscuous sitting, and great satisfaction had been expressed over the use of this method. The Methodist Church to some extent adopted this plan, but most of the other denominations, particularly the stronger churches, continued to adhere to the pew method.

In October, 1849, Rev. Mr. Reiss, otherwise known as the "bearded

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(h) Commercial Journal, June 24, 1846. The number of churches was overestimated.



prophet." a somewhat illiterate man though a fervid, eloquent and natural orator, adopted the course of Mr. Kirkland and preached often to large and noisy assemblages on the streets. He likewise encountered opposition from the city authorities.

In 1851 a great wave swept over the country, succeeding the wonderful performances of the Fox sisters of Rochester, New York, in securing spiritual rappings and other manifestations. The wave struck Pittsburg and soon spiritualistic societies were formed. Ere long mediums were developed here, seances were held and in other ways the new faith manifested its ways and works. It is difficult at this day to realize the excitement which these spirit manifestations caused. It was new then; had never been investigated, and the feats performed were so marvelous that they seemed supernatural and miraculous. Much excitement was caused here in 1851 when the mediums of the spiritualists announced that the spirit of Freeman Dunn, a condemned murderer who had suicided in jail, had communicated with them, had admitted being in hell and had described his awful sufferings.

In August, 1851, Mr. Kirkland was again arrested for violating the ordinance concerning street preaching, and after conviction was confined in jail in default of the \$20 fine. He seems to have been an entertaining orator, for large crowds invariably gathered to hear him. Joseph Barker, who was mayor of Pittsburg in 1850, was an enthusiast on various reforms and likewise continued to violate the city ordinance prohibiting the assemblage of disorderly crowds on the Sabbath day. He defied the authorities and was even a participant in one or more riots, upon which charge he was finally convicted and sentenced to jail. The jury recommended him to the mercy of the court. While still in jail he was elected mayor of Pittsburg and was released by the sheriff before his pardon was received from the Governor. Newspapers throughout the country commented upon the extraordinary spectacle of electing a crazy man to the office of mayor of Pittsburg. As a matter of fact Mr. Barker was far removed from insanity. He was an enthusiast and a reformer, and, in fact, a man of unusual ability. He anticipated many reforms which have been carried into effect in recent years. He was a moralist and did not spare any organization which seemed to stand in the way of social and moral reform.

In the spring of 1853 a large meeting of all denominations of Christians was held in Allegheny to form a Sabbath-school Association. The city was divided into districts and every family was visited, and the names of all children were recorded, and the fact ascertained at which church they attended. A city missionary was chosen under whom these investigations were made. In five weeks 864 families of Allegheny were visited, of which 498 were Roman Catholics. It was ascertained that 157 families attended no Sabbath-schools.

In 1854 it was observed by the newspapers that there had not yet been organized here a Young Men's Christian Association similar to those existing in nearly all the other large cities of the country. Correspondents of the newspapers urged the importance of the establishment of such an association. Accordingly in the spring of that year a large meeting was held in the Rev. Mr. Passavant's church and the association was duly organized with Mr. Bryan president and Mr. Totten recording secretary.

During the fifties the churches in this vicinity took strong action in opposition to the encroachments of slavery. At the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854 the following ministers of all denominations met and protested against such proceeding by Congress: Francis Herron, D. Elliott, John S. Pressly, D. H. Riddle, H. W. Lee, D. L. Dempsey, W. M. Paxton, J. G. Brown, A. D. Campbell, James Rodgers, A. M. Bryan, W. F. Lauck, T. S. Travelli, W. D. Howard, Samuel Fulton, P. M. McGowan, R. Gracy, T. B.

Wilson, J. L. Reed, William Douthett, William Annan, James Robinson, C. Cooke, E. W. Dickinson, James R. Smith, I. N. Baird, Richard Lea, Louis L. Conrad, Joseph Banks, C. W. Quick, John Douglass, J. F. McLaren, E. P. Swift, H. Miller, S. Williams, M. W. Jacobus, N. West, Jr., A. W. Black, J. J. McIlhinny, J. C. Sinclair, J. Dallas, D. E. Nevin, J. M. Smith, J. R. Agnew, B. M. Weddell, Charles Avery, John Nevin, A. T. McGill, S. R. Taylor, D. R. Kerr, John Kerr, G. K. Ormond, D. Bacon, G. D. Archibald, James Allison, W. B. McIlvaine, Samuel Kerr, Joshua Hart and William McCombs. During those years, when the subject of dividing the Union was so often discussed with great seriousness, it was common to hear in the churches of Pittsburgh eloquent and patriotic sermons for the preservation of the Union.

It was during the fifties that two important objects for which the Catholic Church contended may be said to have been settled. The Catholics urged their right to have Catholic church property placed under the legal control of bishops of the church as had always previously been done instead of deeding the same to trustees for the benefit of the church, and the second was their right to the proportionate share of the common school fund to be used by them in maintaining their sectarian schools. They were defeated in both of these objects. In 1855 the Young Men's Bible Society celebrated its thirty-seventh anniversary. During 1854 one hundred and fifty live members were added to the society.

Early in 1854 the Bull of Pope Pius IX. concerning the immaculate conception was declared by the Protestant newspapers of Pittsburgh to be blasphemous. The Catholics resented the proceedings of the Protestants, and for a time the old war was renewed. In January, 1855, the newspapers remarked that there were in Pittsburgh, Allegheny and vicinity in round numbers about one hundred church organizations. When Pittsburgh first began to be called the "City of Churches" is uncertain. It is not improbable that the term was first applied soon after the great growth from 1831 to 1833, inclusive. At any rate, this city was spoken of as "the City of Churches" until late in the fifties, when Baltimore succeeded to that title, and after the war Brooklyn succeeded Baltimore. In March, 1855, the eleventh annual report of the Allegheny Ladies' Tract Society revealed a prosperous condition of affairs. In November, 1855, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church held their annual conference in Christ church on Penn Street, and the following Sunday all filled the pulpits of several of the local churches. On June 24, 1855, the Catholic cathedral was dedicated, the services being conducted by Archbishop Kenrick and the dedicatory sermon being preached by Archbishop Hughes. The First Presbyterian church was dedicated April 30, 1855, by Rev. W. M. Paxton, pastor. Late in 1846 the Pittsburgh Conference Tract Society was organized. Previous to June 1, 1855, agents of the society had visited 17,756 families and had found 7,710 without pastoral care. They had circulated tract pages to the number of 2,327,228; volumes to the number of 20,816 and pages circulated 8,527,128. In August, 1855, there were fifty-two churches in the city of Pittsburgh, twenty-three in Allegheny and nine in Birmingham, South Pittsburgh and Temperanceville as follows: German Reformed, 2; Disciples, 3; Independent Welsh, 1; Reformed Presbyterian, 6; Associate Presbyterian, 2; Zion of Evangelical Association, 1; Bethel, 2; Catholic, 7; Episcopal, 7; New Jerusalem, 1; Methodist, 25; Presbyterian, 9; Associate Reformed Presbyterian, 5; Cumberland Presbyterian, 3; Universalist, 1; Baptist, 5; Lutheran, 4; total, 84. The number of additional congregations without church buildings proper increased the total number of congregations to about one hundred. In December, 1855, there were in this vicinity four churches and four Sabbath-schools for colored people. They owned two brick churches—one in Pittsburgh and one in Allegheny. The colored population of the cities at that time was about 3,500. During the winter

of 1857-8 the Young Men's Christian Association distributed 23,000 bushels of coal previous to February 18th, and other supplies in proportion. During the year 1857 there joined the association twenty-two associate and thirty-three active members, increasing the whole membership to about 300. At this time the society library consisted of about 260 volumes. The receipts for 1857 were \$682.71, and the expenses \$680.28. The society was greatly aided by the Young Ladies' Relief Association of the Seventh Ward. The Allegheny branch of the Young Men's Christian Association was organized in 1857 with a membership of sixteen. At the close of the year the membership had increased to 215. At the fourth anniversary meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association in January, 1858, R. C. Totten was elected president.

In March, 1855, the fourteenth annual report of the Ladies' Tract Society of Allegheny showed that during the previous year there had been circulated 42,000 English and 16,200 German tracts. The report showed that seventy persons had been engaged in distributing the tracts in this vicinity. There were also circulated 17,500 English *Messengers* and 4,400 German *Messengers*. In 1858 Mrs. F. R. Brunot was president of the society, Miss M. Herron vice-president, Mrs. R. S. Hays secretary, and Mrs. Dr. Trevor treasurer.

In the spring of 1858 this vicinity was visited by one of the greatest revivals in the history of the city. In many instances business was suspended and revival services held in the forenoons, afternoons and evenings. Nearly all the churches received great accessions to their membership. The churches were taxed to their utmost capacity to accommodate the crowds that assembled to receive the benefit of the outpouring of blessing. The *Gazette* of March 11, 1857, said: "The Daily Prayer Meeting.—The movement in this community is unprecedented. The Central church was so densely crowded yesterday at noon—an hour taken out of the middle of the day—that very many could not obtain seats. The most fervent spirit of devotion pervaded the large congregation. All denominations of Christians unite as one to carry on the movement which the spirit of truth seems to have begun." In May, 1859, the nineteenth biennial convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was held in Pittsburg, twenty-four synods being represented from every State in the Union. The *Commercial Journal* of May 20th, said: "This convention is one of the largest and most imposing religious bodies that has ever assembled in our city. It embraces men of fine abilities and much learning as divines and we observe an unusual number of D. D.'s among them."

In 1859 the Allegheny Bible Society distributed 1,785 volumes and in 1860 they distributed 2,382 volumes. At the reading-rooms of the society forty-three newspapers and eighteen magazines were kept on file. In January, 1861, Hon. D. Ritchie was president of the society, and in January, 1861, they held their twenty-first anniversary meeting. In January, 1862, the forty-fourth anniversary meeting of the Young Men's Bible Society was held. In January, 1865, the Pittsburg and Allegheny Ladies' Prayer-book Society issued its twelfth annual report. At this time Mrs. T. M. Howe was president.

The growth of the principal church organizations in this vicinity since the war is as follows by semi-decades: Baptist—1865, 10; 1870, 11; 1875, 11; 1880, 12; 1885, 15; 1890, 19; 1895, 26. Episcopal—1865, 10; 1870, 10; 1875, 12; 1880, 14; 1885, 17; 1890, 19; 1895, 21. Lutheran—1865, 9; 1870, 10; 1875, 11; 1880, 18; 1885, 16; 1890, 26; 1895, 36. Methodist Episcopal—1865, 27; 1870, 27; 1875, 28; 1880, 33; 1885, 31; 1890, 37; 1895, 47. Presbyterian—1865, 39; 1870, 36; 1875, 45; 1880, 51; 1885, 64; 1890, 63; 1895, 74. Reformed Presbyterian—1865, 6; 1870, 1; 1875, 1; 1880, 1; 1885, 7; 1890, 3; 1895, 5. Methodist Protestant—1865, 6; 1870, 6; 1875, 10; 1880, 12; 1885, 10; 1890, 8; 1895, 11. Jewish Synagogues—1895, 7. Reformed Lutherans—1875,

10; 1880, 7; 1885, 7; 1890, 10; 1895, 10. Free Methodists—1895, 4. Congregationalists—1885, 3; 1890, 4; 1895, 4. Christian—1895, 9. African Methodists—1875, 6; 1880, 7; 1885, 6; 1890, 7; 1895, 7.

Pittsburg and Allegheny are now, as they ever have been in the past, well supplied with churches and the means of religious instruction. There were in the two cities in 1897, 361 churches, as follows: African Methodist Episcopal, 8; Austrian-Hungarian, 1; Baptist, 25; Christian, 9; Church of God, 1; Church of the New Jerusalem, 1; Church of Christ, 1; Congregationalist, 4; Cumberland Presbyterian, 2; Disciple, 1; Evangelical Lutheran, 36; Evangelical Association, English 1, and German 6; Free Methodist, 3; Free New Church, 1; Independent Evangelical Lutheran, 1; Jewish Synagogues, 7; Methodist Episcopal, Pittsburg 31, Allegheny 15; Methodist Protestant, 11; Presbyterian, Pittsburg 27, Allegheny 12; Primitive Methodist, 1; Protestant Episcopal, 23; Reformed Church of the United States, English 4, German 1; Reorganized Church of the Latter Day Saints, 1; Reformed Presbyterian, 6; Roman Catholic, Pittsburg between rivers 33, South Side 17, and Allegheny 22; Spiritualists, 2; Seventh Day Adventists, 1; United Presbyterian, Pittsburg 18, Allegheny 14; United Evangelical Protestant, German, 10; Universalist, 2; Unitarian, 1; Welsh Calvinist (Methodist), 1; total 361. Theosophical Society, 1; Psychical Research, 1.

The Young Men's Christian Association seems to have become extinct during the war. On November 26, 1866, another society was organized and was incorporated in July, 1869. At the end of the first year of its existence there were enrolled about 600 members. Since then the membership by decades has been as follows: 1877, 750; 1887, 1,520; 1897, 1,917. Its handsome home on Seventh Street was erected in 1883 at a cost of \$100,000, all of which was raised by subscription and paid before the opening day in April, 1884. During the thirty years of the existence of this association it has had but three presidents and three secretaries, as follows: Presidents, Oliver McClintock, H. K. Porter and J. F. Robinson; secretaries, Thomas H. Cree, Robert A. Orr and J. B. Griggs. Four branches of the association are now in prosperous condition in Lawrenceville at Forty-third and Butler streets; in East Liberty at Penn and Center avenues; in the Pennsylvania Railroad Department at Twenty-eighth Street and on the South Side at Twenty-first and Sidney streets.

The first Society of Christian Endeavor was organized in 1882, in the North Avenue Methodist Episcopal church; the second was organized at the Butler Street Methodist Episcopal church in 1884; others were rapidly formed, so that by 1890 nineteen societies were in existence in the two cities. In 1895 there were approximately seventy-two societies with a membership of over 5,000 in the two cities and vicinity. The Young People's Christian Union of the United Presbyterian Church for the United States was organized in Allegheny, on April 30, 1889. There were present 181 delegates from twelve different States. Upon its organization here the Union had a membership of 507. The membership in 1897 was 4,957. The Young Women's Christian Association of Pittsburg and Allegheny was organized in November, 1892, with fifteen members. The association was well sustained from its commencement and continued to grow rapidly. On October 31, 1897, it had an enrolled membership of 1,655. The following was the membership of the local churches according to the census of 1890: Catholics, 56,916; German Evangelical, 10,657; Presbyterians, 7,184; other Presbyterians, 4,882; Methodist Episcopal, 6,701; other Methodists, 1,242; colored Methodists, 1,684; Lutherans, 4,868; Protestant Episcopal, 3,545; Regular Baptists, 2,256; Jews, 1,250. Adventists, other Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Association, Reorganized Latter Day Saints, Reformed, Unitarians and Universalists were represented by small congregations with probably a total membership of not less than 1,000. Thus the total membership exceeded 100,000.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

GENERAL VIEW OF MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE—A FEW ITEMS SPECIALLY PRESENTED—THE OIL AND THE GAS INDUSTRIES—IRON AND STEEL—A REVIEW OF BOAT BUILDING—COMPARATIVE TABLES FROM THE CENSUS REPORTS—THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF PITTSBURG AND ALLEGHENY COMPARED—IMPORTANCE OF THE MANUFACTURE OF METAL PRODUCTS—STATISTICAL TABLES SHOWING THE WONDERFUL ADVANCEMENT OF ALL KINDS OF INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS—THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—THE TRADE OF THIS VICINITY REVIEWED.

Previous to the breaking out of the Rebellion the manufacture of tobacco was carried on in Pittsburg to a limited extent only. After the fall of Fort Sumter the manufacture received a great impulse and advanced with enormous strides. The cutting off of the Virginia product and the great advance in price stimulated the industry to an extraordinary degree. Previous to the war there had been but ten tobacco factories here, as follows: Built by Reese R. Jones in 1824; George Weyman in 1825; W. and D. Rinehart in 1828; James A. Maguire in 1832; J. W. Taylor in 1840; C. and H. Oyer in 1850; E. Megraw & Co. in 1850; D. O'Donovan in 1852; Johnston & McDonald in 1854; Martin Huyt in 1857. In 1861 there started in the business R. & W. Jenkinson and Wilson Hays & Co.; in 1862, John Grazier, George Sheffler & Co., James Murphy, John Fullerton, Wieman & Co., E. Gleason & Co., William Patterson; in 1863, Mitchell & Brother, P. Legonlon & Co., John Grazier, J. J. Abeitz, Andrew Shaub, Nelson & McGinnis, Murtland & Connor and C. Parr; in 1864, R. & J. H. Elton, John P. Hornish, L. Bishop & Co., McCollister, Baer & Co., P. H. McKenna & Co., W. H. Edmond, John Nath & Co., Daniel Haggerty, Byrne & Boyle, Haggerty, Johnston & Co. By January, 1862, six firms in Pittsburg and Allegheny were engaged in the manufacture of chewing tobacco. In September, 1864, there were thirty-eight tobacco factories here, employing over 800 hands, whose wages aggregated nearly \$6,000 per week. During the month of May, 1864, there were manufactured by these firms 219,374 pounds of tobacco, upon which they paid a revenue of \$31,245.60. There were here at the same time nearly as many more factories engaged in the manufacture of cigars. Since that date the manufacture of tobacco has been well represented in this city.

The existence of coal oil in Western Pennsylvania has been known since the first settlement. It is a well established fact that the Indians knew of its existence and used it for various purposes for many years antedating the appearance of the white settlers. Soldiers on their way to Fort Pitt previous to the Revolutionary War are known to have stopped and bathed their joints with Seneca oil obtained on the Conemaugh River. Numerous evidences have been found that families in the wilderness collected such oil in their respective neighborhoods, usually from the surface of the water where it bubbled out of the ground. During the early history of the country it was called Seneca oil, for what reason is not certainly known, though it is supposed to have taken its name from the Seneca nation of Indians. This origin of the name is usually considered satisfactory. The existence of this oil on Oil Creek is mentioned in the *Navigator* of 1810; it was said to resemble Barbadoes tar. In 1819 John



Gibson, in boring for salt water on the Conemaugh River, near Georgetown, struck a very pure article of Seneca oil at the depth of 207 feet, about one barrel of the oil flowing from the well per day (a).

During the thirties and forties the crude oil was kept for sale in the various drug stores of Pittsburg and Allegheny. In 1851 S. M. Keir advertised it under the head of Rock oil, for the cure of various diseases, particularly rheumatism. As early as 1851 several persons began producing the oil for commercial purposes, but were handicapped for the want of some method of refining it. The number of workers continued to increase, and within two or three years several companies were formed. The produce placed upon the market by Mr. Keir was partially refined by him for the first time, and was much superior to the ordinary article placed upon the market. The second refinery in the United States was erected in the First Ward, Allegheny, by W. McKeown in 1857. The Drake well was sunk in 1859, and from that time forward the development of the oil industry was phenomenal. The oil trade of the Allegheny River to Pittsburg in 1859 was 7,037 barrels; in 1860, 17,161 barrels; in 1861, 94,102 barrels; in 1862, 171,774 barrels. By February, 1865, the number of oil companies in Pittsburg and vicinity was sixty-three, with a total capital of \$21,610,000, and some ten or twelve other companies were being formed. At this time the production was near 30,000 barrels per week. The estimated value of the oil trade for Pittsburg for the year 1863 was \$8,599,224. Pittsburg was the natural outlet for the oil products. In 1860 there were several refineries here; in 1861, seventeen; in 1862, twenty-six; 1863, forty-one; in 1864, forty-six; in 1867, fifty-eight. By 1876 they had decreased to twenty-nine, and at the present time, 1898, the local interest is practically dead. Those who passed through the oil experiences during the war will never forget the extraordinary excitement that prevailed. The experiences were precisely similar to what they would have been had gold been discovered instead of oil. Immense fortunes were made in an hour; on the other hand, great fortunes were lost in the same length of time. Hundreds of the citizens of Pittsburg were enriched by their connection with the oil industry. The greatest difficulty in the early history of the trade was means of transportation. Gradually the railroads supplied this deficiency. In recent years the various smaller interests have been consolidated in the Standard Oil Company, which may now be said to have a practical monopoly of the trade. While it cannot be said that Pittsburg has produced, yet inasmuch as it has served as the original market whence the oil supply was distributed, the trade alone gave an extraordinary stimulus to other industries in the city.

From 1811 to 1835 there were constructed in Pittsburg and vicinity 226 steamboats. From 1836 to 1857 inclusive there were built in round numbers 1,100 steamboats. From 1858 to 1875, inclusive, there were built 649 steamboats, and from 1876 to 1898, inclusive, there were built in round numbers 310 steamboats or a grand total of about 2,300 steamboats. The cost could not have been less than \$60,000,000. It is probable that the sailing vessels, barges, flats, coalboats, etc., would increase the total cost to \$75,000,000. It is estimated that the tonnage of the steamboats was in round numbers 1,000,000; adding the tonnage of all the other vessels would about double that figure.

In 1845 the Monongahela Navigation Company sent out 4,605,185 bushels of coal. In 1850 the amount reached 12,297,967 bushels; in 1855 the amount was 22,234,009 bushels; in 1860 the amount was 37,947,732 bushels; in 1845 the toll amounted to over \$28,000, and in 1860 it was about \$100,000. For the year ending August 31, 1861, there were shipped to Philadelphia from Pittsburg

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(a) Mercury, December 3, 1819.

34,146,349 pounds of cotton, as follows (b): September, 1860, 755,500 pounds; October, 3,096,555 pounds; November, 5,603,085 pounds; December, 1,623,000 pounds; January, 1861, 2,686,455 pounds; February, 7,234,795 pounds; March, 8,393,439 pounds; April, 3,640,250 pounds; May, 808,030 pounds; June, 304,250 pounds; July and August, none; total, 34,146,349 pounds. The war crushed the cotton industry in this vicinity.

Natural gas was known to exist in and around Pittsburg from the time of the first settlement. From time to time evidences of its existence at Pittsburg and in Western Pennsylvania generally were revealed. The most remarkable fact is that no value was set upon it until comparatively recent years. Even after the wells which had been bored for oil had produced large quantities of gas, which had been wantonly burned, the value of that article still remained unheeded. During the decade of the thirties sufficient gas was obtained from a well bored on the South Side to light a large hotel, it was estimated. Similar instances continued to arise from time to time in all parts of Western Pennsylvania. Scarcely a well was dug that did not exhibit evidences of gas. Nearly all springs were accompanied with its accumulations. Finally the gas began to be utilized on a small scale for the lighting and heating of various private residences. The first efforts to raise capital to utilize the gas on a large scale met with failure. In 1874 the Fuel Gas Company, of Pittsburg, was organized, and, strange as it may seem, the first object of the company was to manufacture cheap gas from bituminous coal and not to pipe natural gas to the manufacturing of the city. In 1875 the Natural Gas Company, Limited, was organized for the purpose of conveying the gas of certain wells in Butler County to Pittsburg. The scheme was considered extremely visionary. Spang, Chalfant & Co. and Graff, Bennett & Co. began that year to bring it here from outside sources. The efforts were successful, although six or eight years elapsed before the enterprise was considered satisfactory from a monetary standpoint. In July, 1884, Mr. Westinghouse became interested in natural gas. Other companies were organized, new pipe-lines were laid, and soon they radiated from Pittsburg like the spokes of a wheel. People wondered why such a source of wealth and convenience, supplied so abundantly by nature, had been permitted to lie dormant for so many years. Instead of having shown commendable enterprise in investigating its value at the outset, they had resisted and combated its usefulness and importance until absolutely forced to acknowledge its value. It is difficult to account for the hesitancy with which the people viewed the plan of utilizing the gas in heating and lighting homes and in running the great factories. After the enterprise was fully inaugurated and its success assured there was found no lack of supporters. Large sums were invested, and soon the cities were mainly lighted and heated by the natural product. Within two years sixteen companies were formed, with an aggregate capital of \$20,000,000, and in the vicinity of Pittsburg about \$9,000,000 was so invested by other companies. At present there are but four natural gas companies located in Pittsburg. They embrace many of the smaller companies previously in existence, and now have a capital of about \$10,000,000. The four companies are the Equitable, People's, Philadelphia and Manufacturers'. At the present time gas is brought to Pittsburg from a distance of over one hundred miles. In many instances pumps are employed to force the gas to consumers. The present amount of gas furnished per day aggregates about 120 millions of cubic feet.

Owing to the immense number of manufacturing enterprises which have sprung into existence since the Rebellion, it will be out of the question to give

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(b) Gazette, September 12, 1861.

in this volume more than a summary of what they have accomplished. Exact figures cannot be furnished, owing principally to the refusal of owners to give details concerning their private business enterprises. The census returns, though falling short of the whole truth, furnish the most satisfactory conclusions concerning the wonderful development of industrial pursuits in this vicinity. The following table shows the comparative growth for the last three census epochs, and is for Allegheny County:

	1870.	1880.	1890.
Number of establishments.	1,844	1,895	2,483
Male hands over 16 years..	29,139	42,815	89,300
Female hands over 15 years	1,723	2,361	5,302
Youths of both sexes.....	3,366	3,995	3,058
Capital employed.....	\$54,303,474	\$70,641,426	\$93,500,914
Wages paid..	18,493,124	22,371,951	57,335,917
Materials used.....	52,165,657	61,739,293	146,651,915
Products....	88,789,414	105,272,739	244,525,875

This table exhibits in a general way the growth of industries in this vicinity. The capital employed in 1890, as shown above, was \$93,500,914, but this was the active capital only, and does not include the value of the plant nor borrowed capital. These sums added would increase the total capital to about \$220,000,000. The following table shows the comparative growth of the two cities, Pittsburg and Allegheny, from 1870 to 1890. The census report of 1870 does not show these figures.

	Estab- lish- ments.	Capital.	Males over 16 Yrs.	Females over 15 Yrs.	Youths.	Wages.	Value of Materials.	Value of Products.
Allegheny, 1880	424	\$ 8,451,059	5,549	614	308	\$ 2,652,774	\$ 8,818,153	\$ 13,731,792
Allegheny, 1890	675	22,253,243	11,321	1,374	368	7,081,529	14,231,758	26,878,979
Pittsburg, 1880	1,112	52,645,010	32,011	1,081	3,238	17,168,989	42,109,777	75,915,033
Pittsburg, 1890	1,420	108,368,838	50,710	3,596	2,132	33,898,152	69,892,195	126,859,657

Previous to 1880, strange as it may seem, the production of rails was the only branch of the iron industry seriously affected by the manufacture of steel. Bessemer steel was first produced in this country in commercial quantities in 1867, but for many years was used only in the manufacture of rails. During 1880 and a few succeeding years crude steel from abroad and from domestic mills, used otherwise than for rails, was converted into billets and slabs, but as the demand for steel increased, the rolling mills generally erected departments for the manufacture of the steel which they required. In 1880 over 75 per cent. of the ingots produced were converted into rails, while in 1890 only 51 per cent. were so converted. This showed the increasing demand for steel for miscellaneous purposes—nails, bars, plates, rods, wire, forgings, etc. But the two processes of making steel by the Bessemer converters and the puddling furnaces are much alike in principle, as both effect, in about the same degree, the oxidation of the objectionable constituents of the pig-iron. But the Bessemer process is quicker and less expensive. The Clapp-Griffith process, introduced from England in 1884, and the Robert-Bessemer process, introduced from France in 1888, presented some important modifications of the converters in the methods of decarbonization and desiliconization of the molten metal by the use of air. On March 25, 1884, the first steel produced in this country by the Clapp-Griffith method was turned out in Pittsburg. The Robert-Bessemer method was first introduced at Springfield, Ohio, in September, 1888. The former process seems to have proved more popular here, owing to the greater capacity of its converters—two to three tons as against one to two tons by the latter.

The open-hearth process of making steel (Siemens-Martin) was introduced into the United States in 1867. The furnace is shallow, dish-shaped, and contains from eight to thirty tons, and is specially adapted for the production of large masses of steel, such as heavy shafting, armor plate, gun forgings and parts of marine engines and war vessels.

The first basic steel made in the United States was produced at Steelton, Pennsylvania, in 1884, in a Bessemer converter. Its manufacture as a commercial product was begun at Homestead, Pennsylvania, March 28, 1888. Basic open-hearth steel has since been continuously produced at those works. The duplex process is a combination of the Bessemer and basic open-hearth methods. Crucible, blister, puddled and other varieties of steel are produced here in small quantities.

As a market for pig-iron Pittsburg leads the world, the sales for 1895 of all grades of pig-iron in this market having amounted to the enormous total of 3,597,323 tons, or very nearly thirty-eight per cent. of the entire output of the United States. Of these sales 1,915,545 tons were Bessemer pig. In 1894 the sales in this market were: Bessemer, 944,825 tons; all kinds, 2,277,979 tons. The increase in 1895, therefore, amounted to 970,720 tons Bessemer and 1,319,344 tons of all grades of pig in excess of the sales for 1894, a strong showing of recovery from the depression of the previous year. Allegheny is noted as leading in the production of Bessemer pig, and one of its furnaces is the largest in the world. In Pittsburg, also, the production of tool steel has reached its highest development.

The rolling-mill industry is more largely represented in Pittsburg than in any other city. The products include everything in plate and sheet-iron for all the various purposes to which products of this kind are put. Most noteworthy of all these products is that of armor plate. This industry has been brought to such a state of perfection that large quantities are furnished the new navy, and orders from the Russian Government have been filled. Another important product is the immense amount of boiler and tank iron. The foundry interests are largely represented. To-day there are about forty establishments in this line, turning out every description of cast-iron products. Stoves, ranges, cast-iron pipes and general castings are largely produced, and Allegheny County leads the world in the production of wrought-iron pipe, having two of the largest individual pipe mills in the world, as well as five others of considerable size. The manufacture of structural iron and steel work has in this city and its environs reached both its most perfect development and largest proportions. The famous sky-scrapers in all parts of the country are built of iron and steel furnished by the Pittsburg mills. Large numbers of engines for high and low duty, used in all parts of the country, are made in the shops of this city; and many are shipped to South America and other foreign countries. An important industry, also, is the manufacture of light locomotives. The armor plate of the Carnegie Steel Company, the cold-rolled shafting of Jones & McLaughlins, and the air-brake of the Westinghouse Company are three noted products. Others are malleable iron castings, spikes, bolts and nuts, shovels, plows, agricultural implements, many articles of hardware, wirework, springs, chains, bells, mining and oil-well machinery, contractors' and quarrymen's supplies, axles, etc. There are turned out, also, large quantities of galvanized products, as well as those of brass, zincs, copper and aluminum, this city leading in the latter product. Smelting the refractory ores of gold, silver, copper and lead of the far West has distinguished the skill of Pittsburg. Large quantities of electrical machinery and appliances, such as dynamos, motors, engines, electric wires and cables, insulating materials, railway and traction supplies, lighting and power products, etc. Many of the articles pro-





duced are of Pittsburg origin and development. In the aggregate of its iron and steel industries Pittsburg is the largest producer in the world, and keeps pace with the steady progress of this industry in the United States, holding its relative and foremost position with ease.

The Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, manufacture steel rails, billets, structural shapes or forms, armor plate, boiler, ship and tank plate, and in their numerous furnaces produce Bessemer, pig-iron, spiegeleisen, ferro-manganese, iron and brass castings, ingots, beams, booms, bridge steel, steel castings, steel bars, car forgings, angles, axles, links, pins, bar-steel, etc. The annual capacity of the furnaces is nearly 2,000,000 gross tons, and of the steel works over 2,300,000 gross tons of ingots, bars, plates and sundries—all of steel, and about 650,000 gross tons of steel rails, billets and castings.

The highest tonnage ever turned out from a blast furnace was 610 tons per day, made at the Duquesne furnace several times. This output astonished blast furnace men and excited the admiration of the whole iron world, especially as the record for a whole month averaged higher for the day than did the single day's highest record previously. The Duquesne furnaces are now equipped with ten sets of tuyeres to admit hot blast, which has the reducing effect, to the interior of the furnace. It is the intention, however, to replace the ten tuyeres with twenty, which it is estimated will increase the capacity of each stack to 1,000 tons of iron per day, with little more coke proportionately than is used at the present time. All four of the furnaces will be equipped in that manner, and if the expectations of Superintendent James Gayley and the officials of the company are realized, the four Duquesne stacks will be turning out 4,000 tons of Bessemer iron in twenty-four hours soon.

Jones & Laughlins, Limited, proprietors of the American Steel Works, manufacture bars, rods, plates, sheets, strips and all other varieties of iron and steel, under their special patent process of cold rolling and polishing. Their shafting manufactured by this process is not excelled in the world. The Eliza Furnaces are operated by this company under the style of Laughlins & Co., Limited. The general offices and warehouse are located at Third Avenue and Try Street, and the works at Twenty-seventh and Carson streets, on the South Side, covering an area of about forty acres. They employ 5,000 men.

Spang, Chalfant & Co. operate the Etna Iron Works. They manufacture flat bar, round and square iron, horseshoe iron, heavy and light bands, hoop-iron, oval, half oval, half round, angle-iron, plates, tank-iron, sheet-iron, etc. They make special features of wrought-iron, welded tubes for boilers, gas, steam, water and well tubing and casing of all sizes.

The production of an article of steel in the United States that would compete with the English article is a success due to the enterprise of Pittsburg. Edge-tool steel as good as the English product began to be made here early in the sixties, but nowhere else in the country until about 1865, and even then by only a few small concerns. When Pittsburg once commenced all grades were produced—from the lowest blister to the finest tool, cutlery and saber steel. Hussey, Wells & Co., Park Bros. & Co., Jones, Boyd & Co., Singer, Nimick & Co. were among the first to succeed. They soon duplicated the best cutlery and edge tools of the English brand. During the year 1863 there were exported from Pittsburg 7,924,873 pounds of the best bar and sheet steel, and the following year 11,877,901 pounds were exported. At that time the total steel of all grades produced here varied from 12,000 to 18,000 tons per annum, and the total iron consumed ranged from 15,000 to 20,000 tons.

In November, 1867, the first locomotive built in Allegheny was turned out. In 1867 the largest piece of iron ever rolled in the world was produced in Pittsburg—12 feet 6 inches long, 4 feet 6 inches wide and 12 inches thick.

In 1864 there were in this vicinity nineteen rolling-mills, having 176 puddling furnaces and 253 nail machines, consuming annually 98,850 tons of metal. In 1886 there were thirty-five rolling-mills, producing about 550,000 tons, exclusive of the steel and rail products. All consumed about 700,000 of metal annually. In 1888 there were twenty-three steelworks, which produced 215,700 tons of steel, exclusive of the products of the Bessemer plants, railmills and steel-casting works. In 1875 there were produced here 22,942 net tons of crucible steel ingots, and in 1885, 42,139 tons, though in 1880 there had been produced 52,136 tons. The total steel produced by Pittsburg in 1882 was 212,417 tons, of which 139,073 tons were steel rails. The capacity of the blast furnaces in 1860 was about 75,000 tons annually. By 1886 it had increased to 835,000 tons. The manufacture of steel castings from crucible steel was begun in 1871 by the Pittsburg Steel Casting Company. They used 17,000 pounds of Bessemer steel in a high-power steel rifle. In 1876, for the first time, Pittsburg was enabled to furnish and equip a complete steel plant. Barbed wire began to be made early in the eighties. The Westinghouse air-brake succeeded in 1869-70, against great obstacles.

In 1892, according to Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia, Pittsburg and vicinity had 26 blast furnaces and 62 rolling-mills, which produced 1,775,257 tons of pig-iron; 55,722 tons of crucible steel ingots; 1,550,252 tons of all other kinds of steel; 1,188,727 tons of bars, bolts, rails, rods, skelp-iron, etc., and 248,369 tons of sheets and plates; the total product of steel and iron being 4,818,320 tons.

The report of General Manager James M. Swank, of the American Iron and Steel Association, shows the wonderful record of blast furnaces, rolling-mills and steel works, and the production in gross tons of pig-iron and crude steel and of iron and steel rolled into finished forms in Allegheny County in 1894, 1895 and 1896.

Details.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Blast furnaces, number.....	27	27	28
Production of pig-iron, tons.....	1,782,079	2,054,585	2,061,260
Rolling-mills and steel works, number.....	63	64	64
Production of Bessemer steel, tons.....	1,509,389	1,886,811	1,608,321
Production of open-hearth steel, tons.....	352,806	481,030	569,680
Production of crucible and other steel, tons....	31,471	39,123	33,596
Total production of steel, tons.....	1,893,666	2,406,964	2,211,597
Production of rails, bars, bolts, rods, shapes, hoops, skelps, etc., tons....	1,095,295	1,462,623	1,350,886
Production of plates and sheets, tons.....	255,313	350,593	324,296
Total production of rolled iron and steel, tons..	1,350,608	1,813,216	1,675,182

Allegheny County produced in 1896 over 23 per cent. of the total production of pig-iron in the United States, over 41 per cent. of the total production of Bessemer steel ingots and castings; over 43 per cent. of the total production of open-hearth steel ingots and castings; over 55 per cent. of the total production of crucible steel; over 27 per cent. of the total production of Bessemer steel rails; over 61 per cent. of the production of structural shapes; over 33 per cent. of the total production of plates and sheets, and almost 26 per cent. of the production of miscellaneous rolled products not enumerated above. Of the total production of all kinds of rolled iron and steel, including rails, it made, in 1896, over 30 per cent. It produced almost as much pig-iron in 1896 as was made by the two States of Ohio and Illinois, and it also produced more rolled iron and steel in the same year than Ohio, Illinois and Indiana.

One of the latest advancements is the construction of steel cars by the Schoen Pressed Steel Company. This is one of the most wonderful of the recent industrial events in this great workshop. The Carnegie Company began the manufacture of armor plate in October, 1891, and by August, 1896, had made a total of 11,039 tons. "The Carnegie Company alone produces nearly 2,000,000 tons of pig-iron per annum, which is almost as much as the total joint output of Germany, France and Belgium thirty years ago, and more than the total iron output of the United States up to the year 1872. The same works produce annually about 1,000,000 tons of Bessemer steel ingots and 650,000 tons of rails—figures which exceed the annual output of all the works in Great Britain up to 1880—and the same firm has lately made arrangements to produce at Homestead about 1,000,000 tons of open-hearth steel annually, which is more than the total open-hearth steel output of France, Belgium and Germany combined, and considerably more than the total output of this description of steel in the United States, as a whole, up to 1894" (c).

An idea of the richness of some of the copper mines of Michigan may be gained from the fact that they have thus far paid their owners dividends of fully \$70,000,000. The dividend of \$25 a share declared by the Calumet and Hecla Copper Mining Company, owned by Hussey & Co., of Pittsburg, for the year 1896, is especially noteworthy, because of the greatest dividend ever paid by this remarkable property. There are 100,000 shares, so that the total sum distributed among shareholders was \$2,500,000. When it is considered that the original value of all these shares was just the last amount mentioned, the tremendous earning powers of the property will be appreciated. The selling value of the stock is about thirteen times its par value.

The transfer of the Monongahela Navigation Company's locks and other property to the Government in 1897 was an important event. The amount awarded the company was \$3,761,615.46. In accordance with an act of Congress and in response to a petition, the following board of viewers was appointed by Judge M. W. Acheson, of the United States Circuit Court, in November, 1896, to appraise the property of the company: Stephen C. McCandless, George W. Dilworth, Charles E. Andrews, Jasper V. Thompson, William Metcalf, Samuel M. Jackson and William McConway. There were seven dams and eleven locks in the system. In 1896, 35,000 vessels passed through Lock No. 1. In 1850 the tolls collected amounted to \$64,313.81; in 1860 to \$99,901.61; in 1866 to \$170,188.30, and in 1896 to \$345,115.34. Of this sum \$247,414.14 was collected on coal and slack, and \$91,444.47 on steamboats, other freight, etc. In July, 1897, the river was thrown open to free navigation, amid the screeching of whistles and the ringing of bells. It was a joyful occasion to the old freighters, who had so long paid toll. At the time of the transfer to the Government, W. P. Wood, of the company, reported that the following business had been done:

Local coal trade by flats from all ports to points in and about Pittsburg:

1890 .....	29,979,700 bushels	1894 .....	36,615,913 bushels
1891 .....	13,422,400 bushels	1895 .....	39,968,400 bushels
1892 .....	31,970,055 bushels	1896 .....	49,240,700 bushels
1893 .....	26,327,200 bushels		

The total receipts of the company during the same period were:

1890 .....	\$31,698.71	1894 .....	\$45,124.10
1891 .....	40,723.48	1895 .....	53,122.27
1892 .....	43,723.48	1896 .....	64,767.14
1893 .....	34,384.88		

(c) Engineering Magazine, November, 1897.

Coke shipments by the river were as follows:

1890	.....1,758,500 bushels	1894	..... 305,000 bushels
1891	..... 805,500 bushels	1895	..... 296,000 bushels
1892	..... 601,500 bushels	1896	..... 228,500 bushels
1893	..... 290,500 bushels		

The following are the coal shipments by the Ohio River for fifteen years:

Year.	Cincinnati, Bushels.	Louisville, Bushels.	Total, Bushels.
1882	..... 34,462,000	36,679,000	71,141,000
1883	..... 31,533,000	56,462,000	87,995,000
1884	..... 24,631,000	30,801,000	55,432,000
1885	..... 32,590,000	42,334,000	74,924,000
1886	..... 33,229,000	38,435,000	71,664,000
1887	..... 20,770,000	35,973,000	56,743,000
1888	..... 51,389,000	58,513,000	109,902,000
1889	..... 30,360,000	37,895,000	68,255,000
1890	..... 32,616,000	51,054,000	83,670,000
1891	..... 28,125,000	48,290,000	76,415,000
1892	..... 24,339,000	38,749,000	63,688,000
1893	..... 21,999,000	40,446,000	62,445,000
1894	..... 28,498,000	34,582,000	63,080,000
1895	..... 24,610,000	34,602,000	59,212,000
1896	..... 49,994,000	60,811,000	110,805,000

In 1865 twenty-two firms were engaged in the glass business, working fifty-five factories, which contained 528 pots. By 1876 the number had increased to thirty-eight firms, working seventy-three factories, with 690 pots. In 1886 there were forty-two firms, ninety-three factories and 984 pots. In 1893 there were produced here 1,414,000 boxes of glass of all kinds, or about twenty-five per cent. of the total product of the United States.

In 1837 eight lead factories produced 902 tons per annum. In 1857 three factories produced 2,754 tons, and in 1875 six factories consumed 5,000 tons of pig lead. In 1888 the six firms corroded about 12,000 tons of lead, using about 300,000 gallons of linseed oil and turning out 1,050,000 kegs of twenty-five pounds of white lead each. The mixed paints grew up in the seventies and eighties.

The Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce was chartered on July 8, 1876, in Common Pleas Court No. 2 by the late Judge Thomas Ewing, the charter members being as follows: Hon. Thomas M. Howe, president; J. F. Dravo, William McCreery, J. T. Stockdale, Mark W. Watson, J. K. Moorhead, H. W. Oliver, Jr., J. S. Slagle, vice-presidents; A. M. Marshall, Captain R. C. Gray, Joseph D. Weeks, Edward Gregg, C. Meyran, J. G. Siebeneck, Simon Reymer, Dr. David Hostetter, George A. Kelly, T. Brent Swearingen, G. W. Hailman, C. A. Carpenter, William Frew, Daniel Wallace, S. S. Marvin, M. F. Herron and Arthur Kirk. The membership on April 1, 1896, was 595; there were added from then to April 1, 1897, 259; lost from resignation, by death and other causes, 65; leaving a net membership of 791, besides two honorary members, on the list of April, 1897. Recently the Chamber of Commerce has taken steps to erect a new building at a cost not to exceed \$1,000,000. The Railway Freight Bureau is a late organization emanating from the chamber.

The following table shows the capital in excess of \$1,000,000 invested in the industries of this vicinity, according to the census of 1890:

Foundry and machine-shop products.....	\$10,167,288
Iron and steel.....	48,266,434
Glass.....	7,439,619
Iron and steel pipe, wrought.....	3,767,038

Liquors, malt.....	\$2,927,720
Bridges.....	2,099,248
Brick and tile.....	1,187,777
Clothing, men's, custom work and repairing.....	1,143,207
Gas, illuminating and heating.....	2,758,166
Iron and steel nails and spikes.....	1,601,499
Lumber and products.....	1,348,496
Petroleum refining.....	1,465,409
Printing and publishing, book and job.....	1,425,921
Printing and publishing, newspapers, etc.....	1,558,057

The following from the census of 1890 shows the capital invested in other leading industries:

Brass castings and finishings....	\$622,577
Bread and other bakery products.....	642,043
Carriages and wagons, etc.....	463,127
Clothing, men's, factory product.....	555,200
Coffee and spice.....	711,600
Coke.....	616,832
Confectionery.....	503,049
Flouring and gristmill products.....	537,500
Ironwork, architectural and ornamental.....	315,296
Bolts, nuts, washers and rivets.....	332,344
Masonry, brick and stone.....	577,677
Paints.....	428,445
Patent medicines and compounds.....	333,237
Pickles, preserves and sauces.....	399,000
Slaughtering and meat packing.....	321,500
Saddlery and harness.....	232,952
Tin and copper smithing, etc.....	437,451
Tobacco, cigars and cigarettes.....	386,302

Pittsburg Census of 1890.	No. of Establishments Reporting.	Capital.	Average No. of Employees.	Total Wages.	Cost of Material.	Value of Products.
Brass castings and brass finishings .....	8	\$ 622,577	273	\$ 194,790	\$ 465,936	\$ 805,610
Foundry and machine shop products.....	75	10,167,288	5,623	3,382,175	4,930,726	10,706,616
Iron and steel.....	33	48,266,434	20,656	13,170,887	29,096,574	49,718,729
Bolts, nuts, washers, rivets, etc.....	4	332,344	127	76,734	310,741	427,911
Nails and spikes, cut and wrought .....	4	1,601,499	783	466,257	1,809,363	2,560,091
Iron and steel pipe, wrought .....	3	3,767,038	1,979	1,073,805	4,121,382	5,992,395
Ironwork, Architectural and ornamental.....	6	315,296	238	156,895	360,968	627,223
Tinsmith, coppersmith and sheet-iron working.	53	437,451	302	208,759	184,822	502,567
Other tools.....	3	157,097	123	66,524	100,949	187,149
Wire work.....	4	3,772	16	6,901	5,250	15,767

Allegheny Census of 1890.	No. of Establishments Reporting.	Capital Invested.	Average No. of Employees.	Total Wages.	Cost of Material.	Value of Products.
Foundry and machine shop products.....	20	\$1,847,262	1,264	\$ 674,161	\$ 827,629	\$1,795,878
Iron and steel.....	6	4,490,162	2,210	1,269,627	2,491,187	4,476,753
Ironwork, architectural and ornamental.....	8	89,679	101	60,815	80,320	164,154
Tinsmithing, copper-smithing and sheet-iron working.....	22	139,763	125	78,075	88,207	209,982



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

SOME OF THE LEADING EVENTS IN THE RECENT HISTORY OF PITTSBURG—THE REPUTATION OF THE RAILWAY BOND INDEBTEDNESS—COMPULSORY MEASURES OF THE SUPREME COURT—IMPRISONMENT OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT—THE RAILWAY FACILITIES OF THIS VICINITY—BURNING OF THE COURTHOUSE IN 1882—CONSTRUCTION OF THE PRESENT COURTHOUSE AND MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS—BUSINESS OF THE POSTOFFICE—LIST OF POSTMASTERS—LENGTH OF STREETS—THE INCLINES—THE STREET-CAR LINES—THE CITY TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SYSTEMS—THE WATER-SPOUT OF 1874—PLANS FOR CONSOLIDATION DEFEATED—THE EXPOSITION SOCIETY—POPULATION AND FLOODS—THE ADMISSION OF NEW WARDS—LISTS OF MAYORS OF THE TWO CITIES—RECENT IMPORTANCE OF THE WATER-WORKS SYSTEMS—DAVIS ISLAND DAM—JOINT FORCES OF THIS VICINITY—COUNCILMANIC APPORTIONMENT—THE STRIKES OF 1877 AND 1892—ALLEGHENY OBSERVATORY—THE QUESTIONS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS CONSOLIDATION.

The financial revulsion which began in 1857 and continued several years broke down several railroad enterprises in which this community was interested. The commencement and continuance of the war still further delayed such projects. In 1863 the Steubenville Road, under a new organization, was considerably improved, and one of its branches, the Chartiers Valley Road, was also slowly advancing toward completion. The coal interests along these lines demanded their speedy opening. In 1864 the extent of the Connellsville Road to Cumberland was well in hand. So also was the Allegheny Valley Railroad into the oil regions. In 1864 the tunnel connecting the Pennsylvania Railroad with the Pittsburgh and Steubenville Railway was built. On July 30, 1861, the Duquesne depot, which had been erected in 1854 at a cost of \$110,000, was destroyed by fire. In 1860 the railway indebtedness of Allegheny was \$400,000, of Pittsburgh \$1,800,000, and of Allegheny County \$2,300,000; total, \$4,500,000. At that date the total assessed valuation of the county, outside of the city, was \$12,500,000, of Pittsburgh \$10,500,000, of Allegheny \$3,000,000; total, \$26,000,000. The railroad indebtedness was thus more than seventeen per cent. of the assessed valuation of the county. In June, 1859, a mass meeting of the citizens was held, and resolutions were adopted instructing the county commissioners not to levy a tax for the payment of interest on the railway bonds. The commissioners did as requested. In March, 1860, another immense mass meeting was held denouncing the action of the court in deciding against the county certain suits on the bonds, and applauding the course taken by the commissioners, and even encouraging them to resist the mandates of the Supreme Court. It became evident soon that the county would be compelled by the courts to pay all its railway indebtedness. In November, 1860, an immense anti-tax convention was held, and after investigation it was learned that a levy of eight mills on the dollar would be required for county expenses, and seven mills on the dollar for the railway indebtedness. In December, 1860, it was

calculated that Pittsburg owed \$108,000 of interest on the city railway bonds and \$55,730 of interest on the county bonds. Allegheny owed \$24,000 interest on its municipal bonds and \$15,923 on the county railway bonds. Under the orders of the Supreme Court this interest must be paid. The county commissioners were Messrs. Patterson, Brauff and Hamilton, all three of whom were put in jail for contempt of court in refusing to obey its mandates and held there until it became certain they were willing to levy the requisite tax. During the year 1860 the excitement over that question was scarcely exceeded by that of the dissolution of the Union by the South. The convention of November, 1860, denounced the Supreme Court in severe terms, and among the resolutions passed was the following clause. "We ask for the removal of the whole bench (Supreme Court), as they have disgraced their high position." In the railway mandamus cases each of the county commissioners had been adjudged guilty of contempt, fined \$1,000, and sentenced to jail until the fine was paid. They refused to pay the fine, and were accordingly sent to jail on March 6, 1860. Two of them were not released until late in May, 1861, at which time their fines were paid by the county. The difficulty was finally settled by a compromise, the cities and county in the end being required to pay substantially the whole amount of the indebtedness, with interest added. In November, 1862, judgments against the city on its railway indebtedness aggregated \$294,277.26. At this time levies were made upon the city water-works and other property through the United States Court.

In January, 1862, the Allegheny Councils took steps to have the old canal within its limits abandoned by the railway company. The Pittsburg and Erie Railway was still advancing toward completion in January, 1864. The cars ran over the Fort Wayne Road to Homewood, thence to New Castle and thence to Erie. On June 30, 1864, the first through train ran from Erie to Pittsburg. By means of its rivers and railroads Pittsburg has been supplied with the material required in its manufactories. The early turnpikes, the Pennsylvania Canal, the Pennsylvania, Allegheny Valley, Baltimore and Ohio, Pittsburg and Steubenville, Chartiers Valley, Pittsburg and Erie railroads, and the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers pour into the great establishments of Pittsburg and vicinity the supplies necessary for their successful operation. The old Allegheny aqueduct, which had been rebuilt by Mr. Roebling early in the forties, was a wire suspension dock on piers. For several months prior to April, 1861, it had continued to sag, until it was lowered three or four feet, but on Sunday, April 14, 1861, it sank so badly between the second and third piers from the Allegheny side that thereafter it was wholly useless and was never again used.

Owing to the location of Pittsburg at the junction of two rivers, it has been necessary for the convenience of the inhabitants since the earliest time to build many bridges to unite the various sections of the city. There are in Allegheny County, crossing its four navigable rivers, a total of about thirty bridges. In addition to these, many small streams within the limits of the city are spanned by bridges which cost nearly as much as those crossing the rivers. Probably no city in the world has spent more for bridges than Pittsburg and vicinity. All the bridges spanning the Monongahela River within the limits of Pittsburg are free of toll; on the other hand, all connecting Pittsburg and Allegheny exact toll, and are likely to do so until the consolidation of the two cities. Fourteen bridges cross the Monongahela River between the Point and Dravosburg. The most noticeable of these are the suspension bridge at the Point, the steel truss bridge at Smithfield Street, the steel truss bridge at Birmingham, the steel truss bridge at Laughlin furnaces, the iron truss bridge of the Pan-Handle Railroad, the steel truss bridge of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Ten bridges span the Allegheny River between Sharpsburg and the Point. The principal of these are the steel truss bridge at Sixth Street, the wooden-covered bridge at the Point, the iron-beam suspension bridge at Seventh Street, the steel truss bridge at Ninth Street, the iron truss bridge of Fort Wayne Railroad at Eleventh Street, and the iron truss bridge at Sharpsburg. Only one bridge crosses the Ohio River within the limits of the two cities, viz., the Ohio connecting bridge of the railways.

Since the war Pittsburg has steadily expanded its transportation facilities, until at the present day all parts of the Union are quickly and readily reached. The Pennsylvania Railroad connects the city with the Atlantic coast. The Allegheny Railroad unites it with the Great Lakes and with the great coal fields of Northwestern Pennsylvania. The Pittsburg and Steubenville Railroad later became the Pan-Handle, and serves as an outlet to the West and Southwest. The Cleveland and Pittsburg joins the city to the lake system, as do also the Pittsburg and Lake Erie and the Erie and Pittsburg and others. The Pittsburg, Virginia and Charleston furnishes an outlet to the south, and the Western Penn-Pittsburg and Lake Erie and the Erie and Pittsburg and others. The Pittsburg, McKeesport and Youghioghenny connects the city with the Connellsville coke regions. The Pittsburg, Virginia and Charleston, the Pittsburg, Youngston and Ashtabula and the Pittsburg, Bessemer and Lake Erie open up valuable fields, particularly the latter. The railway facilities of this locality are unsurpassed. Not only do they furnish excellent means for the conveyance of the products of Pittsburg to market, but they bring to Pittsburg coal, iron and many other products needed by the great factories. But great as are the facilities, recent years have developed the fact that the numerous manufactories here require still better communication with the great iron mining districts. A knowledge of this fact and the absolute necessity of taking a new step, caused the construction of the Pittsburg, Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad, and will eventually cause the construction of the Lake Erie ship canal, if the great iron interests of this locality are to be maintained. The extraordinary development of the iron and steel industry within the last dozen years renders it imperative that action should be taken to connect this locality not only with the mining districts of the lake regions, but also with those of the South. The question arises, where are the great iron and steel manufactories to obtain their future supplies of iron, etc? The only possible answer is, connect them closely with the great mines. If that is not done the industries will have to be removed to the mines.

On Sunday, May 7, 1882, the Courthouse was destroyed by fire, but fortunately the records were saved. This compelled the county to take immediate steps for the erection of a new building. The county commissioners purchased the Western University building, at a cost of \$80,000, and used it until the new structure was finished. Other buildings were purchased or rented for the occupation of the various county officers, the total cost amounting to about \$123,000. Upon the subject of a new building all shades of opinion were expressed. Some persons thought that one costing one-half million dollars would be sufficient; others stated that a building costing not less than \$5,000,000 should be erected. The matter was thoroughly discussed, and many plans were examined by the commissioners before any definite action was taken. Correspondence was opened with prominent architects in this and other cities, and it was finally decided to select five of that profession—one a resident of Allegheny County, two of the Eastern States and two of the Western. The following gentlemen were selected: Mr. Post, of New York; Mr. Ord, of Philadelphia; Mr. Boynton, of Chicago; Mr. Meyer, of Detroit, and Mr. Peebles, of Pittsburg. Mr. Post declined the offer, and Mr. Richardson, of Massachusetts, was substituted in his place. When the plans prepared by these architects were

submitted it was ascertained, after they had been examined, that four-fifths of the citizens favored the plans prepared by Mr. Richardson, and the commissioners finally decided to accept them. He was instructed so to shape his designs that the building would not cost more than \$2,250,000, and the equipments \$250,000 additional. The County Commissioners, at a cost of \$170,000, purchased sufficient land adjoining on which to erect a jail. Mr. Richardson's plans were handed to the commissioners about July 1, 1884. Bids were called for, and on August 18th all that had been handed in were opened. They varied from \$2,695,556, the highest bid, to \$2,198,000, the latter being the bid of Norcross Brothers, the structure to be built of Worcester granite. The latter bid was accepted, and at that time some additions were made which increased the cost to \$2,243,000. Norcross Brothers began their work in September, 1884, and in April, 1888, Courthouse and Jail complete were turned over to the county commissioners. Bonds were issued to the amount of \$800,000, and the remainder of the sum due the contractors was raised by tax levy. During the course of construction twenty-six slight alterations were made in the original plans, at an increased cost of about \$14,000. The contract for furnishing and equipping the Courthouse was awarded to Norcross Brothers for \$103,760. It is unnecessary to call the attention of the present generation to the architecture of this magnificent structure. As a whole it is the best and most original architectural structure in the county. It is built in the Norman-Romanesque style, and is a credit both to the county and to the architect.

The total receipts at the Pittsburg postoffice from the sale of stamps, stamped envelopes, postal cards, etc., for 1895, were \$695.053.01, and for 1896 was \$736,268.24. The change made in a century was very great. For the fiscal year ending October 1, 1790, the total postal receipts at Pittsburg were \$110.99. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, the receipts were \$611,786.83. The trolley mail service was established in November, 1894. The postmasters have been John Scull, George Adams, Mrs. George Adams, Dr. Hugh Scott, John Johnston, William Eichbaum, David Lynch, James K. Moorhead, Robert W. Riddle, Chambers McKibben, Samuel Roseberg, Robert Anderson, John C. Dunn, Sidney F. Von Bonnhorst, Wade Hampton, Joseph A. McClelland, J. H. Stewart, E. C. Negley, George H. Anderson, Benjamin Darlington, William H. McCleary, John B. Larkin, James S. McKean and J. C. O'Donnell. The first letter carrier was put on in 1841.

The Pittsburg Postoffice and Government building, although commenced late in the seventies, was not completed until 1892, nearly fourteen years afterward. It is considered a superior piece of architecture, but will not compare in simplicity and grandeur with the Courthouse. It cost in round numbers \$1,500,000, and is built of gray granite. Municipal Hall, which stands on Smithfield Street between Fifth Avenue and Virginia Alley, cost \$408,790. The principal material used was brick, though sandstone was used for the façade. The building is five stories in height, and almost from the start was too small to accommodate the city offices. The new building for the department of public safety was finished in 1897, at a cost of \$200,000. It is five stories in height, without special ornamentation, and is built of Ligonier stone. The new Allegheny Postoffice and Government building, on Ohio Street near Federal, was completed in 1897, and is one of the most beautiful architectural structures in that city. Its dome is embossed on the exterior with gold foil, and the ornamentations of the structure generally are rich and attractive. It cost about \$250,000.

There are at the present time in Pittsburg 403 miles of streets, of which 253 miles are paved with asphalt, stone, cobble or block. In Allegheny there are 120 miles of streets, of which 79 are paved. Both cities have ceased to

use blocks or cobbles, and now employ altogether asphalt, owing to the demands, particularly, of bicycle riders.

The high lands within the city limits have rendered it necessary that some means should be devised to reach their summits, and accordingly inclines on which cars run regularly have been devised. The first was built in 1870 and connected West Carson Street with Grandview Avenue on Mount Washington. It was used until 1882, and was then replaced with a double incline, one line for freight and one for passengers, each 640 feet in length. The second was built in 1871 to the summit of Mount Oliver, and was likewise double, to accommodate both freight and passengers. Its length is 1,600 feet, and perpendicular height 377 feet. The next built was at Castle Shannon, a distance of 2,112 feet, springing from Carson Street near South Third Street to Bailey Avenue. This line, which is also double, was rebuilt and much improved in 1891-92. Another incline built about this time was the double track, springing from West Carson Street to Duquesne Heights, with a length of 793 feet. In 1882 another was built from Liberty Avenue to Cliff Street, and is also double. In 1886 the Saint Clair incline, extending from South Twenty-second street to St. Clair Heights, was built, the length being 1,320 feet, the line being double. In 1887 the Nunnery Hill incline was constructed, springing from Federal and Fairmount streets. Another is the Fort Pitt incline, rising from Second Avenue to Bluff Street, the total length being 2,640 feet and the perpendicular height 375 feet. It is double, carrying both freight and passengers. The Knoxville incline springs from Eleventh and Breed streets to Knoxville. Another one recently built extends from Sarah and Taggart streets in Allegheny to Clifton Park, and conveys both passengers and freight. The Troy Hill incline in Allegheny rises from the Butler Plankroad to the top of Troy Hill, a perpendicular distance of 370 feet. Other inclines have been projected and no doubt will be built in the near future. In several instances the street-car lines have leased the right to run their cars over the inclines.

As noted elsewhere, the first street-car line was called the Citizens', extending from Fifth Street along Market Street and Penn Avenue to Lawrenceville, and was opened in 1859, the cars being drawn by horses. The second line opened extended from Pittsburg to Birmingham, and soon afterward another was opened from Pittsburg through Allegheny to Manchester. These served as trunk lines, and thereafter branches were added until the principal sections of the city were supplied with transportation facilities to the down-town districts. Horse cars sufficed very well in the days when the city was small, and when the suburban towns were reached by rail. As the population grew, and the intervening space between the city proper and its suburbs became built up, the accommodations of the horse cars became inadequate. That mode of travel was too slow. Rapid transit became a necessity. The idea of the cable as a means of propulsion of street cars was regarded as an inspiration. It was a great success. When the cable lines were laid along Fifth Avenue and Penn Avenue to East Liberty, the problem of rapid transit was thought to be solved for a long time. This was less than eight years ago. If some one had predicted, at that time, that in eight years the cable lines would be pulled up and the conduits removed from their substantial foundations, the prophet would have been jeered at as a most visionary man. The march of improvement has found the cable lines inadequate to a proper service. The growth of the population in districts remote from the main line rendered it advisable to build feeders, and made a change of cars necessary at the intersection with the main lines. Electric cars can run from branch lines on to the main lines, obviating transfers of passengers. This is one of the reasons for the change. Another reason is the greater economy of operation by electricity. What of the future? Will the electric lines, with



overhead wires and trolley poles, be the last change? It is not probable. Experiments with storage batteries and with compressed air motors lead to the certainty that eventually each car will carry its own motive power, held in small compass, and render unnecessary the disfiguring poles and the dangerous wires. The three lines first to be operated by cable were the Central, the Citizens' and the Pittsburg, Oakland and East Liberty. All the street cars of this vicinity are now consolidated into six companies, as follows: The United Traction Company, the West End Traction Company, the Birmingham Traction Company, the Consolidated Traction Company, the Schenley Park and Highlands Traction Company, and the Suburban Traction Company. These lines and their branches furnish ready access to all parts of both cities and suburbs. All are operated by electricity. The total capital of the six companies aggregates \$47,785,000, and the companies carry a bonded indebtedness of over \$16,000,000. They give employment to 3,800 hands, and traverse 337 miles of streets.

The telephone and telegraph systems of this vicinity are important appendages to the means of communication. The telegraph was steadily improved after it was first introduced late in the decade of the forties. Pittsburg was one of the first cities to adopt a telephone system, and as the city has continued to grow the number of instruments in use has likewise increased. The system is controlled by the Central District Printing and Telegraph Company. The total number of telephones in this district is 6,000. There are in Allegheny County a total of 33,000 miles of wire, of which about 10,000 are underground. The Western Union Telegraph Company has about 2,100 miles of wire in Allegheny County. The company has sixty-three branch offices in Pittsburg and Allegheny. The Postal Telegraph Company has about 1,300 miles of wire in the county, of which 377 are in Pittsburg and Allegheny. The development of the telegraph and telephone systems has been so gradual that business men do not realize how necessary they are for the transaction of business.

Ten years ago the cities had no police telegraph system worth mentioning. There was no communication with the patrolmen on the beat; no calling of patrol wagons, and no patrol wagons to call. An officer walked or carried or fought a prisoner to the nearest station house. The old dials were succeeded by telephone between station houses, and then came the system of call boxes or booths. The cities have had it to a limited extent during the past nine years, but it is only within the past seven years that it has been perfected. At first the machinery in the boxes or booths was crude and the entire apparatus was very imperfect. At first, too, an iron wire was used, but it did not last long in the sulphurous atmosphere. There were no telephones in the first boxes, and their addition was a great improvement. The register system was also improved very much within a few years, and improvements were made in the methods of keeping the paper on which the calls were registered, and also the paper itself. At the present time the designers of the system can very well claim that it has been brought to a high degree of perfection. In August, 1897, Pittsburg had 185 police call boxes and 234 telephones. The fire-alarm boxes were increased in a decade from about 100 to 384, and the number of circuits from about 12 to 30. The Municipal Bureau of Electricity, under the superintendency of M. W. Mead, during eleven months in 1896-7 was called upon to inspect 1,339 buildings. This great department has grown up within a decade. Recently the Pittsburg Reduction Company has shown that aluminum wire is an excellent substitute for copper as a conductor of electricity. The four largest dynamos ever constructed were recently placed in the Allegheny County Light Company's plant at Twelfth Street by the Westinghouse Electric Company. Each weighs over 110 tons, is 30 feet long, 24 feet high and 4 feet wide. The armatures are 16 feet 8 inches in diameter, and the shafts are 18 inches in diameter.

The four dynamos are capable of producing 2,500 arc lights, or 20,000 incandescent lights. Each of these dynamos is twice as powerful as the strongest exhibited at the World's Fair, showing the great improvement made in five years. Pittsburg was the first city of any considerable size to adopt the storage-battery system for police telegraph and fire-alarm purposes. It was put in operation in May, 1897, under the management of Mr. Mead, superintendent of the bureau.

On July 26, 1874, great destruction of property and loss of life occurred here by the bursting of a water spout. The storm commenced about 8 o'clock p. m. and raged with unprecedented fury for an hour, during which time 124 persons were drowned or otherwise lost their lives, scores of houses were swept away, many bridges torn up, sewers burst and a vast amount of damage done to trees, buildings, etc. In 1863 Pittsburg consisted of nine wards, Allegheny four wards, and there were ten boroughs adjacent.

In 1860 there was spent in Allegheny \$386,354.26 for water-works, pipes, etc. That city then contained 4,702 buildings. During 1859 and 1860 there were erected 344 new buildings, of which 311 were dwellings. Its population in 1860 was 31,563; in 1850 was 21,262. The water-pipe extensions in 1860 were 3,070 feet. The total length of water-pipe was nearly 21 miles.

Pittsburg has always labored under the disadvantage of a division of her population and commercial and industrial strength. In 1863 this vicinity consisted of twelve distinct municipalities and six villages or settlements so immediately joined together as to be inseparable from every point of view, except actual location. It could scarcely be said where one municipality ended and another began; but there was a dividing line, and so Pittsburg was then known, and is still known, as a city of only about one-half its actual population. In 1863 there were the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny, the boroughs of Birmingham, East Birmingham, South Pittsburg, Monongahela, Sligo, West Pittsburg, Temperanceville, Manchester, Duquesne and Lawrenceville, and the villages of Minersville, Oakland, Brownstown, Mount Washington, Hatfield and Woodland.

"This unfortunate question of railroad taxation has been the stumbling block in the way of any consolidation of the suburbs with the city. The boroughs and Allegheny City are quite satisfied with their share of the county railroad debt, and have no ambition of shouldering part of the Pittsburg railroad debt" (a).

The first Exposition Society was organized in Pittsburg in 1875, with buildings fronting on South Avenue, between School Street and Union Bridge approach, Allegheny. It failed after two expositions had been held, and was succeeded by a second association, which continued until fire destroyed its buildings, October 2, 1883. The Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society was chartered October 30, 1885, and erected buildings on Duquesne Way, near the intersection of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. The first exposition under its auspices was held from September 4 to October 19, 1889. Attendance in 1889, 561,000.

The following shows the population of the two cities:

Pittsburg. Allegheny.			Pittsburg. Allegheny.		
1760 .....	149	.....	1830 .....	12,542	2,801
1770 (est.) .....	120	.....	1840 .....	21,115	10,089
1786 (est.) .....	230	.....	1850 .....	36,601	21,270
1796 .....	1,395	.....	1860 .....	49,221	28,702
1800 .....	1,565	.....	1870 .....	86,254	53,180
1810 .....	4,786	.....	1880 .....	156,389	78,682
1820 .....	7,248	.....	1890 .....	238,473	105,237

(a) Commercial, December 3, 1863.

The following are the principal floods which have inundated Pittsburg:

	Feet.	Inches.
1763 (est.).....	30	0
January 13, 1787 (est.) ....	28	0
May, 1807.....	26	9
November 11, 1810 (Pumpkin Flood).....	32	0
February 10, 1832 .....	35	0
February, 1840 (est.) .....	28	0
April 19, 1852 .....	31	9
April 12, 1860 .....	29	7
September 29, 1861.....	30	9
January 20, 1862 .....	28	9
1865.....	31	6
February 6, 1884..	33	3
{ Monongahela .....		
{ Allegheny .....	34	6
1891.....	33	0
March, 1898.....	30	+

The act of June 16, 1836, provided for the admission of other wards to the city from the district lying to the east, which was ordered surveyed and otherwise prepared for habitation. Northern Liberties was the first ward added to the old four and was admitted as the Fifth Ward in 1837. In 1845 and 1846 four more wards were added under the law of 1836, which permitted their admission by a vote of the people, held under the direction of the Court of Quarter Sessions. The present Fifth Ward came in as part of the Third; the present Seventh and Eighth came in as the Sixth; the present Eleventh came in as the Seventh; the present Sixth came in as the Eighth and the present Twelfth came in as the Ninth. By act of April 6, 1867, many more were added. Upon submission to vote the outlying districts, except the East End, decided against admission. The latter voted "for admission," and accordingly was divided into fourteen additional wards from the Tenth to the Twenty-third, inclusive, and all were added to the city. The old Fifth became the Ninth and Tenth; the Sixth became the Seventh and Eighth; the Eighth became the Sixth; the Ninth became the Twelfth, and the Seventh became the Eleventh. By the act of April 2, 1872, the several boroughs on the South Side, viz., Ormsby (Twenty-fourth Ward), East Birmingham (Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth), St. Clair (Twenty-seventh), Birmingham (Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth), South Pittsburg (Thirtieth), Allentown (Thirty-first), Mount Washington (Thirty-second), Monongahela (Thirty-third), West Pittsburg (Thirty-fourth), Union (Thirty-fifth), and Temperanceville (Thirty-sixth Ward), were also added to the city. In 1897 Brushton was added as the Thirty-seventh Ward.

## MAYORS OF PITTSBURG.

Ebenezer Denny, July 9, 1816, to July 23, 1817.	cils and their choice was restricted to the twelve aldermen of the city).
John Darragh, 1817 to 1825.	Jonas R. McClintock, 1836.
John M. Snowden, 1825 to 1827.	William Little, 1839.
Magnus M. Murray, 1828.	William W. Irwin, 1840.
Matthew B. Lowrie, 1830.	James Thompson, 1841.
Magnus M. Murray, 1831.	Alexander Hay, 1842.
Samuel Pettigrew, 1832.	William J. Howard, 1845.
(In 1834 the mayor was first elected by the people. Prior thereto he was appointed annually by the City Councils and their choice was restricted to the twelve aldermen of the city).	William Kerr, 1846.
	Gabriel Adams, 1847.
	John Herron, 1849.

Joseph Barker, 1850.  
 John B. Guthrie, 1851.  
 Robert M. Riddle, 1853.  
 Ferdinand E. Volz, 1854.  
 William Bingham, 1856.  
 Henry A. Weaver, 1857.  
 (In January, 1858, the mayor was first  
 elected for the term of two years).  
 George Wilson, 1860.  
 B. C. Sawyer, 1862.  
 James Lowry, 1864.  
 W. C. McCarthy, 1866.  
 James Blackmore, 1868.

Jared M. Brush, 1869.  
 (Mr. Brush was elected for three years  
 under act of April 1, 1868).  
 James Blackmore, 1872.  
 William C. McCarthy, 1875.  
 Robert Liddell, 1878.  
 Robert W. Lyon, 1881.  
 Andrew Fulton, 1884.  
 William McCallin, 1887.  
 Henry I. Gourley, 1890.  
 B. McKenna, 1893.  
 H. P. Ford, 1896.

## MAYORS OF ALLEGHENY.

General William Robinson, Jr., 1840.  
 Thomas Sample, 1841.  
 William B. Foster, 1842.  
 Hezekiah Nixon, 1844.  
 R. S. Cassatt, 1846.  
 Henry Campbell, 1847.  
 Jonathan Rush, 1849.  
 H. S. Fleming, 1850.  
 R. W. Park, 1853.  
 William Adams, 1854.  
 Herman Dehaven, 1857.  
 John Stuckrath, 1858.  
 John Morrison, 1859.  
 Simon Drum, 1861.

A. C. Alexander, 1863.  
 John Morrison, 1865.  
 Simon Drum, 1868.  
 Alexander P. Callow, 1870.  
 David Neillie, 1874 (33 days).  
 H. S. Fleming, 1874.  
 Ormsby Phillips, 1875.  
 Thomas Megraw, 1878.  
 Lewis Peterson, Jr., 1881.  
 James G. Wyman, 1884.  
 Richard T. Pearson, 1887.  
 James G. Wyman, 1889.  
 William M. Kennedy, 1891.  
 Charles W. Gerwig, 1896.

The great debt of the city was incurred mainly in opening and paving streets, buying bridges and building water-works. It is under control, as the city regularly pays the interest, and often refunds portions at a lower rate of interest.

The city of Pittsburg paid more than \$2,500,000 taxes for the fiscal year 1896 in excess of the amount paid by all the balance of the county, including Allegheny, McKeesport and all the boroughs and townships.

Of \$10,791,830 of taxes collected up to the 1st of June, the city of Pittsburg paid \$6,678,523. The city of Allegheny paid \$1,932,382. The two cities combined, therefore, paid four-fifths of all the taxes collected in the county. This proportion was greater than it had ever been. Heretofore it was generally reckoned that the two cities paid three-fourths of the taxes.

These figures were brought out in a report completed by the county commissioners to the Secretary of Internal Affairs, showing the tax collections in the county for the year ending May 1, 1896. The division of the total collected was as follows: Pittsburg, \$6,678,523.06; Allegheny, \$1,932,382.01; McKeesport, \$362,319.55; boroughs, \$1,164,084.50; townships, \$654,521.26. The amount of taxes collected for the support of the poor was as follows: Pittsburg, \$155,000; Allegheny, \$57,384.50; McKeesport, \$6,855.15; boroughs, \$29,469.29; townships, \$33,500.10; total, \$282,209. The amount collected for the construction and repairs of streets, roads and bridges was as follows: Pittsburg, \$911,651.16; Allegheny, \$135,000; McKeesport, \$55,568.32; boroughs, \$156,209.48; townships, \$206,908.66; total, \$1,465,337.62. The taxes collected for schools and school purposes, not including State appropriations, amounted as follows: Pittsburg, \$386,850; Allegheny, \$290,391.44; McKeesport, \$81,-

\$43.25; boroughs, \$369,474.46; townships, \$246,952.27; total, \$1,375,511.42. The amount collected for all other purposes, whether State, county or local taxes, was as follows: Pittsburg, \$5,225,021.90; Allegheny, \$1,449,606.07; McKeesport, \$218,052.87; boroughs, \$608,931.27; townships, \$167,160.23; total, \$7,668,772.34.

A second division of the statement showed the subjects upon which the taxes were collected. They were as follows: On personal property—Pittsburg, \$175,249.42; Allegheny, \$67,751.62; McKeesport, \$4,043.72; boroughs, \$25,536.62; townships, \$30,868.16; total, \$303,449.54. On occupations—Pittsburg, \$43,433.37; Allegheny, \$18,273.42; McKeesport, \$2,307.72; boroughs, \$13,176.99; townships, \$11,132.42; total, \$88,323.92. On licenses, including liquor licenses—Pittsburg, \$732,938; Allegheny, \$222,700; McKeesport, \$36,142.50; boroughs, \$37,458.15; townships, \$10,239; total, \$1,039,477.65. On real estate of railway corporations—Pittsburg, \$35,816.18; Allegheny, \$25,104.80; McKeesport, \$2,142.36; boroughs, \$4,472.15; townships, \$2,565.12; total, \$71,100.61. On real estate of other corporations, including that of limited partnerships—Pittsburg, \$288,932.49; Allegheny, \$67,118.39; McKeesport, \$16,960.01; boroughs, \$87,572.65; townships, \$105,506.69; total, \$566,090.23.

The estimates of Director E. M. Bigelow of city expenses for the years 1896 and 1897 are as follows:

	1896.	1897.
General office.....	\$ 11,500.00	\$ 11,400.00
Bureau of—		
Engineering and surveys.....	58,000.00	68,475.00
Highways and sewers.....	321,500.00	325,717.00
City property.....	45,925.00	78,853.26
Water supply and distribution.....	250,000.00	409,955.00
Water assessments.....	12,000.00	12,000.00
Public light.....	242,000.00	248,436.92
Viewers .....	17,000.00	15,040.00
Bureau of parks .....	81,000.00	104,152.92
Street repaving, etc.....	205,000.00	214,950.00
Bureau of bridges .....		153,013.50
Property purchases .....		47,000.00
Totals .....	\$1,243,925.00	\$1,688,993.60

## DEBT OF PITTSBURG.

Total amount of bonded indebtedness outstanding	
January 31, 1897.....	\$14,928,201.87
Cash in sinking funds....	\$ 860,058.00
Investments in sinking funds.....	3,276,971.57
	<u>4,137,029.57</u>
Indebtedness over available means, city ledger....	\$10,791,172.30
Deduct par value of city loans held by the commis-	
sioners of the compromise railroad sinking	
funds, applicable only to the extinguishment of	
the railroad compromise loan.....	570,339.99
	<u>Net debt January 31, 1897.....</u>
	\$10,220,832.31
Water loan 7s paid during 1897.....	43,500.00
	<u>Net debt January, 1898.....</u>
	\$10,177,332.31



## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

All the remaining seven per cent. water bonds of the city, amounting to \$2,398,000, are to be paid off on April 1, 1898.

## DEBT OF ALLEGHENY CITY.

Gross bonded debt February 27, 1897.....	\$5,655,295.17
Bonds issued during 1897 (street improvements)....	334,000.00
Total.....	\$5,989,295.17
Less bonds paid during 1897.....	\$ 40,000.00
Less amount in sinking funds.....	862,146.23
	<hr/> 902,146.23
Net debt November 1, 1897.....	\$5,087,148.94

## DEBT OF MC KEESPORT.

Railroad compromise bonds.....	\$104,600
Water-works bonds.....	75,000
Water extension and improvement bonds.....	27,000
Refunding bonds.....	42,000
Total bonded debt April 1, 1897.....	\$248,600
Less amount in sinking funds.....	41,000
	<hr/>
Net debt November 1, 1897.....	\$207,600

## DEBT OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

Total bonded debt January 1, 1897.....	\$3,307,876.67
Outstanding warrants and scrip.....	284.00
	<hr/>
	\$3,308,160.67
Amount in sinking fund December 1, 1897.....	50,987.87
	<hr/>
Net debt December 1, 1897.....	\$3,257,172.80

In 1866 the old custom of calling the hour of the night by the watchmen was abandoned. In 1863 the Market-house was built in Allegheny and the stalls sold for \$5,580, but brought a bonus of \$15,970. The City Hall in Allegheny was built in 1866. The Pittsburg City Hall was begun in 1868 and completed in 1872. New water-works for Pittsburg were built in 1871-4 at Brilliant Station, on the Allegheny River. The water is forced to the large Highland reservoirs, and thence directly to consumers in the lower sections of the city, and to Herron Hill Reservoir for the elevated sections of the city. The South Side is supplied by a private corporation. It was estimated in 1896 that the new reservoir site for Pittsburg would cost \$100,000, but the greed of property owners will more than multiply that sum by three. The Highland reservoirs stand 372 feet above the pumps which supply them. Water is forced up that perpendicular distance through a fifty-inch pipe, 3,840 feet in length, and the reservoirs have a capacity of 217,600,000 gallons. The engines are capable of supplying 55,000,000 gallons per day. The new water-works of Allegheny are a credit to that city. They are located at Montrose, and were first operated in 1897. The cost of the building and intake cribs aggregated \$292,000. Provision was made for six engines, having a pumping capacity of 36,000,000 gallons per day. The cost of this whole improvement will be over \$2,000,000.

The following table for 1895 will show the joint forces of this vicinity at that date.

	Pittsburg.	Allegheny.	Total.
Square miles.....	29	7½	36½
Wards....	37	14	51
Schools—public.....	66	24	90
High schools.....	1	1	2
Miles of paved streets....	182	113	295
Miles of sewerage.....	149	57	206
Miles of water-pipe.....	245	115	360
City light—arc electric....	1,600	875	2,475
City light—gas, etc.....	2,416	500	2,916
No. of men in Fire Department....	264	104	368
No. of engines and hook and ladder companies.....	29	14	43
No. of men in Police Department....	338	150	488
Patrol wagons.....	10	3	13
Detectives.....	10	6	16

At Davis Island Dam is the second largest navigation lock in the world. This point on the Ohio River is six feet lower than at Smithfield Street bridge. The stonework is twelve feet high, giving a depth of seven feet of water. The dam is 1,223 feet long, composed of wickets or gates so arranged that they can be lowered or raised at will. On the eastern (Bellevue) shore is the lock, 600 feet long and 110 feet wide. The gates are controlled by specially arranged machinery, and so complete are all the arrangements made that the filling and emptying of the immense lock is but the work of a few minutes. The dam was completed in the summer of 1885, and opened October 7, 1885, with ceremonies under the auspices of the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce.

The total number of taxables shown by the assessors' reports for 1897 was 78,583, and the basis of representation was secured by dividing the total by 40, which makes the basis of representation 1,964. It will be fixed at 1,950. Every ward having 1,950 taxables, or any fraction thereof, is entitled to one member of Common Council, and one additional member for three-fifths in excess of that number. A ward having double the number required for one member and three-fifths in addition, is entitled to three representatives in Common Council. Brushton, now the Thirty-seventh Ward, had not been admitted when the last apportionment was made, but now has 791 taxables, as shown by the assessors' reports.

The last apportionment was made in 1893, and the number of taxables then and in 1897 is shown as follows:

	1893.	1897.
First Ward.....	917	902
Second Ward.....	847	573
Third Ward.....	511	430
Fourth Ward.....	906	769
Fifth Ward.....	1,201	846
Sixth Ward.....	2,981	2,894
Seventh Ward.....	1,668	1,598
Eighth Ward.....	1,946	2,353
Ninth Ward.....	955	837
Tenth Ward.....	955	673
Eleventh Ward.....	3,377	3,519
Twelfth Ward.....	2,907	2,771

	1893.	1897.
Thirteenth Ward.....	3,253	3,808
Fourteenth Ward.....	5,011	5,484
Fifteenth Ward.....	1,378	1,615
Sixteenth Ward.....	3,421	3,470
Seventeenth Ward.....	3,330	3,712
Eighteenth Ward.....	2,256	2,553
Nineteenth Ward.....	3,394	4,175
Twentieth Ward.....	4,051	5,926
Twenty-first Ward.....	3,800	4,938
Twenty-second Ward.....	870	1,245
Twenty-third Ward.....	2,819	3,448
Twenty-fourth Ward.....	1,881	1,420
Twenty-fifth Ward.....	2,349	2,071
Twenty-sixth Ward.....	2,002	2,342
Twenty-seventh Ward.....	2,785	2,837
Twenty-eighth Ward.....	1,736	1,482
Twenty-ninth Ward.....	1,342	1,408
Thirtieth Ward.....	755	840
Thirty-first Ward.....	1,419	1,495
Thirty-second Ward.....	2,185	2,437
Thirty-third Ward.....	287	255
Thirty-fourth Ward.....	892	627
Thirty-fifth Ward.....	985	1,190
Thirty-sixth Ward.....	860	779
Thirty-seventh Ward.....	....	791
Total.....	72,241	78,583

Pittsburg has been the scene of several strikes of such magnitude and importance as to demand mention by historical writers. The strike of 1877 was one of the most notable in the annals of the city. For several years previous to the month of July, 1877, there had grown up a hostile feeling against railroads and other large corporations, which, continuing, became the occasion of the outbreak. Public sentiment was suspicious and sensitive, and corporations were exacting, independent and secret. Companies had not yet come to consider seriously that they were bound to yield any material point to employes. On the other hand, the latter had engendered and cultivated the opinion that the laboring classes should have much to say concerning the amount of wages paid them and the hours they were required to serve. Corporations would not seriously consider these claims. For some time discriminations and favoritism in railroad circles had been the subject of discussion and denunciation in labor assemblages. The conditions, therefore, were favorable for an outbreak should the interests of the one conflict with those of the other. Some of the newspapers favored the companies, and some the employes. For several months preceding the riots disturbances had occurred over reductions in wages and over the right of the railways to discharge arbitrarily any employe. Crews in charge of trains were subjected to rules they deemed unfair, and in many other particulars a strong antagonism had grown up between the companies and their men. This was not only true of Pittsburg, but of many other sections of the United States. Various strikes had been instituted, which had more or less affected the railways centering at Pittsburg. Affairs were brought to a dangerous stage on July 19th, when the conductors and trainmen on some of the freight trains of the Pennsylvania Railway refused to take out their trains or allow other trains to move. This action was caused by a reduction

of ten per cent. in the wages of the men and by an order that thirty-six cars, instead of eighteen, as before, should constitute a train without an increase in the number of the crew, though it was provided that a locomotive at the rear of the train was to serve as a pusher, thus making what was called a double-header. The decrease in pay and the doubling of the work caused the employees to resolve upon a sturdy resistance, and accordingly the strike was inaugurated. At first it was not well organized, but later on gathered strength, and soon a serious outcome was considered. Undoubtedly the one object at first was to oblige the superintendents to rescind the order concerning double-headers. On the morning of the 19th the affair first became serious. Several crews refused to take out their trains, and as fast as others arrived they joined the strikers. As the day advanced the strikers congregated at the roundhouse on Twenty-eighth Street, where they were joined later by a large mob of idlers in no way connected with the railroads. The mob took possession of the tracks and roundhouse and refused to surrender possession to the railroad authorities, whereupon the mayor was asked to send a sufficient force of police to regain possession of the property. Men who undertook to carry out the wishes of the company were assaulted and one of the mob was arrested by the police. Threats of a rescue were freely made, but were not carried into effect. On the evening of the 19th a meeting of the strikers was held and resolutions were passed demanding the restoration of the ten per cent. reduction in wages and the revocation of the order authorizing the running of double-headers. Late at night the mob had increased greatly in numbers and was composed largely of idlers and irresponsible persons who possessed little or no regard for law. So threatening became the indications that the railroad authorities at midnight called for assistance from the sheriff, whereupon that official went to Twenty-eighth Street and read the "riot act," and was answered with hoots and jeers from the mob. The posse which he had hastily summoned became alarmed and deserted him before the grounds were reached. At 3 o'clock in the morning General Pierson was requested to order out the Eighteenth and Nineteenth regiments of the National Guard; at the same time the sheriff wired to the Governor, asking for an order for the militia to take the field. On the morning of the 20th General Pierson marched with his forces to the Union Depot and placed them in position in the yard and along the railroad tracks. About this time the Governor ordered General Brinton's division of troops from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. The calling out of the local militia and the ordering of Eastern troops here greatly infuriated the mob and the strikers. They became sullen and defiant and the feeling spread to the working-men in the factories and to all idlers in the city. The mob was entertained and still further encouraged by demagogical speeches upholding the action of the strikers, supporting the arguments generally used by communists, and particularly denouncing the Pennsylvania Railroad for refusing to yield to the demands of the men, and the authorities for ordering out the soldiers. The result might have been expected. The hundreds of men from the factories joined the mob, and many good citizens took the part of the strikers. Several newspapers urged that perhaps this was the commencement in this country of the anticipated civil war between labor and capital. In fact, some of the newspapers did more to inflame the passions of the mob than any other cause. More than one newspaper actually encouraged the mob to resist the troops and the laws of the country. Some of the articles published were of the most inflammatory character. The troops from Philadelphia reached the Union Depot on Saturday afternoon. They were immediately moved out along the tracks to the roundhouse, where the mob was concentrated. In clearing the tracks they were compelled to use some force, whereupon they were pelted with stones. Some officer gave an order to fire, and a volley was poured into the mob, killing several persons and wounding

about thirty others. This act roused the mob to frenzy, and they gathered in around the troops who assembled in the roundhouse. The mob proceeded to burn them out. Cars loaded with oil were set on fire and sent down the track to the building. A piece of artillery in possession of the mob was trained upon the roundhouse and several volleys were fired. The appeals of General Brinton for the mob to desist were unheeded, whereupon he ordered a detail of soldiers to fire upon the men in charge of the cannon. This was done, and several were killed and wounded. The mob was checked by this act, but they still continued to surround and threaten the soldiers. The reign of terror now commenced. Trains of cars were rifled and burned. The troops continued to hold their position until Sunday morning, when they retreated to Sharpsburg and encamped. They were followed by several thousand persons, who occasionally fired upon them. During Saturday night and Sunday morning the mob had almost total possession of the city. They broke open several armories and gun stores to supply themselves with arms and ammunition. Banks and other depositories of treasure were in danger of being pillaged. On Sunday morning the roundhouse and the locomotives therein were burned. The Union Depot, the Pan-Handle Depot, the Adams Express building, the Grain Elevator and other buildings were also destroyed by fire. The fire department was prevented from extinguishing the flames. At this time the mob seemed to be without leader, organization or prudence, and was composed of the worst elements of the city. At a meeting called by the mayor to enroll 500 special police, few were found willing to assume the responsibility. This proved that, although the people generally deprecated the lawlessness of the mob, they sympathized thoroughly with the strikers, or were afraid to oppose them. The reign of terror continued from Saturday night until Monday morning, during which time innumerable acts of lawlessness were committed. On Monday morning a meeting of the citizens was held, and a committee of public safety appointed. An address was issued which did much to quiet the mob. Negotiations were opened with the rioters, and gradually rioting and lawlessness were suppressed. A large force of citizens was enrolled, and several thousand troops were ordered to Pittsburgh by the Governor. This measure served the purpose of gradually dispersing the rioters. In addition to the property mentioned there were burned 1,383 freight cars, 104 locomotives, and 66 passenger coaches. The county commissioners afterward settled all claims for \$2,772,349.53, of which sum \$1,600,000 was paid to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Twenty-five persons were killed during the riot.

In 1889 a severe strike, accompanied with bloodshed, was conducted by the employes of the Carnegie Company at Homestead, but a peace was established on the basis of a sliding scale of wages. In 1892 the market price of steel billets dropped from \$28 to \$22, whereupon the wages of employes under the sliding scale were reduced. Both sides were arbitrary and persistent. Three questions of great importance were involved: (1) A reduction in the minimum of the sliding schedule from \$25 to \$23 per ton for Bessemer steel billets; (2) A change in the date of the expiration of the scale from June 30th to December 31st; (3) A reduction in the tonnage rates at the mills where the introduction of labor-saving machinery had greatly increased the earnings of the employes. Numerous meetings were held, but no settlement satisfactory to both sides could be obtained. The crisis was reached July 1st when the strikers took possession of the Carnegie works, and refused all persons, including the owners, admission thereto without a permit from the advisory committee. At the request of the owners the sheriff endeavored to gain possession of the works, but his deputies were threatened and his notices torn down. Three hundred watchmen sent by him to gain the works were met a mile from town and fired upon



repeatedly and prevented from landing. They returned the fire, and several were killed and wounded on both sides. He insisted on doing his duty, but the leaders of the strikers professed to see no reason for his interference, as no violence had occurred. The company insisted on the right to occupy and operate their works; on their right to use force, if necessary, to regain possession, and on their right to hire non-union men. The strikers took the position that no non-union men should operate the works; that the strikers themselves were entitled to say how much they should be paid, and that the works should not start at all until a settlement had been reached upon the basis of their demands. Mr. McCleary, the sheriff, made every endeavor to adjust the difficulty and place the owners in possession of their works, until July 10th, when he reported to Governor Pattison that he could do no more. He had made every endeavor to secure a posse of the citizens, but was unable to do so, as none wished to become involved in the difficulty. Governor Pattison called out the National Guard of the State, and ordered 8,000 men, under General Snowden, to place the company in possession of their works. On July 12th General Snowden, at the head of 3,000 soldiers, with 5,000 more in reserve, marched to Homestead and took possession of the grounds without the slightest interference from the strikers. In fact the latter wished to give the soldiers a grand and formal reception, but this offer was curtly refused by the commander. The 300 watchmen sent to regain possession of the works were in the employ of Pinkerton. This outside interference was resisted to the utmost by the strikers, who determined that the "Pinkertons," as they were called, should never see the works. A hot fire was opened upon them from the river banks, and when they attempted to land every man was shot down as soon as he tried to leave the barges. The strikers barricaded the adjacent streets and houses and poured a continuous and deadly fire upon the boats, even when no one was in sight. The Pinkertons were at last compelled to surrender, and many of them were abused shamefully when they left the boats. The soldiers remained in possession until all danger was passed. Gradually the strikers went back to work. Eleven persons were killed and many were wounded during this memorable strike. The leaders of the strikers were indicted for murder, but no convictions resulted. Of the 3,800 men on the pay-roll of the company at the Homestead works, the strike was really inaugurated by about 325 who had received, it was afterward shown, daily wages varying from \$6 to \$10. The strike was unquestionably the result of the inflammatory views and doctrines of the walking delegates and leaders. It may be said to have terminated in the attack of the anarchist Berkmann upon Henry C. Frick, of the Carnegie Company. Though taken wholly by surprise and severely wounded by revolver and knife, Mr. Frick succeeded, with the help of Mr. Leishman, in overpowering the assassin and turning him over to the police. Berkmann was sent to the penitentiary for a short term.

The Allegheny Observatory is well known to the scientific world. It stands on Observatory Hill, 400 feet above the rivers, and is well supplied with instruments and apparatus. The observatory had been for a number of years in charge of Professor James E. Keeler, but in March, 1897, he was appointed a director of Lick Observatory, Mount Washington. John H. Brashear's factory of astronomical instruments stands near the observatory.

Intense feeling has been kindled in Pittsburg in recent years over the question of municipal government. The matter culminated for the time being in 1897 by an attempt to put through the Legislature a new charter for the Pittsburg municipality. The movement was supported by the Civic Federation and opposed by local office-holders and their friends. The Legislature failed to pass the bills desired.

The most remarkable circumstance in the recent history of Pittsburg and environs is the consolidation of capital and interests, and the consequent tendency toward a suppression of competition. It is a common occurrence for several concerns engaged in the same pursuit to pool issues and interests, even to the extent of a restraint of both trade and competition. When once the market is secured prices can be placed at any figure the pool desires. This will undoubtedly lead in the end to prudent legislation directed against monopoly. All such concerns will be compelled to incorporate and place a portion of their stock in the hands of many citizens, as is done in effect by the Dollar Savings Bank.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

### RESOURCES AND NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF PITTSBURG—ITS LOCATION—ITS RESOURCES AS A MANUFACTURING CENTER—ITS TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE—PICTURESQUE SURROUNDINGS AND SOCIAL ATTRACTIONS.

The business of mankind is divided among three grand divisions, sometimes called worlds and occasionally kingdoms. These divisions are Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacturing, the latter including mining. The familiar symbols representing these great industries are figured upon the coat-of-arms of many States of the American Union, and are in striking contrast with the lions, eagles and castles emblazoned on the escutcheons of European States. They signify that America speaks for civilization, progress and peace in contrast with the armaments of Europe, which do not belie the emblems of the nations which they were created to serve.

Strange, it now appears, Pennsylvania in her heraldry recognizes but two worlds for human exploit. Her ship, her plow, and her three sheaves of wheat, standing for commerce and agriculture. Manufacture was omitted, but this was to have been expected when it is recalled that good, pious William Penn brought the bricks with him from England to build his house on Letitia Street in Philadelphia. He might have been told there was clay in the great province deeded to him by Charles; but he was not a man to take chances. However, this exploit of his was fully paralleled several generations later by the first enterprising merchants of Chicago, who imported wheat and flour from Erie, in this State.

While speaking of kingdoms a word should be said of the kings. We have seen King Cotton dethroned and King Wheat installed in his stead, with his royal court in Chicago, for the present. We say at present, because this kingdom is inclined to be peripatetic, and the king must follow the plows and the scythes, and the votes of his subjects may some day determine it to be expedient to locate his throne elsewhere. Duluth, it is said, is already looking out for a suitable place within her borders to unfurl the golden colors. Alexander the Great picked out the island of Pharos, which had before been a den of thieves and pirates, and made it the Eastern world's most famous grain mart, and it remained noted for more than twenty-two centuries, but at last the construction of the Suez Canal carried away its scepter.

In Commerce (speaking now of foreign trade) the king dwells where the best harbor is found, and may remain as long as his lines of communication with the interior are well maintained. Philadelphia enjoyed the distinction of being the greatest commercial emporium in the Western World until Dewitt Clinton dug the ditch, yept a canal, across New York, a work which was a physical impossibility in Pennsylvania, at least to make a canal equal to the present demands of commerce. Consequently New York City captured the prize.

Not so capricious and so dependent upon man's will and energies is the throne of the great King Coal, the master of the wheels, the anvils and the furnaces. His limitations are defined by nature, and his residence, at least his official headquarters, cannot be moved by man's will. This king has a genii

always at his beck and call whose name is Energy, and its abode is underground.

Rebellious subjects sought the gas wells of the West, which proved to be a veritable ignis fatuus. Western Pennsylvania has as good and reliable wells as those they sought for elsewhere. But in the event of their failure, and reluctantly, it is to be admitted, their failure is certain, King Coal has an inexhaustible supply of the very best fuel which can be shoveled into furnaces, at a cost of about eighty cents per ton. In fact the coal used for producing steam in most mills and factories is nothing more than slack, or the fine coal which was formerly regarded as waste. This costs only about forty cents a ton, which makes it the cheapest fuel in the world. Formerly it was regarded as a great nuisance by miners, as it had to be wheeled out and dumped where it would be least in the way. These dumps, or slack piles, often took fire, and sometimes burned slowly for years. Now there is a local demand for every ton of it.

As statistics are forbidden in polite literature, we must say nothing about the 15,000 miners and their annual product of 15,000,000 tons of genuine Pittsburgh coal and coke, and as for that miserable slack referred to, no account is taken of it; at the best it is fit only to be cast into furnaces and burned, though formerly it was deposited in mountainous heaps along the river banks with the hope that the floods would carry it off.

Not long ago an attaché of one of the European embassies visited Pittsburgh from Washington, and becoming interested in the fuel question, he was told that coal from the Pittsburgh vein was rated as the best general bituminous coal in America. "Ah, yes, that is a local prejudice, I presume. I see that all you Americans are alike." The attaché was right, for the notion of the superiority of the Pittsburgh coal is a mere American local prejudice. Several millions of tons of it are annually shipped to the Mississippi Valley, as far as New Orleans, and it is burned on steamers plying the Gulf of Mexico; so also from the upper Monongahela it is frequently shipped to Denver, and for special purposes some of it to San Francisco. It makes the gas for St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee, as well as for Philadelphia, New York and Washington, and it both lights and warms Cincinnati and Cleveland, and does part of these duties for Buffalo, and Toronto, Canada, and everywhere this "local" prejudice regarding its superiority is entertained.

A company is being organized, it is creditably stated, to ship this coal to Rio de Janeiro, South America, and it is affirmed by Lake Superior and Lake Michigan dealers, who supply the vast coalless areas of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Dakota, that if some cheaper means for its transportation than railroads could be opened up across the neck of 130 miles which separates Pittsburgh from the great lakes, Pittsburgh would have virtual control of the Northwestern coal trade along the lakes, where there is now consumed 17,000,000 tons of fuel annually, most of which comes from Ohio, Illinois and elsewhere, and much of which Pennsylvania geologists would rate as carboniferous slate.

The argument has been advanced that this splendid natural resource of Western Pennsylvania, which is to be found in an area of about 3,000 square miles in the southwestern corner of the State, with an equal area alongside of it in Western Virginia, ought to be husbanded at home, and that then all the manufacturing world would center here. King Coal has a warmer heart in him than the advocates of such a proposition imagine. He says to those at a distance, "Like Mahomet's mountain I cannot go to you, but you may come to me and help yourselves. You should know, of course, that no matter how cheap the rates of transportation may become, some time in the future the cheapest rate is still something of a handicap upon many branches of your

manufacturers. A carload of my like is charged on the railroads at present for a hundred miles as much as it cost to produce it from the bowels of the earth and load it on the cars. This is monstrous, 'tis true, but the railroad people truly affirm that this is the best they can do and live."

Such has been Coal's lifelong belief and desire to serve Americans everywhere, but his honest words have not always been believed, and even a rebellion arose about two years ago in opposition to his mandate that all other products should come to him. This rebellion was inaugurated by Mr. Iron Ore, of Lake Superior, backed by the City of Cleveland. Ore protested that he would no longer pay court to Coal, and insisted that Coal must come to him, otherwise no pig-iron or steel would be seen in the markets. Lake Transportation also joined in this fray against Coal, and for a time the dust created by the skirmishers prevented a clear view of the field. It was "life or death for Pittsburg," said many Lake Erie men, and grass, it was prophesied by some of them, would be cut on Smithfield Street. Finally, however, the cloud raised and the picture disclosed showed four new gigantic furnaces on the Monongahela River, the largest in the world, and another railroad from Lake Erie to Pittsburg, carrying Lake Superior iron ore to the aforesaid furnaces, with an additional number of policemen on Smithfield Street, to protect pedestrians from accidents due to the ceaseless tide of traffic on said thoroughfare.

The world's supremacy in the metallurgical art is now conceded to Western Pennsylvania, but what this fact betokens, not only for Pennsylvania but for the nation at large, cannot at present be foretold. Allegheny County's present population of 600,000 will ere long be a million of souls. The United States is too small a field of consumption even now for the products of this district, and Pittsburg is pressing with its thousands of tons upon the scales balancing the foreign trade of the country, which are tipping in favor of the United States, and when fairly down once, there they will remain so long as American skill, enterprise and intelligence endure and human freedom is guaranteed in the land. Cheap fuel and cheap transportation are doing this for America, and in the wake of the bulky coal and iron trades will follow a development of numerous other branches of commerce and manufacturing.

If any one department of manufacturing can be singled out as the weather-gauge of prosperity, it is that of iron and the pulse of the iron market. Both in this country and in England it is constantly being referred to by the financiers. Although iron is a metal in universal use, and in constant demand, no individuals, or trusts, attempt to forestall the markets to any considerable extent. Such attempts have been successful with sugar, and to some extent even with flour and beef, which are also great staple commodities, but why they have not been so successful with iron is not easily explained. The facts, however, clearly demonstrate that the welfare of Pittsburg is not in the keeping of any individual or corporation, and that its material prosperity is a reliable index of national prosperity.

Upon the site of Pittsburg was begun a war which determined the fact that to the Anglo-Saxon, and not to the Latins, North America was to belong. Had the Saxon been vanquished, a large portion of our territory might have been on a par with Cuba of to-day. Upon the same ground, a century and a half later, is now being settled the question whether America or Europe shall take the lead in the world's commercial and manufacturing activity. It may seem boastful to refer to this locality as being the pivot upon which such momentous results turn, yet where is the axis if it be not here? A beef axis, or a flour, dry goods, or raw cotton axis, is out of the question. Iron it must be in this country, as iron it has been in England for these many decades.



## HISTORY OF PITTSBURG.

"My father was mighty Vulcan,  
I am a smith of the land and the sea,  
The cunning spirit of Tubal Cain  
Came with my marrow to me.

"I think great thoughts, strong-winged with steel,  
I coin vast iron acts;  
And weld the impalpable dream of seers  
Into utile lyric facts."

Some day a great artist like Doré will illustrate Richard Realf's "Hymn of Pittsburg," and each line will be worthy of a separate page in the splendid book it will make.

Pittsburg's resources are but little understood, even by those usually accounted well-informed citizens. Statistics are bewildering and meaningless to many persons outside of the lines of their own occupations. To tell strangers when visiting Pittsburg that here is the greatest tube works in the world, or that here is the largest furnace, has little meaning if they are not familiar with similar works elsewhere. And yet it is a fact that our 600,000 population produce from mines, furnaces and mills a tonnage four times greater than that of Chicago from her 1,500,000; six times greater than from Paris with her 2,500,000 population. These figures give some idea of the standing of Pittsburg in the commercial world. More loaded freight cars are annually received and sent out from here than from any other city in the world (a). The trade of a single firm in iron ore, fuel, limestone and finished product amounts to a greater tonnage than the combined cotton product of the Southern States. These are some of the "utile lyric facts" to be picked up in journeying around Pittsburg, and yet all this traffic had its beginning only about a century ago.

For many years Pittsburg was served with packhorses across the mountains from the seaboard. Never was there a good wagon-road to Philadelphia, but a canal entered Pittsburg from the East, having a portage railroad over the mountains, up which cars were pulled with hempen cables, but from Johnstown the canal passed down the Kiskiminetas to its mouth; thence crossing the Allegheny River near Freeport, it continued to Allegheny City on the right bank of the river, and, by means of another aqueduct across the river, entered Pittsburg at Eleventh Street, near where stands the present Union Depot. The canal only accommodated boats of a capacity about equal to that of a modern freight car, viz., sixty tons. About 1855, after the canal had been in use twenty-two years, the railroads caught up with the little four-feet deep water ditches which had done so much for the development of Central and Western Pennsylvania. These were afterward sold by the State to the railroad companies.

It is not generally known that "Pittsburg" is the name given by geologists to a particular vein of coal, the outcrop of which happens to terminate near this city, but which extends in an unbroken body into West Virginia. There are other veins of very good coal both above it and below it, but the Pittsburg vein is the most valuable. The same geological strata are found in the Con-

(a) The National Association of Car Service Managers reported the movement of railroad cars in their several districts for 1895 as follows, full carloads of freight received or loaded being alone taken into account:

Name of Association or District.	No. of Cars. Year 1895.	Name of Association or District.	No. of Cars. Year 1895.
Pittsburg.....	1,504,036	Western New York (Buffalo).....	559,311
Philadelphia .....	1,233,485	Chicago.....	514,769
New York and New Jersey .....	595,483		

nellsville coking district, from which the celebrated Connellsville coke is made. This industry alone employs 10,000 men and requires nearly 20,000 ovens, and yields a daily product of 1,500 carloads. It may be worth mentioning that 1,500 cars of coke would make a train more than ten miles long. The railroad facilities are such that all of this material destined for the West, besides much other freight, is passed through the city without keeping people standing on the sidewalks waiting for the trains to pass. This could hardly be possible were it not for railroad tunnels under the city and outside connecting lines.

The "Pittsburg" vein forms the best coal in the Western Maryland semi-bituminous fields, and it is recognized as one of the best veins in the anthracite region of Eastern Pennsylvania. Along the Monongahela River, for more than 100 miles south of Pittsburgh, this particular coal is found in its most accessible form. The river is so improved with locks and dams, maintained by the United States Government, free of toll, that coal loaded in boats at the mines can be transported in fleets to New Orleans, a distance of 2,000 miles, at a total cost of \$1.50 per ton, including the expense of mining and loading into boats.

Pittsburg is classed as an inland city, and yet it lays claim to the ownership of a greater vessel tonnage than any other city in America. Steamers from Pittsburgh have reached Fort Benton, Montana, which is a thousand miles longer voyage than that between New York and Liverpool. In order to meet the increasing demand for greater and cheaper shipping facilities the improvement of Western rivers is being urged vigorously.

In the appreciation of the value of waterways America has been slow. In Europe, as in this country, the best paying railroads parallel waterways. As on the rivers, so also has Pittsburgh a potent voice and a vast interest in the navigation of the Great Lakes, greater in fact than that of any city on the lakes, if Chicago and Buffalo be excepted. From 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 tons of Pittsburgh commerce pass annually through her five lake harbors, viz., Erie, Conneaut, Ashtabula, Fairport and Cleveland, while several millions more tons of her produce are shipped to lake cities but not transferred to vessels.

The railroad facilities of the city have been wonderfully improved in recent years. Passenger trains arrive and depart upon fourteen different lines to and from as many directions, and on these lines about 200 passenger trains enter and an equal number depart from the city daily.

No city in the country is so little understood by strangers as Pittsburgh, and it is little wonder, for the city that strangers see has scarcely a dwelling house in it. Filled with hotels, office buildings, stores and warehouses, yet the "old city's" registered or polling population is as great as it was thirty years ago. Even the churches and public-school buildings are being torn down to give place to towering structural steel buildings. From the top of a fifteen-story building not a stone of modern Pittsburgh is visible; hills more or less densely built upon crowd down upon the view, and the stranger is mystified, wondering from whence come the teeming crowds of pedestrians and the rapid succession of vehicles and electric cars he sees on the streets below him.

The census of 1896 ranks Pittsburgh with such places as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Cincinnati; that is to say, second class in the list of the great American cities, and such really is Pittsburgh's rank, accepting the criterion of population strictly confined to its corporate limits. Within the limits of an area about equal in extent to that of Chicago—that is to say, within twelve miles of Pittsburgh's business center—there are more than thirty separate municipal corporations, with an aggregate population of considerably more than 550,000. One of Pittsburgh's suburbs paralleling her northern flank for a number of miles, and connected with her by no less than eight bridges, and known

as Allegheny, has 130,000 inhabitants. McKeesport is another place within the limit, with 40,000; Braddock another, with more than 20,000; Homestead, Carnegie, Sharpsburg, Wilkinsburg, are other places ranging from 8,000 to 12,000 each, and all of these are connected with Pittsburg by electric street-car lines, and some of them with several such lines.

Within a radius of sixty miles of Pittsburg, by the census of 1890, a greater population is found, namely, 1,608,000, than was reported for any similar area surrounding any other Western city in the country, Chicago not excepted. The population of this larger area is now in excess of 2,000,000, and forms with Pittsburg the world's greatest producer, from equal area, of iron, steel, glass, etc. These two million people are actuated with a common interest in the development of the giant industries, and are noted as the most extravagant buyers of other people's products, being actually reckless in their demands upon Ohio for pork, upon Chicago for flour, Philadelphia for shoes and carpets, Boston for woolen goods and Michigan for furniture.

About 7,000 separate commercial establishments are reported in the Mercantile Appraiser's list for Pittsburg and Allegheny alone, so that as a distributing point in the wholesale and jobbing trades Pittsburg's resources are second to but few cities in the land, and her status in commercial affairs is rapidly assuming the importance her geographical position, natural advantages and transportation facilities warrant.

The modern Pittsburger is, however, becoming tired of speaking of the commercial aspect of his surroundings. He no longer accepts as a compliment from the Londoner the statement that his city is smokier than the great English metropolis, and as a matter of fact that compliment (?) is now seldom heard, because Chicago, biggest if not always best in so many things, is now the most noted of American cities for smoke and dirt, and in these particulars Cincinnati and Cleveland have for a number of years presented claims far superior to Pittsburg's. More than 30,000 dwellings in Pittsburg use natural gas, and hundreds of manufacturing establishments abate much of the smoke they formerly produced with economical devices, and few other cities either at home or abroad present cleaner streets and avenues.

The modern Pittsburgers work as hard as their ancestors, but far more intelligently, because they find time for some leisure, and in their leisure they have turned their attention to music, science and art, universities and hospitals, parks, conservatories and boulevards. In these and kindred fields the progressive men of the city are moving in a fashion and with such strides that the city has become metamorphosed during the last decade, and especially is this advancement reflected in the churches, the homes and the places of amusement of the people, so that to-day Pittsburgers are more proud of their achievements in these directions than they are of their growth in wealth and population. It would be difficult to exaggerate in statement on this score, but that the Pittsburg of to-day, as the mist of her fabled smoke rolls away, discloses to the gaze a city of varied highborn charms, is not disputed by any intelligent visitors or competent critics who have enjoyed her hospitalities in recent years. The place has been revolutionized, and as rapidly as was Paris by the first Napoleon. Pittsburg's Napoleon came from Scotland in early youth, and as a boy, with only a poor widowed mother to aid him, determined to become a conqueror of wealth, and he succeeded in his ambition, and then his scheme of revolution for the first time attracted the public attention. He wanted grand libraries, music halls, art galleries and lecture halls, and he built them, not only in Pittsburg, but in Allegheny and in suburban towns, until he has expended \$5,000,000. What did he mean? this extravagant man! No one realized his object until carved over the main entrances of the various buildings he had caused to be erected

the words appeared, "Free to the people." The people were not slow in availing themselves of the invitation, but they voted that the first picture to adorn any wall must be that of the great revolutionist—Andrew Carnegie. Almost a half million of people visited the science wing of the Carnegie Institute during the year ending November 1, 1897, and nearly an equal number the splendid Phipps Conservatory in Schenley Park during the same period. The scientific and art societies and musical unions of Pittsburg have now quarters and facilities equaled in but few cities of the land.

If the appreciation of these things and the desire for a still higher culture have arisen from any impulse, that impulse in Pittsburg has had its seat in the public schools of the city, which are indeed marvelously perfect in system and management. The streets and the mills of Pittsburg are of themselves also schools of education, without a possible peer in America, so that Chancellor Holland's claim that here should be located the greatest university of science and applied art cannot be disputed. Already the Western University of Pennsylvania has made its departments of medicine and dentistry famous, yet its large schools of electrical, civil and metallurgical engineering, in the city of dynamos, railroads, locks and dams, bridges and blast furnaces, lack for workshop and laboratory space and equipment. Such a condition will probably be only short-lived, however, for a genuine need in Pittsburg is sure to attract the attention of someone able to say, "See, it no longer exists."

A reference was made to the surprise of the stranger not finding homes in Pittsburg near his hotel. He needs to know that the city is almost cut in two parts, its head and its heart being so widely separated, and that he must leave the business part three miles behind him and rise, gradually it is true, but still rise 200 feet or more, to a great plateau called the East Liberty Valley, to see where the people live. Here are the parks and asphaltum streets and boulevards, more than a hundred miles in extent, with green lawns and splendid homes—some amidst fountains and flower-beds, and some among oaks amidst which are some antlered trees which produced acorns before the youthful Washington undertook to pilot poor unfortunate Braddock to the Forks of the Ohio.

The system of electric street-car lines permeating Pittsburg and connecting her with the various suburbs has been well devised and most substantially built, and at the present makes a connected network of roads measuring about 300 miles in length. Almost any point of Pittsburg can be reached from the business district in about a half-hour's ride.

Pittsburg's elevation—referring to her harbor level—is 703 feet above mean tide, and because of this elevation the city is entirely exempt from the malarial fevers which are more or less prevalent in many other cities in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys below said elevation; besides, her proximity to Lake Erie as regards northwest winds, and the Alleghany Mountains to the east and south, ensure for her salubrity of climate well adapted to develop human energies and stimulate efforts. The North Germans, the Norwegians, the Scotch and the Irish lose nothing of their robustness and fine color in Pittsburg, and as for the Italians and other Latins, their acclimatization generally consists in Western Pennsylvania in nothing more serious than an increase of appetite and greater ability to work. Pittsburg owes much indeed to a beneficent nature for her position to-day, and that all these things have conspired to develop a worthy civic pride needs no better evidence than the order and neatness of her streets and happy homes. A few years ago thousands of timid Americans were affrighted with what was believed by them to be the hour of doom—a socialistic war in this country which many had foretold, preached or prophesied, was about to burst upon the country. Homestead was only a part of Pittsburg, everyone said; and once before, namely, in 1877, a riot of considerable dimensions had

occurred here. Would not, therefore, Pittsburg troops refuse to serve the State against their kinsmen and neighbors? Such fears were silly. It was a Pittsburg regiment in the advance which brushed aside the Homestead mob, set up their tents and presented arms in welcome to the legions which followed them. Pittsburg has never asked the Government to establish a military post near her borders, nor will she. The liberties of a people which must be guarded by a standing army can never in this country be worth the guarding. So when it is proposed to take down the sheaves of wheat, the plow and the ship, and insert in Pennsylvania's fair escutcheon the lions, eagles and castles, the motto beneath will never more read, Virtue, Liberty and Independence.





## CHAPTER XXXVI.

SKETCHES OF SOME OF THE REPRESENTATIVE FIRMS, INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES OF THIS VICINITY, TOGETHER WITH AN OUTLINE OF THEIR USEFULNESS AS FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRIES, EDUCATION, MORALS AND ARTISTIC SENSE OF GREATER PITTSBURG.

Andrew Carnegie, manufacturer, was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, November 25, 1835. His father was a weaver, in humble circumstances, whose ambition to raise his family suitably led to his coming to the United States in 1845. The family settled in Pittsburgh, and two years later Andrew began his career by attending a small stationary engine. This work was unsatisfactory, and he became a telegraph messenger with the Atlantic and Ohio Company, and subsequently an operator. He was one of the first to read telegraphic signals by sound. Later he was sent to the Pittsburgh office of the Pennsylvania Railroad, as clerk to the superintendent and manager of the telegraph lines. While in this position he met Mr. Woodruff, inventor of the sleeping-car. Mr. Carnegie recognized the merit of the invention, and joined in the effort to have it adopted. The success of this venture gave him the nucleus of his wealth. He was promoted to the superintendency of the Pittsburgh division of the Pennsylvania Railroad; and about this time was one of a syndicate to purchase the Storey farm, on Oil Creek, which cost \$40,000, and yielded in one year over \$1,000,000 in cash dividends. Mr. Carnegie was subsequently associated with others in establishing a rolling-mill, and from this has grown the most extensive iron and steel establishment in the country. Besides directing this great iron industry, he long owned many English newspapers, which he controlled in the interests of Radicalism. He has devoted large sums of money to benevolent and educational purposes, the sum total running up in the millions. Mr. Carnegie is a frequent contributor to periodicals on labor and industrial questions, and has published several books. The Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, was organized July 1, 1892, for the purpose of consolidating under one management the business of the various iron and steel works in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, which were owned and operated by Andrew Carnegie and his partners.

The previous history of the gradual but unceasing growth of the enterprises which led up to the present association, while of great interest to those of the pioneers who still aid it by their advice and counsel, or who take active part in the management of its business, is not material, in any extended form, to this brief statement of what the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, is now, and what it is doing. The thirty-three years may be briefly set out as follows:

1864, October 14—Cyclops Iron Company. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Aaron G. Shiffler, J. L. Piper, Thomas N. Miller, Thomas Pyeatte and John G. Matthews. Capital, \$100,000.

1865, April 25—Keystone Bridge Company. Organized with Directors Andrew Carnegie, Aaron G. Shiffler, John S. Piper, Walter Katte and James Stewart. Capital, \$300,000.

1865, May 1—Union Iron Mills. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., Andrew Kloman, Gustavus Praetsch, J. L. Piper, Aaron G. Shiffler and Thomas N. Miller. Capital, \$500,000.

1870, December 1—Carnegie, Kloman & Co. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., and Andrew Kloman.

1871, December 27—Carnegie & Co. Organized by Andrew Carnegie,

Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., George Lauder, Andrew Kloman and William Coleman.

1872, March 22—Keystone Bridge Company, Incorporated.

1873, January 1—Carnegie, McCandless & Company. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., Andrew Kloman, William Coleman, David A. Stewart, John Scott, William P. Shinn and David McCandless.

1874, October 12—The Edgar Thomson Steel Company, Limited. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., William Coleman, David McCandless, David A. Stewart, John Scott, Andrew Kloman, William P. Shinn and Carnegie, McCandless & Co. Capital, \$1,000,000.

1877, August 12—The Lucy Furnace Company. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie and Henry Phipps, Jr.

1879, October 21—The Pittsburg Bessemer Steel Company, Limited. Organized. Capital, \$250,000.

1881, January 7—The Pittsburg Bessemer Steel Company, Limited. Capital increased to \$500,000.

1881, April 1—Carnegie Brothers & Company, Limited. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., David A. Stewart, John Scott, John W. Vandevort and Gardiner F. McCandless. Capital, \$5,000,000.

1881, June 1—Lucy Furnace Company, Limited. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., David A. Stewart, John Scott, John W. Vandevort, Gardiner F. McCandless, John T. Wilson, James R. Wilson and John Walker. Capital, \$1,000,000.

1882, January 21—Wilson, Walker & Co., Limited. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, John Walker, John T. Wilson and James R. Wilson. Capital, \$500,000.

1883, January 31—Hartman Steel Company, Limited. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., Henry W. Hartman, Isaac L. Ellwood, Aaron K. Stiles, John W. Calkins and Reuben E. Sears. Capital, \$300,000.

1885, May 1—Hartman Steel Company, Limited. Capital increased to \$400,000.

1886, January 1—Carnegie, Phipps & Company, Limited. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Thomas M. Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., David A. Stewart, John Walker, William H. Singer, George Lauder, Henry M. Curry, Samuel E. Moore, William L. Abbott, Henry W. Borntraeger, John W. Vandevort, Edward A. Macrum, Horace P. Smith, James H. Simpson, William W. Blackburn and Charles F. Forster. Capital, \$3,000,000.

1886, June 4—Duquesne Steel Company. Organized. Capital, \$325,000.

1888, March 7—The Alleghany Bessemer Steel Company. Organized. Capital, \$700,000.

1891, Dec. 31—Carnegie, Phipps & Company, Limited. Capital increased to \$5,000,000.

1892, July 1—The Carnegie Steel Company, Limited. Organized by Andrew Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., Henry C. Frick, George Lauder, William H. Singer, Henry M. Curry, Henry W. Borntraeger, John G. A. Leishman, William L. Abbott, Otis H. Childs, John W. Vandevort, Charles L. Strobel, Francis T. F. Lovejoy, Patrick R. Dillon, William W. Blackburn, William P. Palmer, Lawrence C. Phipps, Alexander R. Peacock, J. Ogden Hoffman, John C. Fleming, James H. Simpson and Henry P. Bope; with a paid-up capital of \$25,000,000.

Its general offices are located in the Carnegie Building, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, with branch offices in fourteen of the principal cities of the United States, as follows: Atlanta, Georgia, Equitable Building; Boston, Massachusetts, Tele-

phone Building; Buffalo, New York, German Insurance Building; Chicago, Illinois, Marquette Building; Cincinnati, Ohio, Neave Building; Cleveland, Ohio, Perry-Payne Building; Denver, Colorado, People's Bank Building; Detroit, Michigan, Hammond Building; Minneapolis, Minnesota, Guaranty Loan Building; New York, New York, Bank of America Building; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Harrison Building; St. Louis, Missouri, Globe-Democrat Building; San Francisco, California, 258 Market Street; Washington, District of Columbia, National Safe Deposit Building; in Montreal, Canada, at 3 Windsor Hotel, and London, England, at 47 Victoria Street. Its principal works, a more extended description of which follows, are Edgar Thomson Furnaces, Bessemer; Duquesne Furnaces, Duquesne; Lucy Furnaces, Pittsburg; Edgar Thomson Steel Works, Bessemer; Duquesne Steel Works, Duquesne; Homestead Steel Works, Munhall; Keystone Bridge Works, Pittsburg; Upper Union Mills, Pittsburg; Lower Union Mills, Pittsburg; Larimer Coke Works, Larimer; Youghiogeny Coke Works, Douglass; and Scotia Ore Mines, Benore; all in the State of Pennsylvania. Its more important products are armor plate; Billets ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches up), blooms, slabs, coke; ferro-manganese, spiegeleisen, pig-iron; forgings, such as axles, arch-bars, links, pins and other car forgings, connecting rods, crank-shafts, locomotive frames, eye-bars; plates for boilers, bridges, ships and tanks; rails, steel, 16 to 100 pounds per yard, steel splice-bars (plain and angle), for all sections of rails; rolled structural shapes, such as angles, rounds, flats, squares, ovals, I-beams, channels, bulb angles, deck-beams, tees, zeos, etc.; structural work, such as bridges, buildings, elevated railroads, girders, columns, etc. The works owned and operated by this association are as follows:

Edgar Thomson Furnaces, at Bessemer, two miles from Pittsburg, on the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pittsburg and Lake Erie, the Pittsburg, Bessemer and Lake Erie, and the Union railroads, and the Monongahela River. Nine stacks, four of which were built by the Edgar Thomson Steel Company, Limited, and five by Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited: Furnace A, 75 feet by 14 feet 6 inches, built in 1879, has four stoves, each 65 feet by 15 feet; Furnaces B, 80 feet by 18 feet, and C, 80 feet by 16 feet, built in 1880, have eight fire-brick stoves, six 75 feet by 20 feet and two 75 feet by 21 feet; Furnaces D and E, each 80 feet by 21 feet, built in 1881, have six fire-brick stoves, each 78 feet by 21 feet, and one fire-brick stove, 78 feet by 20 feet; Furnaces F and G, each 90 feet by 21 feet, built in 1886-7, and enlarged in 1892, have seven fire-brick stoves, each 78 feet by 21 feet; Furnaces H and I, each 90 feet by 21 feet, built in 1889-90, have seven fire-brick stoves, each 79 feet by 21 feet. Fuel, Connellsville coke. Ores, Pennsylvania, Lake Superior, and foreign. Product, Bessemer pig-iron, spiegeleisen and ferro-manganese.

Duquesne Furnaces, at Duquesne, four miles from Pittsburg, on the Pennsylvania and the Union railroads, and the Monongahela River. Four stacks; two built in 1895-6 and two in 1896-7; each 100 feet by 22 feet. Each has four Kennedy-Cowper stoves, 97 feet by 21 feet. Fuel, Connellsville coke. Ores, Pennsylvania and Lake Superior. Product, Bessemer pig-iron.

Lucy Furnaces, at Fifty-first Street, Pittsburg, on the Allegheny Valley Railroad. Built by the Lucy Furnace Company and enlarged by Carnegie, Phipps & Co., Limited. Two stacks, each 85 feet by 20 feet. No. 1 first put in blast in May, 1872, and No. 2 first put in blast September 27, 1877; eight fire-brick stoves. Fuel, Connellsville coke. Ores, Pennsylvania and Lake Superior. Product, Bessemer, forge and foundry pig-iron.

Annual capacity Edgar Thomson Furnaces, 1,000,000 gross tons; Duquesne Furnaces, 800,000 gross tons; Lucy Furnaces, 200,000 gross tons; total, 2,000,000 gross tons pig-iron.

Edgar Thomson Steel Works, at Bessemer, two miles from Pittsburgh, on the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie, the Pittsburgh, Bessemer and Lake Erie, and the Union railroads, and the Monongahela River. Built in 1874-5 by the Edgar Thomson Steel Company, Limited, and enlarged by Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited, and the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited. First blow made August 25, 1875, and first steel rail rolled September 1, 1875. Four 15 gross ton Bessemer converters, four spiegel cupolas (molten iron used, brought direct from the Edgar Thomson furnaces in ladles), twenty-one Siemens and two reverberatory heating furnaces, one three-high 40-inch blooming mill, two three-high rail trains (one 23-inch and one 25-inch), and hot saws and finishing machinery; iron and brass foundry; forge containing one six-ton hammer and two heating furnaces. Product, Bessemer steel rails and billets, and iron and brass castings; annual capacity, 1,000,000 gross tons of ingots, 600,000 tons of rails or billets, and 50,000 tons of castings. Fuel, natural gas.

Duquesne Steel Works, at Duquesne, four miles from Pittsburgh, on the Pennsylvania and the Union railroads, and the Monongahela River. Built in 1886-8 by the Allegheny Bessemer Steel Company, and capacity increased in 1891-2 by Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited. First blow made in February, 1889, and first rail rolled in March, 1889; two ten gross ton Bessemer converters, sixteen soaking pits, and four trains of rolls (two 21-inch, one 26-inch, and one 28-inch). Product, rails, billets and splice bars; annual capacity, 450,000 gross tons of ingots. Fuel, natural gas.

Homestead Steel Works, at Munhall, one mile from Pittsburgh, on the Pennsylvania, the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie, and the Union railroads and the Monongahela River. Bessemer department built in 1880-1 by The Pittsburgh Bessemer Steel Company, Limited, and enlarged by Carnegie, Phipps & Co., Limited; first blow made March 19, 1881; first steel rail rolled August 9, 1881. Open-hearth department built by Carnegie, Phipps & Co., Limited, and The Carnegie Steel Company, Limited; seven furnaces completed in October, 1886, one in July, 1890, eight in September, 1890, and four in September, 1895. Two 10 gross ton Bessemer converters, one 12 gross ton, six 25 gross ton, eight 35 gross ton, and five 40 gross ton open-hearth furnaces, one 28-inch blooming mill, one 23-inch and one 33-inch train for structural shapes, one 10-inch mill, one 32-inch slabbing mill, one 40-inch cogging mill, one 35-inch beam mill, and one 119-inch plate mill; one 3,000 and one 10,000 ton hydraulic press; press shop for forging, and machine shop for finishing armor plate, and steel foundry. Product, blooms, billets, structural shapes, bridge steel, and boiler, armor, ship and tank plate, and steel castings; annual capacity, 400,000 gross tons of Bessemer steel ingots and 500,000 tons of open-hearth steel ingots; finishing capacity of armor-plate department 10,000 gross tons per annum. Fuel, natural gas.

Upper Union Mills, at Thirty-third Street, Pittsburgh, on the Allegheny Valley Railroad. Built in 1863-4 by the Cyclops Iron Company; enlarged by Carnegie, Kloman & Co., Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited, and Carnegie, Phipps & Co., Limited; nineteen heating furnaces and seven trains of rolls (one 8, one 12, one 18, and one 20 inch, and two plate and one skelp). Product, structural steel, steel bars, and steel universal mill plates; annual capacity, 140,000 gross tons. Fuel, natural gas and coal.

Lower Union Mills, at Twenty-ninth Street, Pittsburgh, on the Allegheny Valley Railroad. Built in 1861-2 by Kloman & Phipps, and enlarged by Wilson, Walker & Co., Limited, and by Carnegie, Phipps & Co., Limited; twenty-eight heating furnaces, four trains of rolls (one 9, one 12, one 15, and one 78 inch), eighteen forge fires, and fourteen hammers (700 to 7,000 pounds). Product,

universal mill plates, car forgings, bridgework, angles, axles, links, pins, and bar steel; annual capacity, 65,000 gross tons. Fuel, natural gas and coal.

Keystone Bridge Works, at Fifty-first Street, Pittsburg, on the Allegheny Valley Railroad. Built in 1864-5 by the Keystone Bridge Company. Product, steel bridges, especially for railroads, elevated railway structures, and steel frames for modern office buildings; annual capacity, 50,000 gross tons.

Larimer Coke Works, at Larimer, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Built in 1872-3 by Carnegie & Co. Annual capacity, 120,000 gross tons coke.

Youghiogheny Coke Works, at Douglass, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Built in 1891 by Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited. Annual capacity, 100,000 gross tons coke.

Scotia Ore Mines, at Benore, Center County, Pennsylvania; annual capacity, 100,000 gross tons red hematite ore.

The land owned by the association and used in connection with its various works aggregates 1,527 acres distributed as follows:

	Acres.
Edgar Thomson Furnaces and Steel Works.....	270
Duquesne Furnaces and Steel Works.....	308
Homestead Steel Works.....	249
Lucy Furnaces .....	46
Keystone Bridge Works.....	10
Upper Union Mills.....	12
Lower Union Mills.....	9
Larimer Coke Works.....	41
Youghiogheny Coke Works.....	18
Scotia Ore Mines.....	564

At the works of this association there are in use 626 boilers, with a rating of 73,186 horse power; 418 engines, with a rating of 109,280 horse power; and 158 pumps, with a daily capacity of 128,208,440 gallons. These are distributed as follows:

Boilers.	No.	Horsepower.
Edgar Thomson Furnaces.....	167	18,475
Edgar Thomson Steel Works.....	93	7,250
Edgar Thomson Foundry.....	2	500
Duquesne Furnaces .....	51	12,110
Duquesne Steel Works.....	65	4,760
Homestead Steel Works.....	166	18,380
Lucy Furnaces and Keystone Bridge Works.....	15	4,000
Upper Union Mills.....	30	4,076
Lower Union Mills.....	24	2,900
Larimer Coke Works.....	4	186
Youghiogheny Coke Works.....	3	120
Scotia Ore Mines.....	6	429
Total.....	626	73,186

Engines.	No.	Horsepower.
Edgar Thomson Furnaces.....	31	16,800
Edgar Thomson Steel Works.....	52	11,300
Edgar Thomson Foundry.....	2	1,000
Duquesne Furnaces .....	38	21,964
Duquesne Steel Works.....	46	14,037



Engines.	No.	Horsepower.
Homestead Steel Works.....	146	33,565
Lucy Furnaces .....	16	3,500
Keystone Bridge Works.....	5	400
Upper Union Mills.....	47	3,820
Lower Union Mills.....	18	2,230
Larimer Coke Works.....	5	152
Youghiogheny Coke Works.....	1	67
Scotia Ore Works.....	11	445
Total.....	418	100,280
Pumps.	No.	Gals. Per Day.
Edgar Thomson Furnaces.....	23	36,175,000
Edgar Thomson Steel Works.....	12	14,955,360
Edgar Thomson Foundry.....	1	350,000
Duquesne Furnaces .....	9	22,200,000
Duquesne Steel Works.....	23	6,860,000
Homestead Steel Works.....	50	33,149,000
Lucy Furnaces .....	10	6,000,000
Keystone Bridge Works.....	2	35,000
Upper Union Mills.....	9	2,946,720
Lower Union Mills.....	7	3,629,960
Larimer Coke Works.....	4	233,600
Youghiogheny Coke Works.....	3	568,800
Scotia Ore Mines.....	5	1,105,000
Total.....	158	128,208,440

Messrs. Henry C. Frick (chairman), William H. Singer, Henry M. Curry, Charles M. Schwab, Alexander R. Peacock, Lawrence C. Phipps, John Pontefract, George H. Wightman, and Francis T. F. Lovejoy (secretary) constitute the Board of Managers; the present members of the Association being: Andrew Carnegie, Henry Phipps, Jr., Henry C. Frick (chairman Board of Managers), George Lauder, William H. Singer, Henry M. Curry, John W. Vandevort, Charles M. Schwab (president), Alexander R. Peacock (first vice-president), Lawrence C. Phipps (second vice-president and treasurer), Francis T. F. Lovejoy (secretary), Thomas Morrison (general superintendent Edgar Thomson Steel Works and Furnaces), Charles L. Taylor (special agent), James Gayley, John Pontefract (purchasing agent), Andrew M. Moreland (assistant secretary and auditor), Daniel M. Clemson (superintendent ore, coke and natural gas departments), George H. Wightman (general sales agent), William W. Blackburn (assistant treasurer), John C. Fleming (sales agent, Chicago), J. Ogden Hoffman (sales agent, Philadelphia), Millard Hunsiker (assistant to president, London), George E. McCague (general freight agent), James Scott (superintendent Lucy furnaces), Henry P. Bope (assistant general sales agent), William E. Corey (general superintendent Homestead Steel Works), Louis T. Brown (general superintendent Upper and Lower Union Mills), David G. Kerr (superintendent Edgar Thomson Furnaces), Homer J. Lindsay (special agent).

George Westinghouse was born October 6, 1846, at Central Bridge, New York, and is the son of George and Emeline (Vedder) Westinghouse. In 1856 the family removed to Schenectady, New York, where the father, who was an inventor, established the Schenectady Agricultural Works. The son received his earlier and preparatory education in the public and high schools of the town,

and, during that period, also spent much time in his father's machine shop, and he regards this opportunity to familiarize himself with all kinds of machine work as of great importance in laying the foundation of his success. The experience referred to enabled him, at the age of fifteen, to invent and make a rotary engine, and to also gain a knowledge sufficient to pass at an early age the examination for the position of assistant engineer in the United States navy. The same patriotic spirit which impelled one of his brothers to lay down his life as a soldier in the war for the Union, led George Westinghouse to leave school, and, in June, 1863, to enlist in the Twelfth New York National Guard for thirty days' service. The service being ended, he was discharged in July, and in November of the same year reenlisted for three years in the 16th New York Cavalry, being chosen corporal. In November, 1864, he was honorably discharged, and, on December 14, following, he was appointed third assistant engineer in the United States Navy and reported for duty on the *Muscoota*. He was transferred to the *Stars and Stripes* June 4, 1865, and detached and ordered to the Potomac flotilla June 28, 1865.

At the close of the war, resisting solicitations to remain in the navy and wishing to continue his college studies, Mr. Westinghouse tendered his resignation and was honorably discharged August 1, 1865. Returning home, he entered Union College, where he remained until the close of his sophomore year. Having found it difficult to resist the impulse toward experiment and invention, which has been such a marked trait of his mind and disposition and which moved him during his service in the navy to invent a multiple-cylinder engine, Mr. Westinghouse, after conference with President Hickok of Union College, and by his advice and appreciative suggestion, discontinued his classical studies and entered upon active life to find a wider scope for his inventive genius. In 1865 he invented a device for replacing railroad cars upon the track, which, being of cast-steel, was manufactured by the Bessemer Steel Works at Troy, New York, twenty miles from Schenectady. Going to Troy one day, a delay, caused by a collision between two freight trains, suggested to Mr. Westinghouse the idea that a brake under the control of the engineer might have prevented the accident. This was the inception and key-thought of the air brake. The inventor began to think over the matter, and among the devices which his mind suggested was a brake actuated by the cars closing upon each other. No experiments were made, but the car replacer business was developed. In Chicago, in 1866, Mr. Westinghouse met a Mr. Ambler, inventor of a continuous chain brake, having a chain running the entire length of the train, with a windlass on the engine, which could be operated by pressing a wheel against the flange of the driving-wheel of the locomotive, thus tightening the chain and causing the brake blocks to operate upon the wheels of the cars. Mr. Westinghouse remarked to Mr. Ambler that he had given some attention to the brake problem, but was met with the reply that there was no use in working upon the subject, as the Ambler patent covered the only practical way of operating brakes. Undiscouraged, because he believed Mr. Ambler to be mistaken, and his spirit and genius only roused by difficulties, as has so often been the case in his career, he gave himself more earnestly to the study of the subject. His first plan was to use a steam cylinder under the tender to draw up the chain; and then the use of a cylinder under each car, with a pipe to feed all the cylinders, was considered. Experiments and discussion with his brother showed the plan to be impracticable. In the course of reading, Mr. Westinghouse met with an account of the operation of the drilling apparatus in Mont Cenis tunnel, at a distance of 3,000 feet from the air-compressor. The use of compressed air in drilling suggested to him its possible employment for the operation of the brake, compressed air being free from the objections to

the use of steam. Having made drawings of the air-pump, brake cylinders and valves, he explained them to the superintendent of the New York Central Railroad, who declined to try the apparatus. After filing a caveat, he made the same request to the officers of the Erie Railroad for a trial, but with the same result.

In 1867 steel works were started in Schenectady by Mr. Westinghouse for the manufacture of the car replacer and reversible steel railroad frogs, but lack of capital proved a hindrance. After correspondence, the inventor was invited to Pittsburg, where he made a contract with the Pittsburg Steel Works to manufacture and to act as agent for the introduction of steel frogs. Traveling extensively, Mr. Westinghouse took every occasion to interest investors in the air brake, offering repeatedly to railroad companies the right to use the invention if they would bear the expense of a trial. In 1868 he met Ralph Baggaley, whom he interested in the description of the brake, and who, upon being offered a one-fifth interest if he would pay the expense of apparatus sufficient for one train, accepted the proposition. The apparatus being constructed, permission was given by the superintendent of the "Pan-Handle" Railroad to apply it to an engine and four cars on the accommodation train running between Pittsburg and Steubenville. This train was fitted in the latter part of 1868, and the first application of the brake prevented a collision with a wagon on the track. The first patent was issued April 13, 1869, and the Westinghouse Air Brake Company was formed July 20th following. The first orders for apparatus were from the Michigan Central Railway and the Chicago and Northwestern Railway. The brake had a number of imperfections, but changes were rapidly made, and it was brought into good condition in 1869, when works for manufacture were begun, being completed in 1870. Uninterrupted attention was given to details, so that the brake underwent many changes. The policy of issuing no rights or licenses, but confining the manufacture to one locality and under one management, has not only been of the greatest possible use to the railroads in securing uniformity in brake apparatus throughout the United States and adjacent territory, but it has resulted in the erection of large works, equipped with the finest and newest machinery, at Wilmerding, thirteen miles from Pittsburg. This has caused the construction of a beautiful town, finely lighted with electricity, well paved and sewerred, and possessing churches and schools.

In 1871 Mr. Westinghouse went abroad to introduce the air brake in England—a difficult problem, as the trains in Europe had hand-brakes upon only what was termed "brake vans," there being no brakes upon the other vehicles. Not only did this require the spending of seven years in Europe between 1871 and 1882, but it taxed inventive ability considerably to meet the new conditions of railroad practice. He invented the "automatic" feature of the brake, the improvement being made in what is known as the "triple valve." By this improved valve it became practicable to apply all the brakes on the train of fifty freight cars in two seconds. The automatic and quick-action brakes are regarded by experts as far surpassing the original brake in ingenuity and inventive genius. They are not mere improvements, but distinct inventions of the highest class, unique and remarkable. Simple in action yet complicated in the details of its construction, the automatic brake is wonderfully efficient, and it has prevented many accidents, as when a portion of the train has escaped from the control of the engineer, while the quick-action brake gives complete and instant control to the engineer over a train more than a third of a mile in length. The patents taken out by Mr. Westinghouse are interesting in their variety, because they cover every detail from the front end of the engine to the rear of the last car, and include stop-cocks, hose couplings, valves, packings, and many forms of "equivalents" of valves and other devices. Infringers of these patents have been invariably

enjoined by the courts, which have declared the inventions to be of great value, pioneer in character, therefore entitled to very broad construction. Scientists unite in regarding the air brake in its completed form as one of the most remarkable inventions of the century, and its usefulness is tested by its almost universal adoption by the railroads of the world. As is usual in the experience of every valuable invention, many claimants for its honor have arisen. The decisions of the courts in upholding the Westinghouse patents destroy such claims, and the additional inventions, increasing the efficiency of the brake, are sufficient to establish the superiority of Mr. Westinghouse.

In 1883 Mr. Westinghouse became interested in the operation of railway signals and switches by compressed air, and developed and patented the system now manufactured by The Union Switch and Signal Company. To operate the signals, compressed air is used as the power and electricity as the agent to operate minute valves for setting the compressed air in motion. Under the patents obtained for this invention the Union Switch and Signal Company has introduced in Boston, Jersey City, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis and many other places, what is termed the "pneumatic interlocking switch and signal apparatus," whereby all the switches and signals are operated from a given point, using compressed air as the motive power and electricity to bring that power into operation. Through this invention, the movement of signals and switches no longer requires considerable physical force, the operations being controlled by tiny levers which a child can move. These plants are splendid illustrations of what can be accomplished by a proper combination of steam, air and electricity. The development of the switch and signal apparatus finally led Mr. Westinghouse to take up the subject of electric lighting, and having purchased some patents from William Stanley in 1883, he began the manufacture of lamps and electric lighting apparatus at the works of the Union Switch and Signal Company. In 1885 he purchased the Gaulard and Gibbs patents for the distribution of electricity by means of alternating currents, and in 1886 formed the Westinghouse Electric Company, and engaged actively in the manufacture and sale of all kinds of electrical machinery. The business rapidly developed, and in 1889 and 1890 this company absorbed the United States Electric Lighting Company, and the Consolidated Electric Light Company. In 1891 all of these properties were reorganized into the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company. This company has built most extensive works at East Pittsburg, twelve miles from Pittsburg, where about 3,000 operatives are employed. In the construction of these buildings, as in all the others under his management and control, architects have, by direction of Mr. Westinghouse, borne in mind the health and comfort of his employes and made every proper arrangement for their well-being. His persistent and dominating desire has been, not only that the best class of operatives shall seek his employ, but that every just provision shall be made for their physical good. In addition to this work of manufacturing electrical machinery, he became interested in electric lighting companies in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Pittsburg, and has given great attention to the problem of the generation and distribution of electricity for commercial purposes. In 1881 the Westinghouse Machine Company was formed to manufacture engines designed by H. H. Westinghouse, brother of the inventor. Becoming largely interested in it financially, the latter was made its president, and the business has developed into one of large proportions, with extensive works at East Pittsburg.

In 1884 the natural gas having been brought from Murrysville to Pittsburg, Mr. Westinghouse suggested that drilling might develop natural gas in Pittsburg, and, carrying out this suggestion, he drilled a well on the grounds of his own residence, resulting in the production of gas in enormous quantities. An ordi-

nance was enacted by the city authorizing him to lay pipes under the streets, and he purchased the charter of what is known as the Philadelphia Company, having the power to carry on the natural gas business, no law relating especially to this business being in existence at that time. This company has laid about 900 miles of pipe, some of it three feet in diameter, for the conveyance and distribution of natural gas. Mr. Westinghouse was the first justly to appreciate the perils and requirements involved in the distribution of such enormous quantities of this almost odorless gas, under great pressure, with the possibility of leakage at every joint. Not only did he provide for this leakage by special appliances for conveying the waste gas to the surface, where it would be harmless, but also foresaw the need of large pipes for the reduction of friction when the pressure should decrease. His theory of the utility of pipes of large diameter was ridiculed but experience has justified his sagacity. The work of the Philadelphia Company contributed very largely to the reestablishment of Pittsburg in the iron and steel business. In 1892 it became necessary to produce incandescent lamps, which did not infringe on the patents of other gentlemen, and Mr. Westinghouse began manufacturing on a large scale the lamps designed by Sawyer and Man, made in two parts, the patents for which were owned by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, and he also established a glassworks known as the Westinghouse Glass Factory, to produce the necessary glassware.

At the present time he is interested in the following companies, being president of all except one: The Westinghouse Air Brake Company, the Westinghouse Brake Company, Limited, London, England; the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, the Westinghouse Electric Company, Limited, London England; the Westinghouse Machine Company, the Westinghouse Company, Schenectady, New York; the Westinghouse Glass Factory, the Philadelphia Company, the Allegheny Heating Company, the Allegheny County Light Company, the Union Switch and Signal Company, the United Electric Light and Power Company, New York; the Pittsburg Meter Company, the Brush Electric Company, of Baltimore; the East Pittsburg Improvement Company, the Turtle Creek Valley Water Company. The combined capital of these companies is \$41,000,000, and their gross annual business is about \$20,000,000. These various companies own, control or are interested in upwards of 3,000 patents in the United States and various foreign countries. Mr. Westinghouse is a member of the Union League and Lawyers' clubs of New York, and of the Duquesne and Pittsburg clubs of Pittsburg. August 8, 1867, at Brooklyn, New York, he was married to Miss Marguerite Erskine Walker, and to them one child, George, has been born. Mr. Westinghouse regards the sympathy and strong qualities of mind and heart of his wife as being important factors in his success. In 1884 he received from the King of Belgium the decoration of the Order of Leopold, and, in 1889, from the King of Italy, the decoration of the Royal Order of the Crown of Italy. In 1890 Union College gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Benjamin Franklin Jones. It is doubtful if any other citizen of Pittsburg has contributed more to its wonderful industrial development or has exerted a greater influence upon the public affairs of Pennsylvania than the subject of this sketch. His life has been full of activities and stern responsibilities such as baffle men of ordinary caliber, but his dominant nature, wise forecast and exceptional ability have made him a conspicuous figure not only in this State but in the nation as well. He was born at Claysville, Washington County, Pennsylvania, August 8, 1824. His ancestors for several generations were also of Pennsylvania birth. On his father's side he is of Welsh descent, his great-grandfather having immigrated to this country from London near the close of the seventeenth



century, landing in Philadelphia the same year as Penn. His mother was from those sturdy people that have impressed themselves so decided upon the fortunes of this State—the Pennsylvania Dutch and the Scotch. His father, Jacob A. Jones, who died at Rochester, Pennsylvania, at the age of ninety-six, was born in Philadelphia in the same year that gave birth to the Declaration of Independence, was by profession a surveyor, and was largely engaged in farming and merchandising. His mother, Elizabeth Goshorn, was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and married there in 1813. In 1837, when thirteen years old, the subject of this sketch removed with his father's family to New Brighton, Pennsylvania, where he remained until his nineteenth year, securing in the meantime a good academic education at the New Brighton Academy. He was offered a liberal education, and such are his mental characteristics that had he chosen a professional career, he would have been eminently successful, but with a knowledge of his own tendencies and abilities he chose the life in which he has been so successful, wrought out by the strength of his brain, the industry of his hands and his steady clearness of vision. In 1843, when but nineteen years old, he left his home and came to Pittsburg to begin life on his own account. Pittsburg was then on the route along which the commerce between the East and the West came and went. It was the era of canal-boat transportation. The entire line of the Pennsylvania canal had been opened from Philadelphia to Pittsburg nine years before, in 1834. The era of the railroad had not come, though even then it was fast approaching, and some of the pressing problems of that day concerned the relation of the canal boat and the railway car. Mr. Jones' first employment was as assistant shipping clerk, or perhaps better, as receiving clerk, at no salary, in the Pittsburg office of the Mechanics' line of boats, which ran on the canal between Pittsburg and Philadelphia, with a tidewater branch to Havre de Grace, Maryland. Mr. Samuel M. Kier, the chief owner of this line, took a great interest in the young shipping clerk, and encouraged him in every way. The agitation at this time in favor of a continuous line of railroad between the East and West was widespread, and April 13, 1846, the Pennsylvania Railroad was chartered. Mr. Kier set about devising plans for utilizing both methods of internal communication, and established the Independent Line of section boats, one of the first of this class to run between Pittsburg, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and so constructed as to be adapted to both rail and canal. Within three years of his first appointment Mr. Jones, not yet twenty-one years of age, became manager of both lines of boats, at a salary at that time almost unprecedented. The canal boat business also included a general commission and forwarding business. In 1847 Mr. Jones became a partner with Mr. Kier in the Independent Line, and operated it until 1854, when the Pennsylvania Railroad superseded the old system of state canals and railroads. Mr. Jones has never ceased to be connected with the transportation interest which furnished his first employment. For many years he has been identified with the railroad interests of Western Pennsylvania, and relative to railroad matters his advice is frequently sought, and his judgment relied upon. At its first inception he was made a director of the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad. He was for many years (thirty at least) a director of the Cleveland and Pittsburg, and for a long period held a similar relation to the Allegheny Valley Railroad. For some time, also, he was president of what was formerly known as the Pittsburg, Virginia and Charleston Railroad, now styled the Monongahela Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

In 1846, while still acting as manager of the canal transportation line, Mr. Jones became connected with the great industry to whose development he has devoted so large a portion of his life. In this year he purchased, in connection with Mr. Kier, an iron furnace and forges in the Alleghany Mountains, near Ar-

maugh, in Westmoreland County. Under the influence of the tariff of 1842, prosperity has become general throughout the United States, and Pennsylvania had shared it with others, but the fatal tariff of 1846 wrought disaster, and the furnace shared the fate of so many others and was idle at the time of its purchase by Mr. Jones and Mr. Kier. It is indicative of Mr. Jones' business ability, that the furnace operation, while under his management, was without loss. In 1851 he became connected with the works with which his name has since been identified, and to whose upbuilding and extension he has devoted more than forty-five of the best years of his life. In that year he took an interest in the American Iron Works, which were being built by Mr. Bernard Lauth, the firm name being Jones, Lauth & Co. It was not until 1852, however, that Mr. Jones became actively engaged in the management of the works. In 1854 Mr. James Laughlin came into the firm. The firm name was changed to Jones & Laughlin in 1857, Mr. Lauth retiring. The interests in this firm remain today as at first, the only change having resulted from the death of partners. In 1853 the Monongahela Iron Works at Brownsville were purchased. These were run for a year and then dismantled, part of the machinery being removed to Pittsburgh. In the half century that has passed since his first connection with Pittsburgh's iron trade, Mr. Jones has witnessed a marvelous growth. At that date there was not a blast furnace in Allegheny County, and consequently not a pound of pig-iron made, most of the pig-iron for the mills coming from the wooded regions of the Allegheny Mountains and the banks of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. In 1806 there were produced in Pittsburgh 2,061,269 tons more than the entire product of the country in 1871. Indeed it was not until 1872 that the production of the United States reached 2,864,558 tons. In every other branch of business (iron) there has been a corresponding increase. In this growth Mr. Jones has taken a notable part. The building of the Eliza Furnaces in 1860, at that time the best of their style, gave an impetus to the building of coke blast furnaces in the West. These furnaces were among the first to use Lake Superior ores. His firm was also among the first, if not the actual, pioneers in buying coal lands and making coke in the Connellsville region. When coal was used in the Pittsburgh mills they had one of the most extensive mining operations in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, and when natural gas became the fuel of universal use they drilled their own wells and laid their own pipe lines. The center of Mr. Jones' iron operations is his American Iron Works, situated on the south bank of the Monongahela, a works of sufficient importance to receive special and very complimentary mention in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica." These include not only one of the most extensive iron-rolling mills and merchant Bessemer steel works in the country, but in connection with these are extensive operations which are usually conducted as separate enterprises. Not only are there the necessary chemical laboratories, as well as a mechanical engineering and mining staff, but machine shops, brass and iron foundries, and various branches of business in which they rework their own product. Their cold rolled steel, especially shafting, is known throughout the world; their machine shops and foundries are among the best appointed in the West. On the opposite side of the Monongahela from the rolling-mill, and connected with them by a railroad and railroad bridge of their own, are the four Eliza Furnaces, which are part of their plant, which also includes coke works in the Connellsville region and in Pittsburgh, iron-ore beds in Western Pennsylvania and Lake Superior, their natural gas wells and the coal works near the rolling-mills for fuel, and limestone quarries for the supply of the furnaces. In a word, from the mines to the rolls the raw material used is largely from their own mines and works. In connection with their business they also, at an early date (1857) established a large warehouse in Chicago.

and the firm of Jones & Laughlins, as jobbers of iron and steel and heavy hardware, is among the best known and most extensive in the Northwest. In all these enterprises some six thousand people are given employment, and there are no works in the country that run with greater regularity. It is almost needless to say that the policy of protection, to which this great growth is due, has had in all of these years no more ardent supporter, no more intelligent and influential advocate than Mr. Jones. His advocacy of this principle, however, is based on broader grounds than those of mere personal advantage. His belief is that the whole country and all classes are benefited by protective tariffs, the lawyer and the doctor equally with the manufacturer; the farmer as well as the laborer. He has no sympathy with those so-called protectionists who desire protection for their products and low duties or free trade for their raw materials; and has always advocated and defended the interests and safety of the weakest as well as of those industries that have grown strong.

Though he has no mechanical education, either theoretical or practical, except such as he would naturally acquire in his business, he is a mechanic of no mean order. His chief mental characteristics are his sound sense and his rare judgment. He approaches a conclusion only after a careful consideration of all phases of the question before him. While deliberate, his mental processes are, by no means sluggish, but, on the other hand, he is active, alert and quick to grasp a subject presented. So well convinced are his associates of his good judgment and unswerving integrity and fairness, that he is often asked to serve as a referee or arbitrator in disputes involving immense interests, and he is almost uniformly selected by both sides. While Mr. Jones has been, all his life, except the first few months of his Pittsburg experience, an employer of labor, and not an employe, no Pittsburg manufacturer stands higher in the esteem of all Pittsburg workmen, and there is no one whose words, as to the future, are more eagerly listened to by the iron-workers than his. His remarkable foresight has made his opinion as to the future, at times, almost a prophecy. He has brought to the consideration of the relations of employer and employed, a wealth of experience, a soundness of judgment and a broadness of view that few men possess. It is to his far-seeing wisdom and initiative that Pittsburg and the world owe the sliding scale, a method of paying wages that recognizes the true basis of wages, viz.: That wages are paid out of product, and should bear a certain relation to selling price. It was Mr. Jones' foresight that recognized that at a time when almost the entire world held to the wage-fund theory, viz.: that wages were paid out of capital. Though Mr. Jones did not receive a liberal education, he has a natural taste for literature, and in conversation displays a wide acquaintance with the best writers of the age. While not a writer or speaker in the sense these words are usually understood, he is by no means a tyro in respects, as his article on "Protection" in the North American Review, and his speech in calling to order the Republican National Convention of 1888, attest. His object in writing or speaking is not, however, beauty of expression or the graces of the rhetorician or orator, but to convince and to convict, to secure results. His thoughts are expressed in terse, vigorous, lucid English, while his style is a model of clearness. This clearness of speech and word is the result of his habit of thought. In considering any question he examines it from all sides and thinks it out all through, so that when he begins to clothe in words his thoughts on any subject it is clearly before him in all its details.

Before the war Mr. Jones was a Democrat, but its first mutterings found him unflinchingly on the side of the Union. His influence and his writings, which appeared as editorials and communications in certain Pittsburg papers without a knowledge as to their authorship, did much to influence public sentiment at a vital formative period. In the organization and enrollment of troops

he was especially active. The Pittsburg Subsistence Committee, which gained such an enviable reputation during the war, was largely indebted to him for its early impetus and much of its success. He saw far more clearly than most of those in places of power, even, the great demand the war would make upon our resources, and had a clearer perception than most men of what these resources and the basis of credit were. In 1861 and early in 1862 he advocated, by formal letters to congressmen and anonymously through the press, the issuance of legal-tender treasury notes convertible into bonds. These letters on finance were admirable for their sensible, practical suggestions, the outgrowth of his own business experience. The close of the National Republican Convention in 1884, found Mr. Jones the member of the national committee from Pennsylvania, and upon its formal organization, much against his own wishes, he was elected chairman. It is doubtful if any other incumbent of this trying position ever had a tithe of the complications to contend with that confronted Mr. Jones—the open defection of valued party leaders; the lukewarmness or indifference of others; a large popular majority in the previous State elections against the party he was expected to lead to victory; the candidate he was to defeat, the chief executive of the pivotal State, elected but a short time previous by nearly 200,000 majority—and yet so untiring was the energy, so wise the methods, so skillful the management Mr. Jones brought to this task, that, when the votes were counted, the magnificent majority of 193,000 given the Governor had fallen to a paltry thousand given the President, which, but for an accident for which he was in no wise responsible and could not have averted, would have been changed into a triumphant majority for the candidate he favored. After the campaign was ended his position brought him no end of labor. There was much consideration to be given to the future, many delicate questions of party policy to decide. Largely by his tact and shrewdness during this period, animosities were allayed, breaches closed up, the issues at stake clearly defined, and when the contest was again joined the victory that was denied him was assured. In December, 1884, the American Iron and Steel Association elected Mr. Jones as its president, to succeed Hon. D. J. Morrell. This selection was preëminently a fit one. Not only had Mr. Jones come to be recognized as the leading iron manufacturer of the country, but his efforts, sometimes known, more frequently not seen by the general public in behalf of all measures that would inure to the benefit of the industry of which this association is the organized head, pointed him out as the one man to be its recognized leader.

Mr. Jones was married on May 21, 1850, to Miss Mary McMasters, daughter of John McMasters, Sr., one of the best known citizens of Allegheny County. In his domestic relations he has been as fortunate and happy as in his business career he has been successful. In his personal relations with men he has been approachable, helpful and kindly to all. His life is an inspiration, and at the same time an example to young men. Without any of the adventitious circumstances in early life that promise success, he has achieved a large measure of it, and with his fame and wealth has also come a reputation for honor, public spirit and uprightness that, after all, is the highest attainment in any human career.

Rev. Andrew Arnold Lambing, son of Michael A. and Anne Lambing (nee Shields) was born at Manorville, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, February 1, 1842. His father was descended from an Alsatian family that immigrated to this country about a century and a half ago, and his mother from one that came over from County Donegal, Ireland, a few years later. His early life was spent on a farm and in public works, until he attained the years of manhood, when he entered St. Michael's Preparatory and Theological Seminary, Glenwood, Pittsburg, where he took his course in classics and divinity, and was ordained to the priesthood



August 4, 1869. After laboring on the mission in Cambria, Blair, Indiana and Armstrong counties he came to Pittsburg in the summer of 1873, and soon after took charge of the congregation of St. Mary of Mercy, at the Point, from which he was transferred to Wilkinsburg in October, 1885, where he still remains.

He is the author of "The Orphan's Friend" (1875), "The Sunday School Teacher's Manual" (1877), "A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny" (1880), "The Register of Fort Duquesne" (1885), besides a number of religious and historical pamphlets. He is a regular contributor to religious and historical periodicals, and for several years has devoted much of his attention to local and religious research. In the summer of 1884 he started "The Catholic Historical Researches," a quarterly periodical, and the first of its kind devoted to Catholic history in the United States. It was afterward transferred to a Philadelphia publisher, by whom it is still continued. In June, 1886, the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, conferred on Mr. Lambing the degree of Doctor of Law. For many years he has been president of the local historical society, and has done more than any other one man to place in permanent form the valuable and fast-perishing early records. He is the author of several chapters in this volume.

William Anderson (deceased), one of the pioneers of the Anderson and Herron families, was born near Belfast, Ireland, of Scotch-Irish parents in the year 1753. In 1772 he came to America, and located at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In the year the colonists declared their independence of the mother country he entered the service as orderly sergeant in Captain Rippey's volunteer company, under the command of Colonel Irwin, and after repairing to headquarters, marched directly to the Canadian frontier, fighting in the battle of the Three Rivers, and engaging in other arduous duties on the lines until the expiration of his term. He rose to the rank of major, and served with distinction throughout the war. Major Anderson crossed the Delaware with General Washington, and experienced the hardships and privations of that memorable winter at Valley Forge. Later he entered the commissary department, and had command of a brigade of foraging parties and train of wagons under General Wayne, in whose service he continued until the return of peace. During his stay in Pittsburg he became a warm personal friend of Colonel James O'Hara. In 1795 Colonel O'Hara invited Major Anderson to go to Pittsburg and erect the public buildings then contemplated. He accordingly made all necessary arrangements to carry out this plan, and started on horseback with his wife, his children and servants, and workmen following in wagons and ox trains. While on the journey the Whisky Insurrection broke out, and made it impossible for them to proceed farther than Huntingdon. He was now engaged by Huntingdon County to put up some public buildings for the county, and after completing these he went to Bedford, Bedford County, and there also erected public buildings. Upon the completion of the latter undertaking, he carried out his original intention of going to Pittsburg, arriving there in 1797.\* Being enterprising and ambitious, when the construction of the executive mansion was under consideration at Washington, D. C., he applied for the contract, and was so highly esteemed that he secured it. The "White House," as it has always been called, was constructed from designs furnished by James Hoban, an architect of South Carolina, and the cornerstone was laid with Masonic honors October 13, 1792. John Adams was the first Presidential occupant of the building, and took possession during the month of November, 1800, after the Government had been removed to Washington. The interior of the building was burned by the British in 1814, but it was afterwards repaired and is still standing. After a short tarry at Huntingdon and Bedford, as stated, Major Anderson arrived in Pittsburg in 1797, and at first



lived in a log house on the north side of Penn Street between Fourth Street and Evans Alley, his orchard and garden, together with his horse and cow pastures, being on both sides of the street. In those days Mr. Anderson was one of the most enterprising and industrious men in Pennsylvania. He built the first steam sawmill, and the second steam gristmill west of the Alleghany Mountains. He did a large business in lumber, buying logs from the Indians. Fortune favored him, and soon his gristmill was in great demand. In the meantime he owned and carried on a large brickyard, and took contracts for the erection of a number of public buildings, beside stores and private residences. At this time the First Presbyterian Church, on Wood Street, was an old log structure, and Mr. Anderson built the new edifice over it, the logs of the old building being taken out of the windows of the new one. It is related that owing to the church's indebtedness and the necessity of raising money, a species of lottery was resorted to, Major Anderson and Colonel O'Hara heading the list with the largest subscription. In 1810 Mr. Anderson built for himself and his son James, a two-story brick residence on the corner of Penn Street and the alley which is now Eighth Street. The old landmark was torn down in 1889 and replaced by a large business block. Mr. Anderson had united with the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and had brought his certificate of membership and good standing with him when he came to America. On settling in Carlisle he joined a church in or near that place, and when he removed to Pittsburg he and his wife became members of the First Presbyterian Church here. In 1820 Mr. Anderson removed to Mercer County, where he owned a fine large tract of land, which he designed to improve. Unfortunately in the following year he was seized with an attack of sickness, which in a few days proved fatal. His remains were taken to Pittsburg, where he had been so long known and respected, and buried in the First Presbyterian Church yard beside those of his wife, who had died in 1816. They were afterward removed to the family lot in Allegheny Cemetery. Mrs. Anderson, formerly Miss Mary Ann Cann, came to this country from Wales with a brother, her only relative. At the time her future husband first met her she was an orphan, living in the family of her guardian, the Rev. Dr. Duffield, who resided in Philadelphia. When the British were about to occupy Philadelphia, Dr. Duffield sent his family to Shippensburg for safety, he being a chaplain in the patriot army. Miss Cann's brother was killed at the battle of the Brandywine, he having joined the army upon landing in America. It was while residing at Shippensburg that she first met Mr. Anderson, whom she afterwards married. Major Anderson was a living example of a sound mind in a sound body. He possessed remarkable executive ability, and was honored by the friendship of some of the greatest men of his age, including Washington. His sons, William, Paul and James, were actively engaged in the war of 1812. James inherited largely his father's ability, and was one of the most noted philanthropists of his day. He gave Allegheny its first library. He was one of the founders of Dixmont, the House of Refuge (now Morganza), and various other institutions. He also was one of the pioneers of the iron trade. He lived the early part of his life on the East Park and Anderson Street. Paul Anderson settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, and was one of its most prominent citizens. The Pittsburg families of the Herrons, Caldwells, Ways and Grays are Colonel James Anderson's direct descendants. William Anderson Herron, who bears his name, is his oldest living grandson.

John Herron (deceased), who was one of the pioneers of Pittsburg, was born April 3, 1792, on Herron's Branch, Pennsylvania. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians; his paternal grandfather, Francis Herron, having been born in County Antrim, Ireland, whence he immigrated to America in 1734, accompanied by his younger brothers, David, William and James, and his two

sisters, Mary and Elizabeth. He came of a ministerial family. In 1745 the family settled on Herron's Branch, in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and Francis Herron married Mary McNutt, of a Scotch Presbyterian family, by whom he had three sons and two daughters: John, James and William, Mary and Sarah. Francis Herron was a farmer, and cultivated large tracts of land successfully. His second son, James, the father of John Herron, was born in 1754. He married Nancy Davidson, and had four sons and two daughters. John (the subject of this sketch), William, Davidson and James; Nancy and Sarah. James Herron united with the patriots and fought for their country's freedom, made a fine record as a soldier, and rose to be Major in the American Army. He died in 1829, having been a public-spirited man, a good Christian, and warmly respected by all who knew him. John Herron received as good an education as was practical in those days, and during the early part of his life worked on his father's farm, attending school in the winter. In 1812 the young man decided to launch out for himself, and accordingly went to Pittsburg, where his cousin, Rev. Francis Herron, was living, and where he preached for over forty years. Here young Herron accepted a clerkship with Ephraim Blaine, in the lumber business. He showed at once the material of which he was made, attending closely to business and saving his money to such effect that in a few years he bought out his employer, and continued the business for himself with great success. Seeing the way to extend his business and being now sufficiently prosperous to warrant the outlay, he purchased a large grist and sawmill and lumber yard below Penn Avenue, on what is now Eighth Street, from his father-in-law, Major William Anderson, and also made investments in other property in and about the city. Into the mill Mr. Herron put the second steam engine set up west of the Alleghanies. He did a large business in lumber, purchasing his logs mostly from the Indians, who floated them down the Allegheny River in large quantities, from the lumber regions in Northwestern Pennsylvania, to his mill, the only steam sawmill in the place. His steam gristmill was in such demand that, in dry season, the farmers who came from the surrounding country for many miles, had to wait sometimes days for their turn to get their grain put through the mill. In those ventures Mr. Herron had associated with him Colonel James Anderson, his brother-in-law, but he soon bought out his partner, and continued the business alone. He now added a large brickyard to his other investments, and also began to go into contracting and building on a large scale. A large tract of good farming and coal land coming into the market, Mr. Herron purchased it and began to mine for coal, at the same time having his farm worked by tenants. This land was located at Minersville, now the Thirteenth Ward of Pittsburg. Mr. Herron so interested himself personally in his affairs, in all their connections, that he soon knew most of the inhabitants of Minersville by name, while he never failed to make the interests of his employes his own. A large quantity of his coal Mr. Herron used for his own works, but he also supplied other consumers to such an extent that the business required the employment of a large number of men and teams to carry it on. He was a representative man of Pittsburg, and always took a great interest in the improvement of the city, and its business.

Always on the watch for any judicious investments that might offer, Mr. Herron also purchased a large sawmill adjoining his property, an entire square of ground in extent, belonging to John Irwin, and opposite to his own grist and sawmill property. With all his investments he carried on a very extensive business for those days—he was now a man in good circumstances. Fortunately for the locality which owned him for a citizen, he was of a kind and charitable disposition, and while perfectly unostentatious in all his acts, it grew to be well known that his hand was always open to aid the deserving poor. In 1833, Mr. Herron's health not being as good as could be wished, caused by overwork, he removed

his family to his farm at Minersville. While living in Pittsburg, Mr. Herron had been noted for his strong and increasing interest in religious matters, and this trait continued to characterize him after his change of residence. He took an active interest in the work there, and that, too, in a practical form, as he built a Presbyterian Church, and zealously promoted the interest of the Sunday School, being the superintendent. He became an elder in the church, as he had been an elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg. In April, 1861, when the trouble with the South commenced, four of his five sons offered their services to the Government, immediately upon the firing of Fort Sumter, thus showing the loyalty of the Herron family to their country. Mr. Herron took great interest in assisting in raising troops to send to the front; and there is little doubt that he would have volunteered himself were he not too old to stand the exposure. He died in May, 1863, known throughout Western Pennsylvania for the admirable earnestness and usefulness of his life, and mourned by thousands who had profited by his large generosity and his liberal charity. Mr. Herron married, in 1817, Clarissa, daughter of Major William and Mary Ann (Cann) Anderson, by whom he had nine children, viz.: James A. (died July 4, 1842, in his twenty-fifth year); William A. (married Louisa J. Hills, of Erie, Pennsylvania); John D. (married to Emma, daughter of Samuel Thompson); Richard G. (a colonel in the War of the Rebellion, married to Annette Tomlinson); Francis J. (the youngest general in the Union service during the war); David R. (lieutenant of an Iowa battery); Mary Ann (married to Rev. George A. Lyon, D. D., of Erie, Pennsylvania); Eliza, (married to Richard Sill), also of Erie, and Margaret D. (married to William C. Friend, of Pittsburg). Mrs. Herron was a devoted wife and mother, and an earnest Christian. She lived to a good old age, and always held the esteem and love of all who knew her. She died in May, 1873.

The first of the Herron family to immigrate to this country landed at Philadelphia in 1734. From there they went to Pequa, a little town in Lancaster County, near Harrisburg, and here they remained for several years. In 1745 they moved to Franklin County, settled near Shippensburg, and attended the Middle Spring Presbyterian Church. The brothers afterwards invested in a large quantity of land, through which property ran a creek, subsequently known as Herron's Branch, on which they built a large stone gristmill. It became quite a prominent place in Franklin County, it being within a short distance of Shippensburg. It was said in the History of Cumberland County, in referring to the Middle Spring Church and its prominent members, that Major James Herron (grandfather of William A. Herron) was one of the most prominent members of that church, as well as prominent in the Revolutionary War.

William Anderson Herron, an honored and public-spirited citizen, and one of the leading business men of Pittsburg, was born August 7, 1821, at Pittsburg, in the house which is still standing at the corner of Penn Avenue and Eighth Street. He started his business career with a good education, beginning early in life as a clerk for A. Way & Co., dry-goods merchants, at Pittsburg, but finding indoor life too confining and not agreeing with his health, he gave up his position and went into the coal business to assist his father, who was then operating a large number of mines in Minersville, now the Thirteenth Ward of Pittsburg. In 1846 he became a member of the coal firm of Herron, Brown & Co., of which his father was the senior member. The firm owned an extensive tract of land on the Monongahela River near Turtle Creek, and filled large contracts for iron mills, factories and gas-works in Pittsburg, besides shipping large quantities of coal to Cincinnati, Louisville, Cairo and New Orleans in flatboats. Owing to failing health, Mr. Herron was compelled to discontinue business for a time, and he then devoted two years to general travel and rest to recuperate, after which, with his brother-in-law, Richard Sill, he engaged in the

lumber business. He shortly afterwards had partnership interests in a brass-foundry and in the manufacture of glass, and also of cotton batting, besides, and being part owner in a large tract of coal land near Pine Run on the Monongahela River, which was operated under the firm name of Herron, Blackburn & Co. This firm did an extensive business, building a coal railroad under his supervision to supply the trade. Mr. Herron also formed a partnership with Mr. Hercules O'Connor, and together they purchased the steamboat *George Albree*, and some model barges, and took contracts to supply the gas-works at St. Louis with coal, running the cargoes to Cairo in flatboats and reloading them in model barges to tow to St. Louis. In 1855 Mr. Herron engaged in the banking business at the corner of Wood Street and Sixth Avenue, the present site of the German National Bank. In 1860, perceiving the need of greater banking facilities in Pittsburgh, he took an active part in founding the German Bank, (now the German National) and later on he helped to organize the Iron City Trust Company, which subsequently became the Second National Bank. He also coöperated in the formation of the Third National Bank and the Mechanics National Bank, which, like the others named, are today among the strongest financial institutions of the city. In 1863 he, with two other well-known citizens, secured a charter and organized the People's Savings Bank, of which he became the first president, and which has become one of the most successful institutions of its kind in Pittsburgh. In 1860 Mr. Herron was induced to accept the nomination as clerk of the courts of Allegheny County as a Temperance candidate. He was elected by a flattering majority, and served with eminent satisfaction to his fellow citizens until 1866 (being reëlected in 1863), when he retired, owing to the condition of his health, although he could have been again reëlected had he cared to continue in office. Freed from the cares of office, he next engaged in buying and selling real estate, and so continued for a number of years. In 1877 he took his youngest son, John W. Herron, in as partner, and in 1883 his son Rufus H. Herron, the business being carried on under the name of William A. Herron & Sons. The firm does a large business, second to none in the city, and holds a high rank. Rufus H. Herron and John W. Herron have since risen to prominence in business circles, and the latter is President of the Commercial National Bank of the city. During the progress of the Civil War, Mr. Herron was active and indefatigable in his services to the Union cause. Although prevented by ill-health from taking the field, he accomplished a great deal of good work at home, and aided liberally with his means and influence in upholding the supremacy of the National Government. At several crises during the war his services proved of the utmost value. He was appointed a colonel on the staff of Governor Pollock, and an aide-de-camp to Major-General J. G. Barnard, chief of engineers, Department U. S. A. Some years after the war General Barnard wrote as follows of Colonel Herron's service, the letter being intended for historic purposes:

"Washington, March 6, 1879.

"Col. W. A. Herron:—At the time of the invasion of Pennsylvania by the Confederate Army under General Lee, in June, 1863, great anxiety was felt as to the safety of Pittsburgh, whose manufacturing establishments in iron, machinery, and other objects of great importance to the country, not only in a commercial sense, but as supplying the material of war, offered a strong inducement to a powerful raid, if not a direct object of the enemy's campaign. At the solicitation of leading citizens of Pittsburgh and her representative in Congress, General Moorhead, I was sent to Pittsburgh by Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, to direct the effort of her citizens in fortifying the place. The great manufactories were, for the time, mostly closed, and nearly all the working forces of able-bodied men—several thousand—were, the first day of my arrival, placed at my disposal. Without previous knowledge of the surrounding country, and with but a single en-



gineer officer (Major Craighill) to assist me, the reconnoissances and the putting intelligently at work such a large body of men, with no previous organization, was an arduous and embarrassing task. The intelligent aid of many of the citizens, especially of the proprietors of the large iron-works, enabled me to surmount the difficulty. But to yourself I am more particularly indebted. Placing your services entirely at my disposal, you constituted yourself virtually an aide-de-camp and an adjutant, guiding me with your intimate knowledge of the localities in my reconnoissances—pointing out beforehand the salient features of the surrounding country, thus furnishing the indispensable clues to a proper location of field works and enabling me to send out my working parties to proper points before I myself had been able properly to reconnoitre them. I cannot too highly speak of the value and importance of your services in those critical days.

"I am, very respectfully, your most obediently,

"J. G. BARNARD,

"Colonel of Engineers, and Brevet Major-General, U. S. A."

Mr. Herron was never a politician, but in 1879 he was appointed pension agent for Pittsburg by President Hayes, who was his warm friend, and he held that office four years. His health failed him during his term as pension agent, and since leaving that office he has not taken a very active part in business outside of a general oversight and interest in the purchase and sale of real estate. It is proper to state here that at the end of his term as pension agent he was warmly complimented by the authorities at Washington for the careful and prompt manner in which he conducted the business of the office, and left the agency very much against the wishes and great desires of the pensioners in his district, as they wanted him to continue. Within a few months after his retirement the Government was able to close his account, and sent him a certificate in full to that effect, a fact all the more remarkable when it is understood that it usually requires several years to settle the accounts of a retiring pension agent. Mr. Herron is an influential member of the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, with which he has been connected a number of years, and was also a member of the Select Council of the city for several years. In religious and charitable work he has always taken a leading part. Since his nineteenth year he has been a professing member and an active worker in the Presbyterian Church, has held the office of elder, deacon and trustee for many years, and has done excellent work in the Sabbath School at Minersville, of which he was superintendent for a long period. In 1888 he was a delegate to the Centennial General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, held at Philadelphia. He has also at various times been a delegate to the Synod and Presbytery, representing the Third Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg, of which he is an elder. In charitable matters he has also taken a warm interest. Since 1863 he has been an active member, and is now vice-president of the board of directors of the Western Pennsylvania Hospital. He is also vice-president and a member of the executive committee of Dixmont Asylum for the Insane, vice-president of the Homœopathic Hospital, president of the Blind Asylum of Western Pennsylvania, and a director of the Young Men's Home, and also a member of the Young Men's Christian Association. Also president of the Presbyterian Union of the Presbytery of Pittsburg. He is president of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution of Western Pennsylvania, and is also a member of the national organization at Washington, D. C. Being both on the paternal and maternal side a grandson of an officer of the War of the Revolution, he naturally takes a lively interest in this organization. Mr. Herron is vice-president of the Scotch-Irish Society of Pennsylvania, and was instrumental in having it meet in Pittsburg in 1890, helping to make it a great success. In educational work he has also taken a deep interest, and for many years held the office of director of the public schools.



Mr. Herron is still one of the active and busy men of Pittsburg, interested in its welfare and development, and prominent in all movements of a public charitable character. Although annoyed by ill-health in early life, he is today a vigorous specimen of manhood, erect and sturdy, and capable of no end of hard work. His family have long been noted for their kindly natures, and he is no exception to the rule. Indeed, it has been asserted by one who knows him well, that he has more warm friends to the square mile than any other man in Western Pennsylvania. His wife, formerly Miss Louisa J. Hills, daughter of the late Dr. Rufus Hills, a physician of note of Erie, Pennsylvania, and a native of Amesbury, Massachusetts, is one of the most estimable and respected women in Pittsburg, where she has been active for many years in religious, charitable and philanthropic work. Her splendid executive ability was recognized by her election in 1865 as the first president of the Woman's Christian Association of Pittsburg, of which she was one of the principal organizers. She has been president since 1875 of the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, one of the most beneficial organizations in Pittsburg, which she was the means of organizing, and which relieves and assists thousands of worthy poor annually, without regard to color, nationality or sect. She is president of the Free Kindergarten Association of Pittsburg, likewise renders valuable assistance in almost all the other charitable work of the city. Of her it has been written that, "she is the personal friend of every needy family in the city." Mr. and Mrs. Herron were married October 23, 1843. They have had seven children, of whom three survive, viz.: Rufus H. Herron, Sarah (now Mrs. Ogden M. Edwards), and John W. Herron. In speaking of William A. Herron, one who has been intimately connected with him for many years, remarked:

"Mr. Herron is an exemplary man, a Christian gentleman of the highest type; always kind to and thoughtful of those around him, never forgetting a friend, but ever ready to forgive an enemy; strictly temperate, scrupulously honest, and of such superior ability that had Nature given him health and strength he must have risen to distinction among the chief men of his day, for he is a man of great natural parts."

He loves nothing so well as to talk about the city that he has seen grow almost from a village to the most important manufacturing center in the Republic. As it is, even with the great drawback of delicate health in earlier life, Mr. Herron has carved a name for himself among the most active and energetic men of Pittsburg, which will long endure. The Colonel, who is now in his seventy-seventh year, is active and energetic for a man of his age, and is said to be the oldest man who was born and raised in this city, and who is engaged in active business today (January, 1898).

Mrs. Edward W. H. Schenley, possessed of large estates in Allegheny County, was born near Louisville, Kentucky, in 1827. Her ancestors were identified with the patriot cause from colonial times. She was the granddaughter of Major William Croghan and of General James O'Hara; the grandniece of General George Clarke and of General William Clarke, and the niece of General George Croghan.

Major William Croghan was a native of Ireland, born about 1750. He came to Virginia when quite young. When the Revolutionary War broke out, and the clash of arms were heard on the fields of Lexington and Concord, Virginia sprang to the contest. Among Virginia's soldiers was young William Croghan. In 1776 he was a captain in the Fourth Regiment of the Virginia line, under Colonel John Neville. The lieutenant-colonel of the regiment was Presley Neville, the son of John Neville. William Croghan was promoted to be Major of the regiment. These soldiers fought under the eye of Washington, being intimate friends of his. Amid the snows of Trenton and Princeton, and under the burning

heat of Monmouth, they fought and were victorious. At Brandywine and Germantown they fought also, and, though defeated, retired in grim defiance with Washington to Valley Forge, to watch through that dismal winter, the British army under Howe in Philadelphia, and to drive that army the following summer across the Delaware, through New Jersey to Sandy Hook, and across the bay to New York. In 1780 the regiment was ordered South to join the army under General Lincoln. During the most of this year the military operations were confined to the Carolinas. A powerful British fleet conveyed Sir Henry Clinton and the bulk of his forces from New York and anchored in Charleston Harbor. After a month's siege, the most of the fortifications having been beaten down, General Lincoln found himself obliged to surrender his troops, including Neville's regiment of Virginians; among them Colonels John and Presley Neville and Major William Croghan. Colonel Presley Neville was fortunate enough to be exchanged, but Colonel John Neville and Major Croghan, with the rest of the officers, were released only on their paroles of honor.

Before Major Croghan was exchanged he was present at the siege of Yorktown and surrender of Cornwallis, but could only participate in the stirring scenes by his presence. Major Croghan came to Fort Pitt with Colonel John Neville, and was here on the 6th of July, 1782. Under that date he wrote to the Virginia Secretary of War, giving an account of the murdering of the Moravian Indians by a party of white men from Washington County, Pennsylvania. On the 24th of July 1783, he was ordered by the Secretary of War to discharge the men of the Virginia line at Fort Pitt, enlisted for the war, and give them three months' pay. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, the officers of the Virginia line having joined at a meeting held at Fredericksburg in the beginning of October, 1783. It is remarkable what a number of soldiers of the Revolutionary Army became residents of Pittsburg and vicinity after the war. Among them were Colonel John Neville, Colonel Presley Neville, Colonel Richard Butler, Colonel William Butler, Colonel Stephen Bayard, Major Isaac Craig, Major Ebenezer Denny, Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, Colonel James O'Hara, General John Wilkins, Jr., Major James Gordon Herron, James Foster, Major William Anderson and many others.

In 1784 Major William Croghan visited Kentucky and was so pleased with the country that he concluded to make it his home, and accordingly moved there, finally settling in Jefferson County, where he passed the remainder of his life at his beautiful place, Locust Grove, not far from Louisville, where he died in September, 1822. After he removed to Kentucky he married a sister of General George Rogers Clarke, who conquered the Northwest Territory from the British during the Revolutionary War.

General James O'Hara was a native of Ireland, and immigrated to this country when quite young. He came to Fort Pitt in 1773, and was an Indian trader here before the Revolutionary War. He entered the army as a private, and became a captain in the Ninth Virginia Regiment. His superior business qualifications made him necessary to the quartermaster's department, and he served as assistant quartermaster. After the Revolutionary War, he was actively engaged in business, among other things filling large contracts with the Government for supplying the Western Armies, and acted as purchasing agent for Indian supplies. When the town of Pittsburg was laid out, and afterward the reserve tract opposite Pittsburg, on the north side of the Allegheny River, he made large purchases of property at the low prices offered by the Penns and the State of Pennsylvania. He also secured large landed property in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. He was foremost and led the way in every enterprise calculated to promote the business interests and growth of Pittsburg. In his various active movements his life was constantly exposed and in danger. The Indians in the interests

of the British had planned to murder him at Schoenbrun, one of the Moravian towns. The Moravians discovered the plot, and sent one of their most trusty Indians, called Anthony, to guide him by night through the woods, avoiding the trail, to Fort Pitt, which place he safely reached, although hotly pursued by eleven Hurons. In 1788 General O'Hara was a presidential elector, and cast his vote for George Washington at the Presidential election. In 1792 he was appointed quartermaster-general in the United States Army, and served as such during the Whisky Insurrection in 1794, the third armed rebellion against the United States, to suppress which Washington himself drew the sword, and marched at the head of 15,000 men as far as Bedford. In 1795 General O'Hara, as quartermaster-general, marched with General Anthony Wayne in the memorable campaign which put an end to Indian hostilities at the battle of Fallen Timbers, and the treaty of Greenville. General O'Hara, in partnership with Major Isaac Craig, erected the first Pittsburg glassworks. It was a stone building on the south side of the Monongahela River, nearly opposite the Point. William Eichbaum was brought from the East to superintend the works. Green glass bottles were made. In a note of General O'Hara, found among his papers after his death, he says: "Today we made the first bottle at a cost of \$30,000." About this time he built his own ships and loaded them, some with furs and peltries from the great Northwest for Liverpool, others with flour for South America and the West Indies. A bushel of salt had been worth a cow and calf at Pittsburg, and men were not allowed to walk across the floor when salt was being measured. After Wayne's treaty, General O'Hara entered into a contract with the Government to supply Oswego with provisions, which were then cheaper at Pittsburg than in the settlements on the Mohawk. General O'Hara was a far-seeing calculator. He had obtained correct information in regard to the manufacture of salt at Salina, and in his contract for provisioning the garrison he had in view the supplying of the Western country with salt from Onondaga. This was a project that few men would have thought of, and at the same time hardly anyone else would have undertaken. The means of transportation had to be created on the whole line. Boats and teams must be provided to get the salt from the works to Oswego. A vessel was built to transport it to the landing below the Falls of Niagara, wagons procured to carry it to Schlosser, then boats constructed to carry it to Black Rock. Then another vessel was required to transport it to Erie. The road from Erie to the head of French Creek had to be improved, the country through which it passed being mostly swampy, and the salt carried in wagons across the portage; and finally boats provided to float it down French Creek and the Allegheny River to Pittsburg. It required no ordinary capacity and perseverance to give success to this enterprise. An individual undertaking at the present time to exchange Pittsburg goods for furs and Russian leather with the traders at Nijni Novgorod by way of the Great Lakes and Behring Straits, would hardly be equal to it in boldness and in complexity of detail. General O'Hara, however, could execute as well as plan. He packed his flour and provisions in barrels suitable for salt. These barrels were reserved in his contract. Arrangements were made with the manufacturers, and the necessary advances paid to secure the salt. Two vessels were built; one on Lake Erie and one on Lake Ontario, and the means of transportation on the various sections of the line were secured. The plan fully succeeded, and salt of fair quality was delivered at Pittsburg, and sold for \$4.00 per bushel. The vocation of those who brought salt across the mountains on pack-horses was gone. The trade opened by this man, whose success was equal to his merits, was extensively prosecuted by others. A large amount of capital was invested in the salt trade, and the means of transportation so greatly increased that in a few years the Pittsburg market was supplied with Onondaga salt at \$2.40 a bushel.

In 1804 General O'Hara was appointed a director of a branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania established that year in Pittsburg. This was the first bank west of the Alleghany Mountains. The "Miami Exporting Company" was not then a bank and did not become one until afterwards. General John Wilkins, Jr., was the first president, and he was succeeded by General O'Hara, who was the president when the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania was transferred to and merged into the office of the Bank of the United States. In the first board of the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania were the following other officers of the Revolutionary Army: General Presley Neville, Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, Major Ebenezer Denny, General Adamson Tannehill, Surgeon George Stevenson. A large portion of the prominent citizens of Pittsburg at this time having been officers of the army, they necessarily constituted a majority in the boards of trustees of the church, the bank and the Academy. Nor does it appear that the Bank of Pennsylvania or its successor, the Bank of the United States, had any reason to regret their confidence in these gentlemen. Only one other branch of the United States Bank (the office at Mobile) was more successfully managed or lost less money. To these brave men the country was a debtor when they died, and continued so to the descendants of most of them. But no one lost by them.

James O'Hara, while as enterprising as Astor or Girard, was as large-hearted and magnanimous as Abraham. John Henry Hopkins, a young Irishman, afterwards bishop of Vermont, came to the United States in the beginning of this century, and about 1811, to Pittsburg, poor, but full of intelligence and activity. General O'Hara, pleased with Hopkins' business qualifications, took him into partnership in an iron works he established at Ligonier, and gave him the management. This business, through no fault of Hopkins, failed, as, indeed, did all business after the war of 1812. Hopkins was overwhelmed, and his hopes apparently blasted for life by his share of the debt which hung over him. O'Hara said to him: "Give yourself no concern. You have done your best. I will pay all the debts." He gave Hopkins a clear acquittance and settled up all the debts. This incident was told by Bishop Hopkins himself in the accents of a grateful heart.

General O'Hara died at his home on the banks of the Monongahela in 1819, wealthy and full of years. A patriotic soldier, an enterprising business man, and a charitable Christian. The tears of the poor and rich alike were shed at his grave and mingled with the clods that fell upon his coffin. Pittsburg owes him a debt of gratitude, and his memory should be cherished and held sacred.

Wm. Croghan, Jr., and Mary O'Hara were married in the year 1821. He was the son of Major William Croghan, and she was the daughter of General James O'Hara.

William Croghan, Jr., was a remarkably handsome man. He was tall and well built, with remarkably well proportioned features, and an exceedingly keen and intelligent eye. He was a very Chesterfield in courtly manners, and a true gentleman in heart. On the 28th of May, 1835, Mr. Croghan was admitted as a member of the Allegheny County bar. He resided at his beautiful country seat, "Picnic," which commands a view of three historic rivers, the Monongahela, Allegheny and Ohio, and a far off glimpse of the hazy Chestnut Ridge of Pennsylvania. He died at his residence near Pittsburg, September 22, 1850, loved and lamented by all who knew him. Mrs. Croghan died October 25th, 1827, leaving two children; William, her oldest child, survived his mother but a short time, and died April 25, 1828. Mary E. Croghan, the daughter, was born April 27, 1826. She married Captain Edward W. H. Schenley, an officer of the British army, and went to England, where she has resided for the greater part of her married life, having now living five daughters and one son.

Mrs. Schenley inherited from her Grandfather O'Hara, who owned



large tracts of land in Pittsburg and Allegheny County and in other counties of the State, and also lands in some of the Western States, her mother being one of the three heirs of the estate, as well as inheriting all her father's property which he purchased after coming to Pittsburg, which has become quite valuable. Although the possessor of this valuable property has lived abroad for a number of years, Pittsburg and Allegheny have good evidence to know that she has ever had the interests of her native land always in her mind and near her heart. The files of old papers back to 1846 show donations of valuable property to worthy charities and enterprises, for in that year she donated property in the Twelfth Ward of this city to the West Pennsylvania Hospital. This is now of great value. We are likely omitting much, and necessarily all her private aids which were many, but in 1889 she donated a princely tract which made the magnificent Schenley Park possible. She gave 300 acres out and out for this great scheme, and sold to the city 120 acres more at the merest nominal price. Unborn generations will enjoy the blessings of this great gift. In 1890 she gave five acres to the Western Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind, now worth at least \$100,000. In 1894 she gave a large lot on Old Avenue to the Newsboys' Home. This lot is now worth \$30,000. In 1895 she gave the oldest relic in Pittsburg, the old block-house at the Point, and adjoining property, worth some \$30,000, to the Daughters of the American Revolution. In 1894, when the citizens of Allegheny had almost despaired of securing sufficient money to make possible the purchase of their present beautiful park, she gave large donations and subscriptions, which gave it such a forward movement that the present Riverside Park of that city was secured. She also has been liberal to churches and public schools. Mrs. Schenley is very considerate with her tenants, and great forbearance is exercised by her agents, at her instructions, to those on whom misfortune frowns, and helps and aids are always given to the worthy. Under the care of her present agents, new buildings are constantly being erected and improvements made. What its ultimate value may become, as we look with prophetic eye into the future, can only be conceived by an estimate of Pittsburg's growth, but our citizens have good reason to believe that the advancement in value of this property will contribute in many ways to the ultimate benefit of all our people.

Mrs. Schenley has six daughters and one son living: Lilly Poole, married to the Hon. Ralph Harbard, son of the late Lord Suffield; Jane Inglez, married to the Rev. Mr. Crafton; Agnez, married to Mr. Ridley; Alice, married Col. Fredrick Gore; Richmond, married Captain Randolph; Hermoine, unmarried and living with her mother; Alfred, the youngest of the family, is married and living near Portsmouth in the south of England.

Christopher Zug. There is no greater pleasure for the historian and biographer than to record the life and achievements of a man who began life's battle under adverse circumstances, and through his own efforts has secured the universal tribute of being an honest man and a gentleman, and who has attained success in commercial life through unswerving industry and integrity. Such a man is Christopher Zug, a pioneer in the iron industry of Pittsburg. Mr. Zug is a native of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, his birth occurring on the 19th of July, 1807, his parents being Jacob and Margaret (Keller) Zug, of Swiss descent, farmers by occupation, and residents of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, at the time of their marriage. It was upon the home farm, engaged in the duties devolving upon a farmer's boy that Christopher Zug was reared. His school advantages were of the limited character peculiar to surroundings such as his of eighty years ago, and was confined to the ordinary rudimentary branches. It was the groundwork, however, of the liberal self education which began with his young manhood and which has since been his recreation from the hurry and turmoil of a busy life. His first business experience was as a clerk in the store



of Benjamin Childs, at Carlisle, but after two years he embarked in mercantile pursuits in partnership with his cousin, Jacob Zug, borrowing the necessary funds for his part of the capital. Two years later this partnership was dissolved, and the succeeding three years he was engaged in the brewing and distilling business. He then came to Pittsburg and was employed by the hardware firm of S. Fahnstock & Co., and later with the Birmingham Iron Works, owned by Hoag & Hartman. Later he became bookkeeper for James Anderson of the Lippincott Iron Works, then doing business on the site of Mr. Zug's present establishment at Thirteenth and Etna streets. In 1845 he became a partner with the firm of Graff, Lindsay & Co., composed of Henry Graff, John Lindsay, William Larimer, Jr., and Christopher Zug. This firm purchased the Lippincott Iron Works from James Anderson, and changed the name to the Sable Iron Works, under which title it has continued to the present—a period of half a century. About 1854 the firm became Zug, Lindsay & Co., who a year later purchased the Pittsburg Iron Works from Lorenz, Stirling & Co., with which firm Jacob Painter was identified. The death of John Lindsay in 1856 dissolved the partnership, and Mr. Zug and Mr. Painter became proprietors under the firm name of Zug & Painter. This association continued until 1864, when the partnership was dissolved, Mr. Painter becoming the owner of the Pittsburg Iron Works and Mr. Zug of the Sable Iron Works. At this latter event Mr. Zug admitted his son, Charles H., as a partner, and since that time the Sable Iron Works have been managed and conducted by Zug & Co., and is recognized as one of the leading business houses in its line in the city. Such, in brief, is the business career of Christopher Zug. In politics, Mr. Zug has been a lifelong Democrat of the Jeffersonian order, but was never an aspirant to political honor or office. As a citizen he has ever been an advocate of good, clean, businesslike government without regard to partisan predilection. In business and socially, the golden rule has been his chief guide; in religion his creed is expressed in those beautiful lines of Pope:

"Slave to no sect, he takes no private road  
But looks through Nature up to Nature's God."

Mr. Zug was married May 17, 1831, to Eliza Bair, of Hanover, Pennsylvania, and to their union six children—five daughters and one son—were born, of which three daughters and the son survive. Mrs. Zug died December 9, 1863. Mr. Zug comes of a race particularly noted for its longevity. His parents closely approached the century mark—his father lacking but a few months and his mother having passed her ninety-fifth year—and all of their children lived to be over seventy years of age. When we consider what ninety years cover in way of progress and achievement—a period almost compassing the history of our government—and reflect that it all comes within the span of Mr. Zug's life, we can better appreciate how long he has lived, and admire alike the consistent and temperate habits that have continued him in the good health he yet enjoys, and the mental vigor that still keeps him keenly interested in the current events of the day.

Joseph Horne was born January 11, 1826, on a farm about eight miles from Bedford, Bedford County. His father and mother were of American stock; his grandfather being of German birth, coming to this country early during the Revolutionary War, in which he was a soldier and served with faithfulness to the end of the struggle. His grandfather, after the close of the war, settled on the farm above mentioned as the birthplace of Joseph Horne, and was a good citizen. He was also a prominent member of the Methodist Church during his life, being a licensed exhorter; and largely by his efforts one of the log Methodist churches of that section of the State was built and was known as the "Horne Church."

Joseph Horne grew up on the farm as a farmer's boy; had an ordinary country schoolhouse education and afterward had a short course at the Bedford Classical Academy in the town of Bedford. After his graduation he was inclined to the study of medicine, but gave that up and secured a situation as clerk in a store in Bedford. He came to Pittsburg as a young man and secured a position with the firm of C. Yeager, in the retail notion business. From that he went to the store of F. H. Eaton, at that time a leading merchant; there became a partner and within a few years bought out Mr. Eaton's interest and started on his own account at 77 Market Street. His devotion to his business and the zeal and skill he manifested in its development rapidly increased it, and it steadily grew so that in addition, a wholesale department was added. In 1871, the present quarters of his business being too small, he removed to the Library Hall building, at that time the finest storeroom in the city, and opened an exclusively retail department, continuing the wholesale department in enlarged quarters on Market Street. In 1881 he built a large building at the corner of Wood Street and Liberty, to which was removed the wholesale business. Shortly before his death he built the large modern building at the corner of Fifth Street and Penn Avenue, probably one of the finest store edifices in the United States, to which the retail business was moved.

Mr. Horne was a man of the greatest liberality, having a warm and generous heart, which was shown by his large donations to every recognized form of charity and education, as well as to the many individual cases which came to him with a feeling of confidence that they would be given a satisfactory hearing. His business character was well known for its unflagging industry and sterling integrity. As a public-spirited citizen, he took active part in all matters relating to the public welfare to advance the best interest of the community in which he lived. He was an active Methodist; proud of his denomination and unsparing in his effort to advance its well being, giving his time both as a Sunday-school superintendent in his church, and also being the founder of the large and prosperous Mission School at Thirty-third Street, which afterward developed into two vigorous churches. He was a trustee of Allegheny College, situated at Meadville, in this State. He was a trustee of the Western University of Pittsburg, and also many years a trustee of the Pittsburg Female College, and a trustee of West Pennsylvania Hospital. His heart was devoted to his business, to his family, his friends and better works of life, and many young men of his acquaintance owed their inspiration for a better career to him, through his good advice and his exemplary habits. None of the men of his day in the city of Pittsburg were held in greater esteem or more loving remembrance.

Dr. Curtis G. Hussey. The name of the subject of this sketch is one that is inseparably connected with the material prosperity of the city of Pittsburg. Dr. Hussey was a native of the State of Pennsylvania, was born on a farm in York County in August, 1802, and was a lineal descendant of Christopher Hussey, an early pioneer of Massachusetts, who was born at Dorking, County Surrey, England, about 1597, and in 1632 crossed the broad Atlantic to found a home on the bleak inhospitable New England coast. He took up his abode in Hampton, Massachusetts, became prominent in the affairs of that section and assisted in the settlement of Haverhill. He was one of the ten Quakers who purchased the island of Nantucket in the winter of 1558-9, and there, owing to the persecutions of his sect by the Puritans, made his home in comparative quietude. About 150 years later one of his descendants, the father of Dr. Hussey, settled near York, Pennsylvania, later moved to Little Miami, Ohio, and in 1813 to a farm in the vicinity of Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, at which place this pioneer, Christopher Hussey, and his wife, formerly Lydia Grubb, led quiet and uneventful lives. The mother was also of Quaker lineage, and her father, John Grubb, was a member of the

Society of Friends in England. He came to this country before the Revolution and settled near Wilmington, Delaware. Dr. Hussey spent his youthful days on a farm, made the most of such educational opportunities as the times afforded, and upon selecting medicine as his avocation in life, was fortunate in having a prominent physician of Mount Pleasant as his instructor. Upon locating in Morgan County, Indiana, he secured a lucrative practice in a short time and had soon amassed sufficient capital to permit him to engage in mercantile pursuits, and various stores were established in adjoining counties over which he had personal supervision as he made his round of professional calls. Possessing business ability of a high order, his enterprises prospered in a remarkable manner and he became a heavy shipper of produce to New Orleans. During this time while looking out for his own interests he had the interests of his adopted State none the less at heart, and in 1829 he was elected to the State Legislature, and after serving one term declined reelection owing to his varied business interests which required his personal attention. Rumors had reached him of the rich copper beds in the Lake Superior region, but no efforts were made to explore or develop them until steps were taken by Dr. Hussey in 1843, when he sent John Hays of Pittsburg to prospect and explore. A one-sixth interest was purchased for the Doctor in the first three permits for mining in that region ever granted by the United States, each one of which was three miles square. In the winter of 1843-4 the Pittsburg and Boston Mining Company was organized, and Dr. Hussey became a heavy stockholder and later its president until the close of its career. In 1844 the Doctor visited that wild region, and so rich were the veins of copper found on Eagle River, that operations were transferred thither and "Cliff Mine," the first mine opened in the Lake Superior country, was established and became historical and noted for its remarkable richness. From time to time valuable improvements were made in the machinery and facilities, and finally the Pittsburg Copper and Brass Rolling Mills was established on the Monongahela River, of which Dr. Hussey eventually became the sole owner. These mills were among the most active industries of Pittsburg and, in fact, are so still, and its products are put into market by the house of C. G. Hussey & Co., which has continued the business without interruption since 1849. Be it also said to his credit that Dr. Hussey was the first man in this country to successfully make crucible cast-steel in large quantities, and did so in the face of the utmost opposition and discouragement and prophecies of failure. His Anglo-Saxon pluck and grit spurred him on to renewed endeavors, and the ultimate result was success in its fullest sense. In 1862 he made a trip to Europe, visited various steelworks in England, and at various times improved many of his earlier methods and the mammoth steelworks he established came to cover five acres of Pittsburg's land, and were filled with massive and costly machinery. Many men find employment here and the products of the works are sent to all parts of the country and are highly meritorious. Dr. Hussey weathered many a financial gale successfully and creditably, and at all times his good judgment, tact and business ability served to stimulate and encourage those around him. He was undoubtedly the pioneer of the copper and steel industries of Pittsburg—industries for which the city is world wide famous. His explorations were among the first in California in 1849, and it was truthfully stated of him many times that what he did not know about mines and mining was hardly worth knowing. He was of a very patriotic disposition, a thorough American, was charitable and benevolent and was always especially interested in educational matters, being one of the trustees of the Western University and one of the founders of the School of Design for Women. Politically he was in accord with the Republican party, and in his religious views was of the same belief as his ancestors—a Quaker. In 1839 he was married to Rebecca, daughter of James

and Susana (Jackson) Updegraff, of Ohio, and to them five children have been born, only one of whom is living at the present time, Mrs. E. B. Alsop. Dr. Hussey's life was a useful, active and honorable one, his friends were legion and were numbered among all classes, from the highest to the lowest. Everybody was his friend, and his death, which occurred April 25, 1893, was felt as a personal loss by all who knew him, and an incalculable loss to the city which he had done so much to build up.

Joseph Loughrey was a man of mark among his self-made fellows; not that he was notably great, but rather, notably a good man. He won his way from poverty to affluence by such fair, honest effort that no one ever said, or thought, that he had been wronged or deceived by him. On the contrary, everyone who had dealings with him, or came in contact with him in any way, recognized in him a true neighbor. He was born in County Derry, Ireland, April 22, 1825, and came to this country with his parents when he was eight years of age. Two years later he was apprenticed to Samuel McClurken, harness and saddle maker, 438 Wood Street, the same place where he afterward carried on the same business, and where it is still continued under the name of Joseph Loughrey & Son. Through rare business qualifications and fair dealing he succeeded in establishing an extensive business and, what was better, good credit, so that when the war broke out and there was great demand for saddles and harness he had no difficulty in securing large and profitable contracts from the Government; and it is a matter of record that no piece of work ever left his shop that did not fill the specifications to the letter. At the time of Lee's raid into Pennsylvania he led his force of more than 200 hands to work on the fortifications, paying them the same wages they were getting in the shop. After the close of the war he became interested for a time with his brother Thomas in steamboating, but without relinquishing his regular business. Being impressed with the idea that there was greatness in store for Pittsburg, he invested largely in real estate. His judgment concerning the growth of the city, and the direction it would take, led him to make investments which steadily and rapidly increased in value so that his fortune was soon made. On account of the death of his father while he was yet an apprentice, which threw upon his young shoulders the responsibility of caring for the family, he had small opportunity for getting an education. This may, in a measure, have led him to take a deep interest in educational affairs in after life. For many years he was a school director, and a trustee and one of the principal founders of the Pittsburg Female College. He was also notable for the interest he took in church affairs, being a trustee of the Smithfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church until the Oakland Methodist Episcopal Church was built, for which he donated the site, besides contributing to its construction. He afterwards united with Christ Methodist Episcopal Church, and was mainly instrumental in having the new edifice located at Center and Aiken avenues. As a citizen he was ever thoughtful of the city's interests, was one of the first to suggest the establishment of a park, and pointed out the present site as the most desirable, although there were but few to agree with him at that time. In matters relating to finances, and to investments, the city afterward became his debtor for suggestions, or more substantial aid and assistance. The extent of Mr. Loughrey's philanthropy will never be fully known. He gave freely to public charities, and contributed generously whenever money was needed to be used in any good cause. But his greater delight seemed to be in helping those who needed help, and he did it so quietly that even members of his own family knew of it only from those who had been helped, if they knew of it at all. And when he came to close his earthly accounts, he also closed the accounts of many who were his debtors by removing all evidences of their indebtedness. It is not too much to say that Joseph Loughrey was one of Pittsburg's ablest and most loyal



citizens. The family he left behind is a more desirable legacy to the city, and to society in general, than millions in money, or piles of magnificent masonry. He died May 9, 1895.

Thomas M. Howe. It is difficult to estimate the benefit which this sagacious and able business man and upright citizen conferred upon Pittsburg and in fact upon the State of Pennsylvania. He was at all times the friend and advocate of industrial advancement, and the leader in all reforms which had for their object the prosperity of this city and the commonwealth. He identified himself with the most vigorous growth of the interests of both labor and capital, and gave to this city the best years of his life in his endeavor to make it, as he largely did, the pride of subsequent generations. He was descended from John Howe, who came to the New England colonies prior to 1638, and settled at Sudbury, Mass., and whose descendants afterward became prominently identified with the growth of the New World and participated with distinction in its struggle with the Indians, the French and finally with the mother country. The father of Thomas M. was a pioneer, who, in 1817, removed from Vermont to Bloomfield Township, Trumbull County, Ohio,

Thomas M. Howe was born in Williamstown, Vermont, April —, 1808. He received a good education at the famous Warren Academy at Warren, Ohio. He left home before reaching his majority, to battle with life on his own account and accepted a clerkship in the dry goods store of Mason & McDonough of Pittsburg, where he continued for some time, and then was employed by S. Baird & Co. in the same line. During this period he learned a great deal regarding business. The canal was being built and Pittsburg was in a flourishing condition, and Mr. Howe realized that the city was destined to become one of the strongest centers of manufactures in the United States. He entered into partnership with Leavitt & Co., hardware dealers, and later Wallace, Howe & Co., hardware dealers, and soon made rapid strides in wealth and commercial importance. In 1839 he was elected cashier of the Exchange Bank, in which capacity, during the terrible times from 1840 to 1845, he exhibited marked business ability and developed exceptional skill in mastering the emergencies of panics and hard times. He was drawn into politics and became a staunch supporter of what was then called "the American system," which demanded protection to home manufactures, and thus was a strong supporter of General Harrison for the Presidency in 1840. He made a profound study of State and national affairs, and during the decade of the forties was prominent in the councils of the Whigs. His ability, fearlessness, candor and energy elected him to Congress in 1850, and reelected him in 1852, during which time he greatly aided the Whigs in shaping national legislation and in laying the foundations for the Republican party. Upon the birth of this party he earnestly supported its principles, and in 1860 became one of the electors of Pennsylvania who cast their votes for Lincoln and Hamlin. In 1859 his friends brought his name into the Republican convention for the governorship and worked hard to secure his nomination, but he was defeated by a narrow margin by Governor Curtin, whom he afterward cordially supported. He was appointed assistant adjutant-general on the Governor's staff, and during the Rebellion rendered most efficient service to maintain the integrity of the government. In 1864 his friends urged him to accept the nomination for State treasurer, but for private and business reasons he declined. In 1874 his name was brought forward again by his friends for Secretary of the United States Treasury but he again withdrew his name. He disliked the bitterness engendered in political life and at his age preferred the quietude of home.

In 1851 Mr. Howe was elected President of the Exchange Bank and held that office until the pressure of other duties required its relinquishment. He was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce at its origin and held it con-



tinuously until his death in 1877. Much of its success and usefulness was due to his sagacity. About 1840 he assisted in organizing the Pittsburgh and Boston Mining Company and was elected its secretary and treasurer. It was designed to work the Lake Superior copper regions, which field of operation was visited by Mr. Howe in person. The company prospered exceedingly. In 1871 he sold his interest therein to Boston capitalists. He helped to organize the firm of C. G. Hussey & Co., copper manufacturers of this city, with which he was identified until his death. He was also a member of the steel manufacturing firm of Hussey, Wells & Co., afterward Hussey, Howe & Co.—now Howe, Brown & Co., Limited—and in this connection did incalculable good with money and measures to make Pittsburgh the greatest steel center in the world. He was at all times full of public spirit and business grit and had the unlimited confidence of his business associates and fellow citizens. He participated in the construction of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad; was one of the incorporators of the Allegheny Cemetery and president of its board of managers for thirty years; was for the same period of time a vestryman of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church and warden and vestryman of Calvary Church after its origin; was for many years a member of the Diocesan standing committee and twice a deputy to the General Convention, and at all times was regarded as one of the city's strongest contributors to charitable and benevolent enterprises. He died July 20, 1877, lamented by the entire city, the citizens of which yet speak with pleasure of his eminent public services, his unblemished character, his great ability and his useful life. His memory will long remain green in the hearts of all who had the honor of his acquaintance. His home life was a solace to him and his wife his confidant and companion. Her advice and sympathy assisted him in his trials with the busy world and together they went hand in hand in benevolent work. At their beautiful home is a fine natural spring of pure water over which Mrs. Howe has erected a large and costly memorial fountain which she has presented to the city in honor of her late husband. The sons of Mr. Howe are prominent business men here: useful and respected citizens.

Mr. Howe was married December 13, 1833, to Mary A. Palmer, daughter of the Rev. Anthony A. Palmer and Mary Bryan Palmer, of Philadelphia. Mrs. Howe is still living. Two sons and five daughters are now living: Wm. R. Howe and George A. Howe, of the firm of Howe, Brown & Co., Limited; Mrs. James H. Childs, Mrs. James W. Brown, Mrs. George W. Guthrie, Mrs. F. B. Nimick, Mrs. W. D. Corcoran.

David Hostetter, a distinguished business man, financier and railroad projector, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, January 23, 1810. His father was a cultivated physician of extensive practice, widely known and highly esteemed in that portion of the State. The boyhood of Mr. Hostetter was spent upon a farm, owned and cultivated by his father, where he was free to devote his time to reading and study. Having obtained a thorough English education, at the age of sixteen he set out to "make his way in the world." His first employment was in a dry goods store in Lancaster, with Christopher Hager, where he remained seven years, beginning as a "boy" and ending as "chief clerk and manager." On leaving Mr. Hager's employ, he entered into the same line of business, and was actively engaged in building up a successful trade when the gold fever broke out in California, and he like many others, became possessed of the desire to seek his fortune in the new El Dorado. Leaving his partner in charge of the business he started from New York, on April 15, 1850, for California, crossed the Isthmus on a mule, and passed a dreary wait of three months at Panama. His experience there was fraught with exciting events and dangerous surroundings, both from the dreaded Isthmus fever and the cut-throats and robbers who infested Panama at that time; and it was with feelings of great

relief that he heard of the arrival of the steamer on which his passage was engaged. The trip to San Francisco occupied three weeks, and was made memorable by the death of seven of the passengers from the Isthmus fever. On his arrival at San Francisco he found the country overrun with prospectors, and after a few weeks' experience in the gold-fields, he gave up the uncertainty of prospecting, and invested his remaining capital in the grocery business, where the prospect of success was excellent; but within a month, all that he possessed was swept away by one of those conflagrations for which San Francisco was then noted, and to which, from the combustible nature of its buildings, it was constantly exposed. Though left absolutely penniless, he did not despair, but strove in every way to find another opening for employment of some kind in California. Failing in this, he determined to return to his native State, and in a short time was again in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, ready to take hold with his partner in the business he had left behind. It would seem as though he was destined to pass through a series of failures and disappointments at that period of his life to prepare him for the future, for after the dangers, disappointments, and privations of his California trip, he was only to discover on his return that his partner had absconded, leaving their firm deeply involved in debt; and probably there still survive some of the creditors of this firm who remember with pleasure receiving some years afterward from Mr. Hostetter every dollar owed them by this firm, with interest up to the very day of payment. He never rested day or night until all the creditors had been paid in full. His first employment after his return from California was as paymaster with McEvoy & Clark, contractors of the Pennsylvania Railroad, at Horseshoe Bend. Two years later he determined to put in operation a project he had long entertained, but had delayed for lack of capital; this was the manufacture of Hostetter's Bitters, an article which has now become world-famed and a staple in trade. Mr. Hostetter obtained the formula for this tonic from his father (who had satisfied himself of its excellent qualities during a long medical practice) and associated with him George W. Smith, a former resident of Lancaster, and who had been with him at Horseshoe Bend. They removed to Pittsburg, and founded the firm of Hostetter & Smith. It was in the introduction of this article that Mr. Hostetter showed his tireless energy and perseverance, traveling constantly as he did, from Maine to California, meeting with success and disappointment alternately; and so continuing with nothing but his own energetic nature to depend upon, he pressed forward, until success slowly but surely crowned his efforts. Having firmly established the reputation and sale of the bitters, he gave his attention to numerous enterprises calculated to foster and promote the trade and welfare of Pittsburg. He was one of the founders of the Fort Pitt National Bank, and for fourteen years or over, he was one of the directors of the Farmers' Deposit National Bank. He took a prominent part in the inception and promotion of railroad enterprises, and it was largely through his efforts, backed by subscription to its capital, that the Pittsburg and Lake Erie Railroad was built, forming with its connections an air line to Cleveland and a direct line to New York, Chicago and the West. He was one of the directors of the company from its organization, and for many years held its vice-presidency. He was also president of the Pittsburg, McKeesport and Youghiogheny Railroad Company, and was one of the prime movers and promoters for the building of the South Pennsylvania Railroad, which, had it been carried through to completion as originally laid out, would have been of immeasurable advantage to the city of Pittsburg. He was always ready with capital, experience and personal influence to aid in forwarding any railroad enterprise that promised to be of any benefit to the trade of the city. Mr. Hostetter was one of the first to take hold of the natural-gas problem; he invested freely of his money to aid in the development of this great source of wealth, and constructed and carried through

to completion the first lines of pipe from the natural-gas fields to the city of Pittsburg. As president of the Pittsburg Gas Company, he brought it up from an old-style, antiquated gas-works to one of the most improved and modern plants in the country. The Allegheny gas-works were also, through his energetic influence, improved and modernized; and though not a gas engineer in any sense, his knowledge gained by personal experience in this business convinced those interested with him that his judgment in the management of these companies was sound and productive of good results. He was interested also in the East End Gas Company and Consolidated Gas Company, and served as director in both companies. Such an extensive connection with the utilization of this natural product could not fail to draw his attention very fully to its possibilities, and in consequence he was one of the few great capitalists who mastered the subject in its numerous and intricate details. From first to last he was courageous and active in making and ascertaining the trying and varied experiments which have culminated in rendering this important agent one of the most valuable servants of man.

In common with many others, Mr. Hostetter was early interested in the oil business, and in 1869 he made a venture in this direction which involved him in loss and litigation. In 1875 he engaged in the building of the Columbia Conduit Pipe Line from Millerstown to Pittsburg, a distance of thirty miles. In opening this line for business he encountered the opposition of the Pennsylvania Company. In attempting to cross the tracks of the West Penn Railroad Company with the line of pipe, a bitter fight ensued between the two companies at this point, and he personally superintended the holding of their position with his men until the commencement of the litigation between the companies, and the novel means was then adopted of carrying the oil across the tracks by a line of tank wagons by which the pipe-line was enabled to keep up a constant flow. He then endeavored to negotiate with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for the transportation of the oil from Pittsburg to the seaboard; but not being successful in his efforts, and becoming disgusted after so long a struggle, he sold out his interest in the business to the Standard Oil Company, of Cleveland, in 1877, receiving therefor enough to make good his previous losses in the oil business. Many more details might be given, if space would permit, to show Mr. Hostetter's intense energy and activity. He was a gentleman of strong brain and will power, possessing excellent administrative talent, and was a tireless worker and thinker. His success in life was due not to accident or chance, but was the result of his unfailing energy and clear-sightedness. He was a Republican, a believer in a protective tariff, and took a deep and abiding interest in the city of Pittsburg and its prosperity. Indeed, in that city so noted for the activity and public spirit of its wealthy citizens, there were few who equaled the subject of this sketch in energy, judgment and courage. Having a firm faith in the future of the city, which he believed holds a strategic point in the commercial advance of the country, he was unwearying in his devotion to its interests and development, repeatedly risking large amounts of his capital, and always ready and willing to back his pet industries. The wisdom of his course finds its best attestation in his great personal popularity and in the magnificent fortune which he accumulated. Identified with Pittsburg for fully thirty-five years, during the larger part of this period as an investing capitalist, he ranked among the patriarchs of the city, respected and esteemed by all. Mr. Hostetter was married July 13, 1854, to Miss Rosetta, daughter of Randall Rickey, of Cincinnati, and four sons and one daughter were born to this union. During his active business life he enjoyed unusually good health, but within two years of his death he was suddenly stricken with a malady which caused him intense suffering, and on the afternoon of November 6, 1888, in the city of New York, he passed peacefully away, sur-

rounded by his stricken family. In the death of Mr. Hostetter the city of Pittsburg lost one of its most worthy citizens, who, as already stated, had ever labored zealously for its welfare and prosperity. His acts of charity were many, and those in distress who sought him never left empty-handed. Although he made no display of his good works, he was identified with many movements looking to the relief of suffering humanity, and his name will ever stand on record with his honored fellow citizens as a bright and shining example of duty well performed throughout a strenuous, coherent, and useful life.

General James Kennedy Moorhead. The sketch here given is a tribute paid to the memory of a man whose noble and honorable life was an example to all, for he was prominent in the affairs of State and country, was one of the pioneers of Pittsburg, and, while laboring for the benefit of those about him, and for those who might come after him, accumulated a comfortable fortune, and left behind him a name synonymous with all that is upright and honorable in life. He was born in Halifax, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in 1806, the eldest scion of his father's house, and was but eleven years of age when the father died. The latter came to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, from the north of Ireland in 1798, but in 1806 removed to a farm he had purchased a few miles above Harrisburg, and until 1815 was busily engaged in clearing and improving this property, and the remaining two years of his life resided in Harrisburg. He was a cultivated and intelligent gentleman, and was made collector of internal revenue by President Madison in 1814, of the district in which he lived. After his death his widow placed much of her dependence for a living upon her eldest son James, as her husband had left his business affairs in an unsettled condition, and as a natural consequence his opportunities for obtaining an education were very limited, and were confined almost wholly to his first two years of residence in Harrisburg. They leased the farm which they had previously owned, and there the youthful James learned such lessons of industry, perseverance, self-command and reliance that were of incalculable benefit and the chief characteristics of his later years. After a time he decided to learn a trade, and accordingly became a tanner's apprentice in the Pequa settlement, Lancaster County, and by his honesty and faithfulness to the interests of his good old Quaker employer, became foreman of the business before the term of his service had expired. During this time he pursued his studies as best he could alone, and in 1828 decided to embark in business for himself, and with a brother-in-law he built a tannery at Montgomery's Ferry, but did not long remain in this business, for with Mr. Montgomery, his brother-in-law, he took a contract for a portion of the Susquehanna division of the Pennsylvania Canal, and so congenial was this employment to him that he decided to continue the work. While thus engaged he planned a line of light packet boats on the canal, for the exclusive use of passengers, and the result was the establishment of the Pioneer Packet line between Philadelphia and Pittsburg. His connection with this enterprise called Mr. Moorhead to Pittsburg in 1836, where he at once identified himself with the best interests of the place, and was one of the most useful in its development and upbuilding. Very active was he in making the Monongahela River navigable, an enterprise which has been of the utmost benefit to the Monongahela valley and Pittsburg, and also to all towns and cities located on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. His labors were pursued under the most discouraging circumstances, but with characteristic energy and the display of the most practical business methods, he bent the force of circumstances to his will, and in time achieved the most gratifying success. He was president of the company for the improvement of this river from 1846 until the day of his death in 1884, and his successor was his son, M. K. Moorhead, who died January 13, 1897. His operations were not confined to this work alone, however, for in 1838 he was offered the important position of adjutant-general



of the State, filled it a short time, then resigned. In this manner he secured his title of General, which he unsuccessfully tried to shake off many times. In other parts of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and elsewhere he built many locks, dams, bridges, reservoirs, etc., and his work was always thoroughly done. In 1840, with other gentlemen of Pittsburg, he established the Union Cotton factory in Allegheny City, of which he was made chief manager, but after the usual ups and downs of the average business enterprise, the factory was burned, and General Moorhead's residence with it. The buildings were insufficiently insured, and the loss fell heavily on the General, but his courage and determination soon placed him on his feet again, financially, and the following year he became a partner in the Novelty Works of Pittsburg, after which he was engaged in many of the industrial and commercial pursuits of the Keystone State. He became president of the Atlantic and Ohio Telegraph Company and the Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Louisville Telegraph Company, both of which he helped to form, and these lines finally became a part of the great Western Union combination. He was always interested in public and political affairs, was fearless and outspoken for what he believed to be right, and vehement in his denunciation of what in his estimation was wrong and detrimental to his section. First a Democrat in politics, he became a Republican at the birth of that party, and in 1858, contrary to his wishes, he became the Republican nominee of his district for Congress, was elected and served three successive terms, declined a fourth nomination, but, notwithstanding, was sent back a fourth and fifth time, when he declined to be returned in so emphatic a manner that his wishes were respected, and he retired to a much needed and well earned rest. His services in Congress extended over a very trying period—that of the Civil War and reconstruction—but he always displayed the utmost love of country, intelligence and activity. He was chairman of various committees, and at all times his methods were so open and direct and so courageous withal, there never was a doubt as to his position on any question. He was faithful to every duty, was an intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton, and therefore wielded no inconsiderable influence with the War Department, and in the kindness of his heart, it was always for the interests of the soldiers and their families. Praise of his many noble qualities of heart and head would fill a volume, suffice it to say that he was a model man in every relation in life, and universally respected and beloved. He was postmaster of Pittsburg during Van Buren's administration, was chairman of the Republican county committee during the Garfield campaign, and his last appearance in any public capacity was in 1882, when he presided over a meeting in the memorable Wolf campaign. From 1849 until his death he was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and was always one of its most generous and active supporters. He was also connected with many prominent educational institutions, director in a number of banks, insurance companies and other commercial enterprises, and was a leader in each. December 17, 1829, he was married to Miss Jane Logan, of Lancaster County, and a long and happy married life was granted them. They celebrated their golden wedding December 17, 1879, and were happy in the presence of numerous descendants and in messages of congratulation from all parts of the Union. At his death, which was universally lamented, he left two sons and three daughters: Max K., William J., Mrs. Dr. J. B. Murdoch, Mary E. and Henrietta L., who are proud to bear his name, and who revere and cherish his memory.

Thomas Shields Clarke. The value to any community of a business man is not marked merely by the amount of money that he makes or the magnitude of his business operations, but also by his character, his honorable adherence to business ethics and his personal integrity and desire to "do as he would be



done by." So great was the influence wielded by Thomas Shields Clarke during his lifetime, in everything pertaining to the welfare of Pittsburg, that his name will ever remain indissolubly linked with her history, and fresh in the memories of those who knew and loved him in life. He was born at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, January 18, 1801, a grandson of Thomas Clarke, a native of County Antrim, Ireland, who came to America in 1771 and settled on a farm on the Brandywine, some six miles from Wilmington, Delaware. During the famous battle of the Brandywine in 1777, Generals Proctor and Lafayette encamped on Mr. Clarke's farm, and the Marquis made his headquarters at the latter's house for some weeks. Mr. Clarke was a member of General Proctor's army, and was at one time made a prisoner by the British. After the war he sold his farm, and the continental money which he received therefor, which soon became worthless, is now in possession of his descendants. He finally removed to Washington County, Pennsylvania, and there passed from life. His wife, formerly Martha Stuart, was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland. Their son William, father of Thomas Shields Clarke, settled at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. He married Agnes Shields, daughter of Matthew Shields, and in 1804 they removed to Beaver, Pennsylvania. Thomas Shields Clarke was given the advantages of Jefferson College (Cannonsburg), after which he clerked for a time in a store belonging to an uncle at Brownsville, Pennsylvania. In 1819 he went to Wheeling, Virginia, where he was employed in the forwarding-house of Knox & McKee, and by this firm was sent with a barge load of produce to New Orleans in 1824, from which place he embarked on a vessel for New York. In 1825 he came to Pittsburg and opened a branch house for the old firm of Knox, McKee & Co., which took the style of McKee, Clarke & Co., and in 1832 became connected with the firm of D. Leech & Co. Two years later, with Captain John Vandergrift, he put in operation the first stern-wheel steamer on the Ohio River, called the "Beaver," and daily trips were made between the village of that name and Pittsburg. Later Mr. Clarke became interested in other vessels, and in 1842, in company with his brother-in-law, William Thaw, and under the firm name of Clarke & Thaw, they established the Pennsylvania and Ohio line of boats and cars, continuing up to 1855. He then became associated with George Black, W. F. Leech and George W. Harris, as a member of the firm of Leech & Co., and they were given charge of the western freight business of the Pennsylvania Railroad. William Thaw became Mr. Black's successor at the end of nine months. The books of this firm contained the names of one hundred steamers in which they owned a partial or total interest, many of which were palatial side-wheel vessels, plying between Pittsburg and New Orleans. Notwithstanding his active business life Mr. Clarke found time for many deeds of charity, and was always a generous contributor to churches and charitable societies, being especially liberal with his means during the trying times of the Civil War. He was of a kindly, generous nature, social in disposition, and his numerous laborious business occupations, instead of chilling and hardening his heart, brought him more in sympathy with his fellows, many of whom he aided in a substantial manner. He possessed a keen and practical mind, was energetic and ambitious, and his good name was ever above reproach. July 5, 1831, he was united in marriage with Miss Eliza, daughter of John Thaw, and was called upon to mourn her death August 11, 1864. He did not long survive her, for his death occurred at his home in Oakland, Pittsburg, October 19, 1867. Two children survive them: Charles J., who was for many years his father's business associate, and Agnes Shields, wife of Elias D. Kennedy, of Philadelphia.

The late Thomas Doremus Messler, well remembered in Pittsburg, was descended from staunch Holland stock, a race of pioneers in colonial America

characterized to a marked extent by industry, thrift and intelligence. He was born at Somerville, Somerset County, New Jersey, on the 9th of May, 1833, being the first son of Elma Doremus and the Reverend Dr. Abraham Messler, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, and regarded throughout the State of New Jersey as a man of eminence, piety and influence. Mr. Messler's childhood and boyhood were passed in Somerville, and there he received his early education at the old Somerville Academy, and there he was prepared to enter the freshman class of Rutgers College in New Brunswick. On the eve of his proposed entrance to college, however, he resolved to take up business instead; and, accordingly, in March, 1840, being then in his sixteenth year, he found employment with the firm of Doremus, Suydam & Nixon, in New York City, of which his uncle, Thomas C. Doremus, was the senior partner. With this firm he remained somewhat over three years, when a more favorable opportunity presented itself in an offer of a position with what was then the New York and Erie Railroad Company, now known as the Erie Railroad. Mr. Messler's first experience in the railway service commenced in the office of the company's auditor, Mr. William E. Warren, in August, 1852. In this office he worked hard and faithfully, and he soon won the esteem and confidence of the officers and employes with whom he was brought in contact. The department with which he was connected embraced the auditing of accounts, and through this circumstance he seems to have had business relations for the railroad company with a number of the prominent New York banking houses of that day. He held his position with the New York and Erie Railroad Company for four years, when, having attracted the attention of Messrs. Moran Brothers, a banking firm in New York, it was proposed that he go to Pittsburg and accept the office of secretary and auditor of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Company, a company operating a new line of railroad then about completed between Pittsburg and Chicago. To a young man of but twenty-three the offer was a tempting one in the way of increased pecuniary rewards and further possible advancement in the future, as well as being a recognition of merit and ability. But Mr. Messler had misgivings as to the propriety of the change, and he hesitated. He finally decided to accept the offer, and in August, 1856, he came to Pittsburg, and at once assumed the duties of his new office. He was now in a community to which he had hitherto been a stranger, with neither friend nor even acquaintance at the outset to extend to him a welcoming hand. With a comparatively brief experience in railway science, he found his position with this company arduous in the extreme. The department over which he had supervision had been conducted theretofore with but little method and exactness. The accounts were seemingly in a hopeless tangle, and it was for him to unravel the mass by process of a reorganization of this department on the lines of modern railway accounting as then known to and practiced by the older railway companies in the East. It was a severe task. More than a year elapsed before it was accomplished and the plan of accounting satisfactorily formulated and put in operation. It was at this time, or possibly a year or so later, that he evolved a system of railroad accounting, having for its object simplicity, comprehensiveness and classification. This method of accounting became known subsequently as the "Messler System," and it has been generally adopted by the more important railway companies of the country, with modifications, in some instances, as environment or particular conditions may have suggested.

Mr. Messler continued in the service of the old Fort Wayne Company until its lease to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, in July, 1869, having been promoted in the meantime, through various grades, to the position of assistant to the President, who will be recalled by many as the late Hon. George W. Cass. In

the interest of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, he was made comptroller of the Pennsylvania Company on July 1, 1871, and afterward, in 1876, the office of third vice-president was in addition conferred upon him. This latter company was a corporation organized in 1870 to manage and operate an extensive system of railroad lines running west of Pittsburg, and affiliated to the Pennsylvania Railroad. In later years and at different periods he became chief executive officer of many of the auxiliary corporations controlled by the Pennsylvania Company in the interest of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. He was president of the St. Louis, Vandalia and Terre Haute Railroad Company, the Cincinnati and Muskingum Valley Railroad Company, the North Western Ohio Railway Company, the East St. Louis and Carondelet Railroad Company, the Ohio Connecting Railroad Company, and the Indianapolis and Vincennes Railroad Company. In the same interests he was likewise vice-president of the Waynesburg and Washington Railroad Company, and chairman of the executive committee of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad Company. He was also a director of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' National Bank of Pittsburg, and resident chairman of the local board of the Guarantee Company of North America, a Canadian company, with a branch office in Pittsburg. He was also a trustee of the Shady Side Academy in Pittsburg. The duties of the various offices held by him he discharged with fidelity and commendable ability, particularly in the line of railway financiering, of which he early became a student, not through practice and observation alone, but through close reading of the literature bearing upon the subject. His long and honorable career in the railway service covered a period of forty-one years, namely, from August, 1852, to August, 1893. Among railroad officers he was regarded far and wide as a railroad accounting financier of conspicuous ability, remarkably clear-headed and self-poised. The commencement of the close of his active career dates from the year 1889. He had then reached the height of his usefulness and influence in official position, and was in the prime of mental vigor. But suddenly and without warning, on an excessively hot morning in July of that year, he was stricken in his office with what appeared to be apoplexy, but which was later determined to have been the bursting of a small blood vessel in the brain. As soon as possible he was taken to his home, where he lay in a precarious state for some weeks. By the first of August he was removed to Cresson Springs in the Alleghany Mountains. Here he commenced to improve slowly, and early in the following year he was able to again take up the thread of work. He never afterward, however, regained complete strength. His health was broken. In 1891 he gave up many of his responsible duties, but he still retained the office of third vice-president of the Pennsylvania Company. From this period on his strength declined perceptibly. In the following year irregularity of the heart action appeared. The closing years of his life were marked by the same steadfastness, courage and patience into which he had, in his younger days, so well schooled himself. In July, 1893, owing to increasing weakness, he again went to the mountains, where, shortly after his arrival, he was obliged to confine himself to his room. He rapidly failed, and it soon became evident that he could live but a little longer. Early in the dawn of a beautiful August day, with nature just breaking into life, the angel came and beckoned. And in a moment his spirit had been translated. He was unconscious for two days before his death, and he passed peacefully away at the Mountain House, Cresson, at twenty minutes past 5 o'clock in the morning of August 11, 1893. Here ended a noble life, crowned with success and honor.

Mr. Messler was married at Poughkeepsie, New York, on June 3, 1857, to Miss Maria Remsen Varick, a daughter of John Remsen Varick and Susan Brinckerhoff Storm. Mrs. Messler survived her husband with two sons, Remsen Varick

Messler and Eugene Lawrence Messler. In personal appearance Mr. Messler was a good type of sturdy American manhood. The accompanying engraving affords a fair likeness of him as he looked a year or more before his sudden illness in 1889. His abilities and mental balance he inherited in a striking degree from his father and his grandfather before him. He possessed a certain judicial cast of mind which was always exhibited when addressing any question of importance, whether in the line of official duty, or in private conduct. In addition to the qualities of continuity of purpose, a high sense of honor and the observance of the moral obligations towards his fellow men in business intercourse, he early formed a disposition for cultivating the intellectual and æsthetic part of his nature, and an appreciation of the amenities of human life. Like his father, he was a man of scholarly tastes. Throughout many years he had gradually collected a very considerable private library, embracing a wide field of literature, and from this source he enriched his mind in extensive reading in many branches of useful and diverting knowledge. He was essentially a home-loving man, and here was most felt his kindly and strengthening presence. He was a dignified, self-respecting man, conscious in his life of rectitude and honor. Throughout all his life, from early manhood to its close, he followed in the path of high resolve. Gentlemanly and courteous in demeanor, though somewhat retiring in social intercourse, he always at once commanded respect and attention. He left, indeed, an honorable record in the community of Pittsburg. Mr. Messler was a member of the Duquesne Club, and of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, in right of his grandfather, who was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He was also a member of the Holland Society of New York, by reason of his descent in the direct male line from a Hollander, who was a resident of the American colonies prior to the year 1675.

Hon. Felix R. Brunot. This gentleman, regarded as one of the most influential, worthy and active citizens of Pittsburg, possesses a mind so well balanced, a philanthropy so unbounded and a patriotism so true, that it is a pleasure to chronicle here the events which mark his life as one of usefulness. Material wealth must not exclude the riches of character and ability in recounting the virtues which have been brought to this country by its citizens, and among its most potent factors must be estimated the lives of those citizens who have by their intelligence and eminence in the higher walks of endeavor, assisted in raising the standard of life and thought in the communities in which they have settled. To this class belongs the Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburg, who was born in the arsenal at Newport, Kentucky, February 7, 1820, where his father, who was an officer in the regular army, was located. In 1821 the family removed to Pittsburg, and five years later the father retired from the army and took up his residence on a large tract of land on which the Union Depot is now located. At the age of fourteen, Felix was sent to Jefferson College at Cannonsburg, where he was thoroughly educated. Upon leaving college he became a civil engineer and followed this occupation until 1842, when he engaged in milling at Rock Island, Illinois, and also conducted a store at Camden, on Rock River. He was very successful financially, but in 1847 returned to Pittsburg and became a silent partner in the firm of Singer, Nimick & Co., steel manufacturers, with which he has ever since been connected. From his boyhood days Mr. Brunot has taken a deep interest in all moral reforms, and has aided them with purse and influence whenever an occasion has presented itself. Upon the opening of the great Civil War he found ample scope for his philanthropic labors, and in this broader field did a grand and useful service. Although offered a high military position he refused it after due consideration and decided to follow out a line of work of his own where he was sure he could accomplish more good. The sick

and wounded in hospital and on the field appealed to his kindly heart and his warm sympathies, and he decided to go, at his own expense, to their aid. He responded to the cry of suffering which arose from the bloody battlefield of Shiloh, and was placed in charge of two relief boats fitted out at Pittsburg with medicines and other needed supplies, and, with a small party, made his way to Pittsburg Landing, where he began his work of relief. Many of the sick and wounded were carried to the boats and conveyed to Pittsburg, but many lives ended during the voyage. After his return home, Mr. Brunot was taken seriously ill with blood poisoning, but upon recovering, again returned to his field of labor, and wherever his services were needed there he could be found, no matter how near to danger it might be, and herculean were the labors he performed. He had received a pass from Secretary Stanton which permitted him to go through the lines at all places, and thus his labors were unrestricted. Anticipating the battles before Richmond, Mr. Brunot was placed in charge of twenty-five surgeons, cadets and others and sent to do hospital work at the front. They were at Savage Station several weeks, then at Gaines Mills, and, owing to McClellan's change of base, the Union troops, with which Mr. Brunot and his band were, were ordered to retreat, but Mr. Brunot would not do so for the reason that many of the wounded under his care would have to be abandoned. The Confederates soon occupied the vacated position, and Mr. Brunot was promised protection if he would care for the Confederate wounded also, which he agreed to do. At the end of one week the Confederate authorities broke their word, and he and his whole party were conveyed to Libby Prison, although he was given special privileges as a physician. Eight days later, under pledge, he was allowed to go to Washington to negotiate an exchange of himself and two of his companions for two prominent Southerners who were in the hands of the Federal authorities under grave charges. When he made known his mission to Secretary Stanton, his personal friend, the latter with regret, explained that it could not be done, and advised Mr. Brunot not to go back to Richmond as, according to army regulations, he was unlawfully detained. True to his word, however, Mr. Brunot returned, and before long was exchanged, and during the remainder of the war he continued unremittingly his labors for his suffering fellows. He was three times compelled to return home on account of sickness, but as soon as his health permitted he would return to his work. When the war closed his health was shattered and his physicians advised change of scene. He and his wife made a three months' tour through Europe, and slowly health returned to him. When Grant became President Mr. Brunot, in 1868, was placed at the head of the famous board of Indian commissioners, where he did grand work for the red man, and aroused a public sentiment in their favor which has remained undiminished to the present day. Through personal contact with the Indian they gained a definite knowledge of his wrongs and grievances, and great good resulted from this quest and many wrongs were righted. In the capacity of chairman, Mr. Brunot entered heart and soul into this work, and five summers were spent among the different tribes in Wyoming, Colorado, California, Washington, Oregon and Montana. The results of his conferences were sent to the President, and were full of absorbing interest and of eloquent appeals for the rights of poor Lo, but were not as cordially supported at Washington as they deserved to be. Mr. Brunot has, however, labored unceasingly for his red brother, and has addressed the public through the medium of the press, the platform and by personal appeal, and has been very earnest and outspoken in his views. In every respect Mr. Brunot has been a humanitarian, and has shown in his work that not only is he a man with a large heart, but of broad mind and fine brain also. He has for years been an active member of St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church of Pitts-



burg, is a director of the Western Pennsylvania Hospital, the Allegheny Cemetery, one of the managers of the Western University, a director of the Monongahela Navigation Company, director of the Bank of Pittsburg, and also of the Safe Deposit Company. He was one of the prime movers in founding the Mercantile Library, and, for many years, was president. While devoting his life for the good of others, he has been ably seconded by his wife, who is an intelligent Christian woman, and whose tastes along the line of philanthropy and charity have ever been in accord with those of her noble husband.

James Callery. Like many other eminent men of Pittsburg and environs, James Callery was a native of Ireland, his birth occurring in County Roscommon in 1833. His youth was spent amid humble surroundings, and his education, though well grounded, was limited to the rudiments of good English. His parents were Catholics, to the requirements of which faith he conformed during his eventful life. At the age of about sixteen, actuated by the praiseworthy motives of bettering his affairs, he crossed the ocean to America and began learning the trade of tanning in Newark, New Jersey. Having mastered this occupation, he came to Pittsburg, secured employment in one of the tanneries here, and from the start saved his surplus wages and led a moral and industrious life. Having acquired the necessary means, he bought and conducted a small tannery at Bakerstown, this State, and so rapidly progressed that in 1860 he bought the Duquesne Tannery from the Taggart Brothers, of Allegheny City, which he operated profitably and extensively. During the war he was almost overwhelmed with orders, but amplified his operations to the full capacity of his works, labored night and day, and made a large sum of money by the advance of prices and the extent of his trade. In 1868 the Pittsburg Tanning Company was organized, of which Mr. Callery was made president, though still retaining his ownership in the well-known Duquesne Tannery; but two years later the property of both organizations was swept away by fire, entailing a considerable loss. Mr. Callery soon afterward bought the old tannery of Hays & Stewart, succeeding to its large business, and naming the same "The Duquesne Tannery." The capacity of these works and their immense and varied trade, tested the business ability of Mr. Callery, and brought into full play his executive powers and sagacity. By wise business methods and judicious investments and improvements, he soon had control of one of the largest works of the kind in the United States, with a trade that exceeded the bounds of the country. Three thousand sides of leather weekly were the average product of the works at the height of their prosperity. Mr. Callery was thus rewarded for his industry, patience and square dealing by the accumulation of a comfortable fortune, which he pluckily invested in numerous business enterprises, the most of which proved highly successful. He perhaps did more than any other man to place the Pittsburg and Western Railroad on a profit-paying basis. He was first a director and then its president, in which position he gave an admirable example of what energy, untiring persistence and ability can accomplish. He changed it from a narrow to a standard gauge, extended it from Callery Junction (named for himself) to Butler, made it prosperous, bought up the Parker and Karns City Railroad, and the Pittsburg and Bradford Railroad, leading to oil regions of importance, and made it one of the best dividend-paying roads entering Pittsburg. He assisted in establishing the City Savings Bank, was first a director and then president, and at all times counseled those prudent and conservative lines of action which distinguished the bank for its strength and soundness. In many other fields of exertion he was likewise active and prominent—director in the City Insurance Company, West End Passenger Railway Company, Pittsburg and Fairport Coal Company, Second Avenue Passenger Railway Company, Excelsior Express Company, Standard Cab Com-

pany, and president of the Union Bridge Company and the Troy Hill Incline Plane Company, in all of which and in others, including the Shaner Gas Coal Company, he owned stock. He was thus one of the most active business men of his time, and contributed incalculable good to this portion of the State, and particularly to these cities and their suburbs. He became a tower of strength in local politics. Though a Democrat in a Republican stronghold, the influence he exerted is felt to this day. He was burgess of old Duquesne Borough, Allegheny, and afterward, when it had become the Eighth Ward, became its representative in the Select Council; though the ward was heavily Republican. In this position he did much for the improvement of the city. He was a member and a regular attendant of St. Peter's Catholic Church, and as such wielded a great influence in this diocese. He was an incorporator of St. Mary's Cemetery and new Calvary Cemetery, and was one of the most lavish givers to the various charitable institutions. He left the imperishable imprint of his generosity, his judgment and his high character on the public institutions of Western Pennsylvania. In his early manhood he married Miss Downing, of Pittsburg, and to them were born four children—James D., William, Charles, and Rose—all living, and the son prominent in business circles and useful in citizenship. A short time before his death, which occurred April 5, 1889, he removed from Allegheny to Stanton Avenue, East End, Pittsburg, where he contemplated building a palatial home on North Hiland Avenue, but death cut him down ere he could accomplish this design. A large concourse of people gathered at his obsequies to pay their last tribute to his exalted character and his moral and useful life. Bishop Phelan delivered a touching and merited eulogy on his character and career.

Charles Lockhart. This prominent man was born at the Cairn Heads, near Whithorn, in Wigtownshire, Scotland, August 2, 1818. His father, John Lockhart, was the son of Charles Lockhart, of Ersock, a prosperous farmer and a prominent and influential man in his shire. His mother, Sarah Walker, was the daughter of James Walker, a linen manufacturer of Sorbie, a man of rare business and intellectual qualities. From this ancestry Mr. Lockhart inherited the abilities which have made him a prominent factor in the business world. When seven years of age he went to live with an uncle, John Marshall, a merchant at Garliestown, a seaport on Wigtown Bay. He remained with him, with the exception of one year, until he was sixteen years of age, attending school and assisting in the store. Early in 1836 his parents decided to come to America, and, with their family of seven children, reached New York after a voyage of fifty-six days. They came direct to Pittsburg, but shortly after moved to a farm in Trumbull County, Ohio, where, however, they remained but a short time, returning to Pittsburg.

Charles Lockhart did not go with his parents to Ohio, but remained in Pittsburg, where he found employment with James McCully, with whom he remained for nineteen years, and in 1855 he became one of the firm of James McCully & Co., the other partner, besides Mr. McCully, being the late Mr. William Frew, who was a nephew of Mr. McCully. This partnership was continued until April 1, 1865, when it was dissolved. It was while a clerk in the store of Mr. McCully that Mr. Lockhart made his first venture in the oil business, in which he afterward became so largely interested, and one of the chief factors in the development of that great industry. His first deal in oil was the purchase of three barrels, in 1852, from Isaac Huff, who was part owner in a salt well in Westmoreland County, from which well Mr. McCully obtained a large amount of the salt in which he dealt. Disposing of this oil at a considerable profit, Mr. Lockhart conceived the idea that there was a great future in the business, and, against the advice of Mr. McCully, purchased a controlling interest in the salt

well from which this oil was taken, and from that time, April, 1853, until the present, he has been an oil producer. Associated with him in this venture was Mr. A. V. Kipp, who was the active partner—Mr. Lockhart remaining with Mr. McCully—and this partnership was only dissolved by the death of Mr. Kipp, in 1896. After the discovery of oil at Oil Creek in 1859, by Colonel Drake, Mr. Lockhart sent a representative to investigate the field, and the report being favorable, a company was organized under the firm name of Phillips, Frew & Co., Mr. Lockhart being a member of the firm. Land was bought and leased, and active operations begun at once on the Major Downing Farm, where, in March, 1860, the first oil was struck, and sixty-four barrels of the fluid were shipped by the steamboat "Venango" to Pittsburg, being the first oil, in quantity, to reach this market. In May, 1860, Mr. Lockhart, with samples of crude and refined oil, went to Europe, and was the first person to bring to the attention of the commercial world of Europe the value of this, to them, unknown product, and the result has been of incalculable value to the oil producers of this country.

In 1860 Mr. Lockhart and Mr. Frew began the building of a refinery at Brilliant Station, which they completed in 1861. In 1862 Lockhart & Frew bought the producing interest of the firm of Phillips, Frew & Co., and, in partnership with Mr. William G. Warden, in 1865 established a commission house in Philadelphia, and this firm, Warden, Frew & Co., built the Atlantic Refinery there. Upon the organization of the Standard Oil Company in 1874, all the refineries with which Mr. Lockhart was connected were merged into that great corporation. With this corporation and its successor, the Standard Oil Trust, he has been identified. Also with many other interests, covering a wide field. Iron and glass manufacturing, timber lands in the South, mining in Colorado and other States, owning and operating two large wheat farms in the Red River Valley in Minnesota, a director for many years in the Pittsburg National Bank of Commerce, and president of the same for the past three years, besides being connected with various other financial institutions of Pittsburg. He is also interested in the International Navigation Company, which controls the American and Red Star lines of steamships. Mr. Lockhart has led a busy life, and yet amid the care and attention his many enterprises have required, he has found time to cultivate his love of Art, and to make a collection of paintings which ranks among the finest in Pittsburg, and which contains works of many of the most celebrated artists. In the pursuits of business the dominant qualities of his mind have been developed along those lines that have placed him in the foremost rank of successful men; but not less has been the development of the qualities of his heart, kindness, generosity, and love of that which is good and true. He has given liberally in many directions in the fields of philanthropy and charity, without ostentation or display, in keeping with the modest and unassuming character of the man. A member of the United Presbyterian Church all his life, he has made it the recipient of many generous gifts. Mr. Lockhart was married June 24, 1862, to Miss Jane Walker, of Scotland, and is the father of two sons and three daughters.

Alexander King was born in Milford, County Donegal, Ireland, in the year 1816, and left his native land at the age of seventeen to join relatives in Baltimore. Mr. King had received a classical education in Ireland, being intended for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. These classical studies of early youth Mr. King kept bright and familiar to the very close of his life; young, energetic and educated, of manners cultured and engaging, he easily found employment in a large wholesale grocery establishment in Baltimore. This place he filled with exemplary fidelity and diligence for three years, when he came to Pittsburg. Here he entered the store of his elder brother, R. H. King, Esq., who was then

largely engaged in the grocery business. After the lapse of a few years he began his successful mercantile career alone, and though still young in years, was ripe in training, capacity and experience. From this time the tide of his successful ventures in trade "knew no retiring ebb." It may be stated, incidentally, that Mr. King was the first merchant in this country to import from England soda-ash, which he furnished in large quantities to our numerous glass houses, and subsequently became a glass manufacturer himself. He was particularly noted for his strong force of character. The long mercantile and manufacturing life of Mr. King was one of uninterrupted prosperity, and success attended him in all the multifarious departments of his extensive business. In banking, insurance, and other institutions of which he was a director, his well known ability was recognized and valuable services appreciated. He was a close and sagacious observer of public measures and men, and when in the councils of the city of Pittsburg, took an enlightened interest in the cause of municipal retrenchment and reform. He always sought efficiency and economy in all our city affairs. He was also very much interested in the Scotch-Irish Congress and took quite an active part. Mr. King was ever foremost in the good work of alleviating the burdens of the poor and destitute, and in all his generous benefactions, rigidly obeyed the Scriptural injunction, "Let not the right hand know what the left hand doeth." He possessed a mind of a very high order, which he had wonderfully enriched by varied and extensive reading. He was familiar with the English poets from Chaucer to Tennyson, and would quote the best passages with aptness and accuracy. Until the day of his lamented demise he maintained a familiar acquaintance with all the Latin authors of his school-boy days. He was able to repeat every line of Robert Burns, and regarded the performance as no extraordinary feat. He reveled in the treasures of his large library. The memory of Mr. King was one of marvelous power; that it was truly "wax to receive and marble to retain," was obvious to all his literary friends whom he so cordially entertained and rejoiced to see around him in his palatial home at "Baywood," where a "shrubbery bloomed around him that a Shenstone might have envied." Mr. King was fond of horses and long maintained a noble stable which he drove with a consummate mastery of horse and rein. Mr. King was a most delightful and instructive companion, and as such his company was eagerly sought by the refined and enlightened; his manner, always gracious and fascinating, would not permit him to manifest impatience with dullness or stupidity. But it was in the bosom of his happy and affectionate family, he displayed the noblest traits of his amiable and domestic character, while a devoted and accomplished wife and four children joyously clustered around him and made his beautiful home resound with the choicest music and song. A more charming scene is seldom given to eyes below. Mr. King was well acquainted with music, and the songs and airs of Moore, Burns and Foster charmed him to the last. These musical gems were rendered in the highest style by his wife. His early studies necessarily compelled an acquaintance with the Scriptures. Then he was fond of quoting in his family and often impressively inculcated some high moral or charitable obligation by repeating the felicitous words of Holy Writ. His family will not soon forget the solemn reference he often made to the words of the wise king, "Oh children," said he, "read the first chapter seventh verse of Solomon's proverb, in it you will find a practical guide to the conduct of life." So lived and died an honorable, upright, self-made man, on the fifteenth of September, 1890.

A Kirk Lewis, yet well remembered by the older residents of Pittsburg, was born in this city August 24, 1815. His father, Dr. Joel Lewis, was among the earliest physicians of Pittsburg, and his mother, formerly Ann Kirkpatrick, was the daughter of Major Abraham Kirkpatrick. He received his education at

Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, where he graduated in 1835 when twenty years of age. He became a law student in the office of an uncle, Judge Charles Shaler, and in the year 1842 was admitted to the Pittsburg bar. Being of an inventive turn of mind, he devoted considerable time to the construction of appliances for mining coal in Coal Hill, but did not live to realize any advantages from the improvement. He took an active interest in public affairs, was fond of literary and artistic studies and was of a strong religious temperament. A close reasoner, logical in his deductions, quick at repartee, tenacious in his pursuit of right and justice, it was but natural that he occupied a conspicuous place in the community. His home was situated in the midst of a grove of trees on Mt. Washington which became his by right of inheritance from his grandfather. He died November 10, 1860.

John Harper was born December 5, 1811, in County Donegal, Ireland. His ancestors were English, but left that country for Ireland in the time of James I, and, through successive generations, held honorable positions in the land of their adoption. The monument of Robert Harper, his great-grandfather, with crest and coat of arms, standing to this day in the Church of England graveyard at Castle Derg, bears evidence to the place held by the family in that community. In 1820 Hugh Harper, father of the subject of this narrative, with his little family, bade farewell to the home of his fathers and came to this country, settling in Washington, D. C. A year later Hugh Harper died, leaving his disconsolate wife with her young children, to face the struggle of life. John Harper was the eldest of the children and, though but a lad of ten, he realized, with a gravity beyond his years, that henceforth he was to be the stay and support of his bereaved mother and the younger children, and he proceeded to qualify himself for that task, all too serious for his years. There was then in Washington a relative of the family, Alexander McCormick, a man of scholarly attainments and superior character. From him young Harper received instruction and fatherly counsel that developed in him a love of learning that remained with him to the end of his life. It can well be conceived that he had but little opportunity to be benefited by school training, but his native intelligence and resolute character went far to make amends for the loss of such advantages. An old friend aged nearly ninety years, writing to him a short time before his death said, in referring to his schoolboy days: "I have seen you when nights set in, if you had no other lights, reading to your brothers and sisters with the aid of burning bullrushes which you had gathered and allowed to dry so as to burn freely." The boy pursued his studies with unflagging industry in the face of all manner of discouragement, and when, in 1826, the family moved to Jefferson County, Ohio, he was a boy of far more than ordinary intelligence. Nor was his knowledge confined to any one particular branch; his studies and his reading had supplied him with a very respectable stock of information of a varied character. After seeing the family comfortably situated he secured employment in a general store at Steubenville, which carried, among other goods, a selected stock of books, and it was not long until young Harper had mastered their contents. In an adjoining establishment he had for a fellow clerk Edwin M. Stanton, and there began the friendship between them that was of life long continuance. It may well be conceived that the close association of two such strong minds as these would be of mutual advantage, and nothing in the subsequent career of either is calculated to dispel that idea, for each, in the different sphere to which Providence, in after years called him, achieved a marked success and left the impress of strong character upon all with whom he was associated. Young Harper, by his careful regard for the interests of his employer, and by his intelligence in the affairs of the business, attracted the attention of people having relations with the house.



He became an expert accountant and confidential clerk. In 1831 Malcom Leach, then a wholesale grocer of Pittsburg, having heard of him induced him to come to this city, promising him the largest salary paid any man in that line in Pittsburg. When he had been in Mr. Leach's service but one year John Snyder the then cashier of the Bank of Pittsburg, learning through Mr. Leach of his superiority as an accountant, determined to secure his services in the bank. In those days the science of banking was not the perfected system of today; honesty and good faith were the rule, and the regular practice of balancing, now indispensable, was not then customary. The first duty he was called upon to perform for the bank was to go over the books for a number of years, and it is to the credit of all connected with the bank during that time, notwithstanding the easy going methods then in vogue, that everything was found to have been all right. Here, as elsewhere, his intelligence and faithfulness won the confidence and esteem of his superiors and associates. Subsequently the directors opened a branch bank at Beaver, Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Harper was made cashier, serving as such with satisfaction. In 1857 he was elected cashier of the parent bank, Mr. Snyder having resigned. In 1865 he was chosen president, which position he filled with marked ability and universal satisfaction until his death on April 5, 1891. During his long connection with the old bank, it encountered many trying experiences, notably during the several panics that shook the business world at more or less regularly recurring intervals, but the stability of the man, and the stability of the bank, were unshaken. He was cool and collected when everywhere there were anxiety and apprehension; his sound judgment and good feeling indicated to him that the time of trouble was the time in which to extend a helping hand. On more than one occasion he stood between good men embarrassed by the general troubles, and weak men whose nerves got the better of their judgment, and averted disaster. It is not assuming too much to say that he left the impress of his wise and liberal conduct on that fine old financial institution, with which he was so long connected and so thoroughly identified, and of which all Pittsburgers are proud—the Bank of Pittsburg.

To view the life of John Harper only in connection with the financial world, would be to take but a partial and narrow view of the man. He was broad minded, public spirited, enterprising, philanthropic and patriotic. While still a young man he became associated with a number of representative men in the founding of the Western Pennsylvania Hospital, of which institution he was president for many years, and to which his son, John A. Harper, succeeded at his death. His connection with this magnificent charity was not perfunctory in its character—the duties to him were a labor of love. He was a stanch friend of Western University of Pennsylvania through many years and rejoiced in its steady popularity and growth. To him was largely due the erection of the Sixth Street suspension bridge over the Allegheny River, of which he was president until his death, at which time preparations were well under way to replace it with the present magnificent structure. He was president of the Clearing-house Association from its inception until his death, director of the Monongahela Navigation Company, trustee of the Western University, director of the Allegheny Cemetery, and one of the commissioners of Allegheny County sinking fund. His many business enterprises did not preclude his finding time to assist in the public defense during the rebellion. He was energetic, untiring in all measures tending towards the safety of the city, the comfort of the troops and the care of the wounded. Although too far advanced in years for active military service in the field, he sent one son, the lamented Major Albert M. Harper, to the front to do battle for the right. Mr. Harper accumulated a fortune, but unlike many wealthy men, he was extremely liberal and charitable, often giving in secret that his many

benefactions might not become known. After his death, when the whole city was united in paying tribute to his numerous acts of kindness, many testified to his generosity in relieving them from distress, such deeds never having reached the public ear. In the broadest and most liberal sense John Harper was a Christian gentleman, too broad to be hemmed in by the narrow lines of sectarianism, party spirit or race distinction. There was no malice in his heart, no venom on his tongue, no uncleanness on his lips. He was scholarly by virtue of his own efforts, was thoroughly familiar with English literature, was a forceful writer, contributing freely to the public prints on a variety of subjects, and at his death left a series of essays on English poets that will not suffer by comparison with similar works familiar to the reading public. It is not strange, with his literary tastes, that he wrote verse of a very creditable character during his leisure hours. His friends were numbered among the learned divines, statesmen, jurists and scientists as well as the more enlightened members of the community where he resided. But it was in his home life that Mr. Harper was seen to the best advantage. In his early life he met and married Lydia Electa Metcalf, of Cooperstown, New York, who at that time was visiting her uncle, Orlando Metcalf, Esq. This lady, in the evening of her beautiful life, is the embodiment of what her youth promised. She was blessed with a sunny temperament and a Christian spirit of which the bereavements of life have not deprived her. It is easy to understand that John Harper, blessed with such a companion, should have found home the most attractive spot on earth. With his wife, children and a fine library, many of his happiest hours were passed, and with such surroundings many of his most gracious traits of character were developed which, in after years, so endeared him to friends and neighbors. The life he led was full of hope and encouragement to the young, and is one well worthy the emulation of all poor lads who start out to the battle of life alone and unaided.

Joshua Rhodes is one of the best known among the many substantial men of Pittsburg. His start in life was that of a poor boy, and his success is all the more praiseworthy. Charles Rhodes, his father, was a native of England and a contractor. He was married to Lucy Bazin and together with his family came to the United States in 1830, residing for two years in the cities of Albany and Buffalo, New York. In 1832 he moved to Pittsburg, where he continued making his home until his death. Joshua Rhodes was born in London, England, March 19, 1824, and is one in a family of six children. He was brought up in Pittsburg and after the death of his father, which occurred when he was a small lad, he made his home with Benjamin Brown, assisting Mr. Brown in his grocery store. When twenty years old he embarked in the grocery trade upon his own responsibility at the corner of First and Smithfield streets, but in the disastrous fire of April 10, 1845, everything he had was swept away. With the enterprise which has since characterized the man, he was one of the first to rebuild in the burnt district, and from that day to the present has been continuously engaged in the various lines of mercantile pursuits. At the present time he is engaged in the manufacture of wrought-iron pipes, being the president of the Pennsylvania Tube-works. He has been, and is yet, connected with numerous other corporations. He served for a time as president of the Allegheny National Bank, and is the present vice-president of that well known financial institution. At the time of their erection he was president of the Point and Union bridges, and has also been actively interested in street railways for a number of years. His success in life was not brought about through speculation, or any sudden act; on the contrary it has been the steady progress of years of patient industry and careful management. Mr. Rhodes married Miss Eliza Haslett, by whom he is the father of five children, the following four yet living: William B., Mary, Annie and Joshua W.

Aaron French, president of the A. French Spring Company of Pittsburg, controls one of the largest industries of Western Pennsylvania, manufacturing springs for cars in this country and in Europe. He was born in Wadsworth, Medina County, Ohio, March 23, 1823; a son of Philo and Mary (McIntyre) French. Philo, who was a son of Aaron French, was born in West Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1795. He received a public school education, and after finishing his studies learned the trade of powder making with his father. The mill in which father and son were interested exploded about 1817, and they moved to New Connecticut, Ohio, then a part of the Western Reserve, settling in Wadsworth. The place was then a wilderness, and the highways for travel were paths through the woods, marked by blazed trees. Philo French cleared a farm at Wadsworth, and he added to his income by traveling for a powder house in the East, as agent. He died October, 1823, aged 28 years. His wife was a daughter of William McIntyre, a highland Scotchman. She was the youngest in a family of fourteen, all of whom lived to be over seventy-five years; she herself attained the advanced age of ninety-one, passing away in 1877. She was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Her union with Philo French was blessed with three children: Philo, born February 22, 1819; Henry, who died at the age of twenty-seven, and Aaron, the subject of this sketch. After Mr. French's death, she married Daniel Stearns, of Ohio, by whom she had six children: John M. (deceased) and Lucy, twins; William L.; David E.; Frank N.; Daniel M. (deceased), and Charles L. Aaron French attended school until twenty years of age, and then went to work on a farm. He began to learn the blacksmith's trade when he was thirteen years old, and followed it a few years, next entering the employ of the Ohio Stage Company at Cleveland, with whom he remained two years. The following year he was employed in the Gayoso House, Memphis Tennessee. He next engaged as agent in the West, for the American Fur Company. While earning his livelihood, he did his best to make up for the defects in his early education, and the year that he was twenty, he attended the Archie McGregor Academy at Wadsworth, Ohio. He left the academy in the fall of 1844 to vote for Henry Clay, and after the election went South. In 1845 he was in St. Louis, and was subsequently engaged in the manufacture of wagons with Peter Young, at Carlyle, Clinton County, Illinois. Here he was attacked with chills and fever and was ill for several months, when he was carried back to Ohio by his brother, and spent four years in comparative idleness, being too weak to attend to any business. After his recovery he entered the employ of the Cleveland, Columbus and Lake Shore Railroad Company, at Cleveland, Ohio. His first work for them was the erection of the iron work of the Painesville bridge. He was connected with this company until the summer of 1854, when he went to Norwalk, Ohio. There he worked in a blacksmith shop during the year of the cholera epidemic, being the only able-bodied man to remain through the season, and the following year he had charge of the blacksmith department of the Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad at Wellsville. His next position was that of superintendent of the blacksmith business of the Racine and Mississippi Railroad at Racine, Wisconsin, and a part of the time he acted as master mechanic. At the outbreak of the war he offered his services, but failed to pass the physical examination. In 1862 he was elected sheriff of Racine County, Wisconsin, and served two years. Before the expiration of his term of service, he started in the manufacture of car springs in Pittsburg, with Calvin Wells as partner, using the firm name now so widely known—A. French Spring Company. On starting business he rented a small place opposite the Union depot, forty by one hundred feet in dimensions, and employed only ten men. The manufacture at first was limited to the elliptic spring, of the Hazen patent. In four years the business had increased so that the firm

was obliged to provide larger accommodations and erect part of their present plant, known as No. 1; and in 1893 the working force was over 300 men. The output at present embraces all styles of spiral and elliptic springs for locomotives and passenger and street cars. Large quantities are exported to Sweden, and until recently this company furnished all the Pullman equipment in Europe. It is said that this is the largest manufactory of its kind in the world. The works occupy two blocks between Nineteenth and Twenty-first streets and a block on Smallman between Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth streets. Mr. Wells was a member of the firm for twenty years. After his withdrawal the company was reorganized, and regularly incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania, with its present name, the A. French Spring Company. It is hardly necessary to state that Mr. French is one of the ablest business men in the country. He is a prominent member of the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce. In 1848 he was married to Euphrasia Terrill of Liverpool, Medina County, Ohio; she died in 1871; she was the mother of five children, namely: Lucie, wife of Carl Retter; Ida (deceased), wife of William Phillips; Clara, wife of Charles Kaufman of Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Philo N., and Aaron (deceased). Mr. French subsequently married Caroline B. Skur of Chicago, by whom he had one child, Mary A. This daughter died at the age of eighteen. In politics Mr. French is a strong Republican. He was made a Mason in Racine Lodge No. 18, at Racine, Wisconsin, and is now Past Master of St. Johns Lodge of Pittsburg; belongs to Zerubbabel Chapter of Pittsburg, and is High Priest of the Chapter in Wisconsin. He is also a member of the Tancred Commandery of Pittsburg; is a member of the Duquesne Club, and attends and supports the Episcopal Church, of which his wife is an active member.

Captain Jacob Jay Vandergrift. This prominent capitalist and business man of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, is a native of the city, born April 10, 1827, son of William K. and Sophia (Sarver) Vandergrift and grandson of Jacob and Mary (Hart) Vandergrift. The Vandergrifts have been prominent in the affairs of the State for many years and none more so than the subject of this sketch. He was the second of nine children born to his parents and at the age of six years was placed in a private school in Pittsburg near the present site of the Dollar Savings Bank. A year later he entered the Second Ward public school and at the age of thirteen was placed in a school on Fourth Avenue, where he remained two years. He then became cabin boy on the steamboat Bridgewater, but shortly after acted in the same capacity for his uncle, John Vandergrift, owner of the steamer Pinta; later was with the Herald; the Prairie Bird (owned by his uncle and later by Levi Miller of Wheeling, West Virginia); the Rhode Island (later the Hail Columbia); the Allegheny; in 1852 became commander of the side-wheel steamer Black Diamond and became distinguished as the only captain with sufficient courage and determination to utilize the space in front in towing coal barges down the river. In 1858 he became a part owner of the Red Fox, the Conestoga, and until 1861 was engaged in towing coal from Pittsburg to New Orleans. About this time he became deeply interested in the oil business (in West Virginia) and began operations in the petroleum district but later when his plant was seized upon by the Confederate forces he returned to Pittsburg and soon after sold his barges to the National Government, fitted the Conestoga up as a gunboat and turned her over to Commodore Foote, U. S. N. Soon after he became sole owner of the Red Fox and put the vessel into the oil trade between Pittsburg and Oil City. This was the beginning of a very important, extensive and profitable business, as an illustration of which it may be stated that one fleet of oil purchased in 1863, at one dollar per barrel, was sold a little later in the same year at Pittsburg for \$12 per barrel, at a profit of \$70,000. Later Captain Vander-



grift began to acquire interests in oil producing "up Oil Creek," with Mr. Bushnell as his partner, took up his residence at Oil City and threw himself with vigor into the work of producing oil and developing the oil country. For this purpose he formed one or two companies and became interested in a railroad and pipeline, the latter taking the name of the "Star Pipe Line," which was the real commencement of the gigantic system which now prevails under the name of the "National Transit Company." This led to the establishment of other pipe-lines: Commonwealth Pipe-line, Sandy Pipe-line, Milton Pipe-line, Western Pipe-line and the Franklin Pipe-line, all of which were of the utmost importance. The Imperial Refinery, having a capacity of 2,000 barrels per day, and considered a huge enterprise at that time, was built by Captain Vandergrift and his partners. Another enterprise which the captain was active in organizing was the Oil City Trust Company, the capital of which was \$120,000, after which the following additional pipe-lines were laid: Fairview Pipe-line, Raymilton Pipe-line, Cleveland Pipe-line, and Millerstown Pipe-line, all controlled by Captain Vandergrift and his business associates. These were all finally united under the title of the United Pipe-line of Vandergrift, Forman & Co., and later with other lines as the United Pipe-lines. Of this association Captain Vandergrift was president until January 4, 1889, and to him, therefore, is attributable a very large share of the unbounded and well-merited confidence the company has always possessed, from not only the producers and holders of oil, but also the banking institutions of the country. Captain Vandergrift is associated with the leading oil companies of the State, has been the prime mover in organizing many of them, and he is also a large individual producer of oil. He has a beautiful home in East Liberty and there resides with his second wife, formerly Mrs. Frances G. (Anshutz) Hartley. His first wife was Henrietta V. Morrow, who bore him the following children: Kate V. (Mrs. Bingham of New York); Benjamin W. (deceased); Rebecca B. (deceased); Jacob J. (deceased); Daniel B. (deceased); Henrietta V. (Mrs. Johnston of West Point, New York); Margaret F. (Mrs. T. E. Murphy); Samuel H. and Joseph B. To Captain Vandergrift belongs the credit of introducing natural gas for industrial and fuel purposes in Pittsburg. He is a director in various fuel gas companies throughout the State, and had he rendered no other services to the business interests of Pennsylvania, his activity and enterprise in this direction alone would entitle him to distinguished consideration. Of his multitudinous business enterprises in Oil City and Pittsburg a volume might be written, suffice it to say that he has been a leader in many lines, banking, iron, oil, etc., and his rare business sagacity, his extraordinary vigor and energy, his uprightness and honor have largely figured in the success of the numerous enterprises with which he has connected himself. He is generous and philanthropic, a model American citizen and one whose friends are legion.

Robert Peebles Nevin, the Nestor of the Pittsburg press, is one of a goodly family born to John Nevin of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. He first saw the light on July 31, 1820, in the quaint old town in Cumberland County. When he was nine years old his father died and the family disintegrated, young Robert and his mother moving to Allegheny City. Here for a time mother and son made their home with Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D. Subsequently Robert went to live with his brother-in-law, Dr. John K. Finley, of Chillicothe, Ohio. Here he continued his schooling which had just begun when he left Shippensburg, and for eighteen months attended the Chillicothe Academy. Following this he went to Niles, Michigan, and made his home with another brother-in-law, Rev. Dr. Alexander Blaine Brown. After a period of schooling there Robert returned to Pittsburg, and shortly afterward entered the home of his brother, the late William M. Nevin, LL. D., who was at the head of the Sewickley Academy. After attend-



ing that institution for two years he entered Jefferson College, Canonsburg, taking the regular collegiate course, and graduated in 1842. Though of a decided literary bent, an opportunity to engage in business offered itself, and Mr. Nevin decided to accept that, instead of entering upon a professional career. He entered into a partnership with his brother, the late Theodore H. Nevin, the two carrying on successfully the drug and white lead business. Mr. Nevin's literary instincts evinced themselves at an early age. When a lad of twelve, he wrote some verses which were published in a New York paper. Throughout all his early years occasional poems were written and published, and when he went to college he was a valued correspondent to the Washington Reporter. Business life did not prevent Mr. Nevin from writing both verse and prose; his efforts in the latter finding a place in the Pittsburgh Journal. Among the tales from his pen at this time was "Shandy's Shelf," a story with a local plot, wherein a peculiar rock, that jutted from a cliff near Courtney's—now Emsworth Station—figured, and gave title to the tale, "The Leap of the Lame Blacksmith," and a number of prose sketches, gave the young writer more than a local name, and the heat of the Clay Campaign (1844) found Mr. Nevin the most popular of campaign song and music composers. One of his songs, "Our Nominee," made a special hit. It was copied into the London Times and commented upon by that paper as a striking type of campaign song.

In more serious vein Mr. Nevin is at his best, as in the poem composed on the occasion of the dedication and opening of the Allegheny Cemetery, and many years later, in a similar poem, written for and delivered at the opening of Sewickley's beautiful cemetery. Mr. Nevin was a valued contributor to the pages of the Atlantic, the Knickerbocker, Lippincotts, and other magazines. His most important work, "Black Robes or Sketches of Missions," and "Ministers in the Wilderness and on the Border," appeared in 1872 from the publishing house of Lippincott. It met with a large sale and evoked a storm of varying comment, not unmingled with censure. The latter may be attributed to its honesty.

About 1877 Mr. Nevin brought out "Les Trois Rois" (The Three Kings) in which a trio of ancient rulers—and patron saints—of Cologne were used as a simile for elucidating three industries of Pittsburgh, and the designing of three men as the modern kings of their separate realms. These realms were set forth as Transportation, Iron and Natural Gas, with the late William Thaw, Andrew Carnegie and George Westinghouse, as the "Three Kings."

Mr. Nevin was one of the first, if not the very first, Pittsburger to become interested in the refining of petroleum. Before striking the first oil producing well by Colonel Drake, in fact, before a well had ever been bored for oil, Mr. Nevin had begun the refining of the fluid which subsequently figured so wonderfully in the industrial history of his State and city. Way back in the middle fifties, Lewis Peterson entered the drug store of T. H. Nevin & Co., and told young Robert P. Nevin of the queer-smelling oil that came to the surface with the salt water from one of Peterson's wells at Tarentum. Mr. Nevin formed the idea that this oil would make an illuminant, and he subsequently obtained a supply from some other salt wells near Tarentum, and the firm invested in a three-barreled still and contracted for three barrels of oil per week. This was sold at sixty cents per gallon, and these three barrels per week seemed liable to overstock the market. The rude still was set to work at the firm's lead works in Allegheny. This was in 1855, three years before Colonel Samuel Drake put down the first oil well in Watson's Flats, near Titusville, Pennsylvania. To sell the distilled oil was the next problem, and Mr. Nevin visited Wheeling, Steubenville, Canonsburg, and other places in the interest of his venture. There were no lamps suited for the burning of the new product, yet the oil found a foothold, and finally Mr.

Nevin decided that it would be a good idea to buy a salt well for the oil it yielded. In this venture he was aided by Mr. R. H. Davis and John Irwin, Jr., of Sewickley. After a great deal of prospecting, with but slight and discouraging results and much expense, came the winter of 1858-9 and Colonel Drake's first oil well was struck. Mr. Nevin read the brief account of the event to his friend Mr. Davis, and the two decided that Oil Creek was the place to visit, and that if Drake could find oil there they could, and so kept the still going, to supply the increasing demand for the new illuminant. After a trip of much hardship Messrs. Nevin and Davis reached Titusville and proceeded to look up some land. The day before Brewer & Watson had leased pretty much all the land in the vicinity of Drake's well, but Mr. Nevin succeeded in leasing for \$1,000 the McClintock farm. Then the Pittsburgers formed the Cornplanter's Oil Company, secured another quarter of the McClintock farm and proceeded to put down a well of their own. The first well was an embarrassing success. At a few hundred feet the drill struck the first flowing well that ever poured oil on the surface of this continent. There was more oil than they were prepared to handle and the surplus ran down Oil Creek into the Allegheny. It covered the water all the way to Pittsburg and the sight created no end of excitement here. Three hundred barrels were brought down to the city and the Cornplanter's Company felt stocked for all time to come, as well as embarrassed with the cost of the barrels. This oil was stored in the basement of the Pennsylvania Railroad freight depot at the point. A careless employe started a fire that wiped the big depot from the face of the earth, and the oil contributed greatly to the conflagration. The demand for the refined, or rather the distilled oil kept on increasing, but Mr. Nevin did not long continue in the business, for in 1857 or 1858 this pioneer refinery was sold to William McKeown and Mr. Finley, and Mr. Nevin relinquished his interest in the Cornplanter's Company and devoted himself to more congenial affairs. In 1870 Mr. Nevin's literary bent and active brain led him naturally into journalism, an underlying motive in his first step was a desire to make a place in newspaper work for his nephew, the late Colonel John I. Nevin. With this in view Mr. Nevin purchased an interest in the Sunday Leader. Another point gained by the transaction was the securing of a telegraphic franchise for the daily Leader, which Mr. Nevin had in mind and which was launched a few months later. Finally Mr. Nevin carried out an idea whose correctness was soon shown in the betterment of the Leader. He established a rule that brought to the service of the people the brightest of its correspondents, to do duty on the reportorial staff. An out-of-town correspondent of any Pittsburg paper who displayed any ability was certain to hear from "Uncle Robert," and very often to be placed upon his regular city force. For Mr. Nevin the "boys" felt an absolute affection, and when in 1880 he founded the Times this feeling found manifestation among the men he had trained, and their services and hearty good will were at his disposal in his new venture. Mr. Nevin's busy pen and brain can not be idle. He is engaged upon a true description of early backwoods life, wherein the plot is laid upon local scenes. Having relinquished the responsibilities and cares of active journalistic life, "Uncle Robert's" later years find him in the enjoyment of his existence to an extent well above the measure usually permitted mortals. He is active in mind and body; possessed at once of refined tastes and the means of gratifying them, as well as of that higher heritage of an honorable life, the respect, esteem and affection of all who know him.

John C. Kirkpatrick (deceased). This widely known and prominent iron manufacturer of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was born in the vicinity of Turtle Creek, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, January 14, 1833, to John and Susan (Crawford) Kirkpatrick, natives of the North of Ireland. At an early day they

sought a home in the United States and made a location in Western Pennsylvania, where a large tract of land was purchased and in due course of time put in a high state of cultivation. Upon the death of the husband and father, about 1838, Mrs. Kirkpatrick placed the farm in the hands of an agent, or the executors of the estate, and with her family returned to Ireland, and at once placed her son, John C., in school at Londonderry, where he remained until he reached the age of nineteen years. He then decided to return to Pennsylvania and after remaining here until he attained his majority, he returned to his mother in Ireland and soon after inherited a moderate legacy from an uncle. With the means thus left him he returned to Pennsylvania and embarked in the lamp and oil business, his first place of business being located on Third Avenue. In 1857 or 1858 he became associated with Samuel Kier in extensive oil enterprises and was among the first to engage in the refining of oil in Pittsburg. Their business was conducted on an extensive scale in a large establishment on Forty-third Street near the Allegheny Valley Railway. He continued in this business successfully and prosperously until 1875, when he sold his large interests to the Standard Oil Company, and permanently retired from the oil and oil refining business. The next business venture of this active and enterprising man was to purchase the Rogers & Burchfield Iron Company's establishment at Leechburg, where he established the large iron manufacturing business, to which he devoted the remainder of his active years, and which is still conducted by his sons and comprises one of the largest industries of the kind in the country. This business was organized as the Kirkpatrick Company (limited), and Mr. Kirkpatrick was its chairman from the time of its organization until his death. He had also numerous other interests, among which was the Chartiers Iron Company of Carnegie, of which he was one of the largest stockholders. Upon his death the business came under the management of his sons John W. and James Lindsey and Malcolm W. Leech, a son-in-law, and is fulfilling the hopes of its organizer in the amount of business which is being done. In March, 1856, Mr. Kirkpatrick married Miss Flora J. Wallace, daughter of John and Jane Wallace, natives of North Ireland, and four children were born to them—Susan C.; John W.; Jennie (McCrea), and James L. Mr. Kirkpatrick was of very quiet demeanor and extremely unassuming but accomplished much good in his own unpretentious way and was very conscientious in discharging any duty laid upon him. Active in church work, he was for twenty years a trustee of the Seventh United Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg. A useful life terminated with his death.

Charles Donnelly, a prominent, well-known and successful railroad and business man of Pittsburg, was born near Londonderry, County Tyrone, Ireland, April 16, 1841. His father, Charles Donnelly, was an officer in the English army, and after his death the widow and family came to America in 1849 and settled in Ohio. Young Charles attended the public schools, and received such instruction as they then afforded. He came to Pittsburg in 1865 and entered the Iron City College and after completing a course in book-keeping there was employed by James M. Cooper, Esq., as book-keeper for the National Mass, and other copper companies of which Mr. Cooper had charge. After two years of service he was offered a more remunerative position as book-keeper for H. Childs & Co., wholesale boot and shoe house, on Wood Street, Pittsburg, which position he accepted and filled until 1868, when he entered the service of the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad as auditor of disbursement, and remained in the service of that railroad for fourteen years, during which time he filled the position of auditor, treasurer and vice-president. He resigned from that service in 1882 and entered the partnership of McClure & Co. in the manufacture and sale of Connellsville coke, and was an active spirit in that company until 1895. Mr. Donnelly was mar-

ried in 1872. After nineteen years of peaceful married life Mrs. Donnelly died in 1891, leaving six children—Charles, Nana, Bessie, Roselia, Louise and Alan. Mr. Donnelly was married the second time in 1892, to a sister of his former wife, and this union has been blessed with two children—Natalie and Dorwynne. The home of Mr. Donnelly is one of the handsomest in Pittsburg, and his art collection one of the largest in the city. Many of his paintings are highly valued and are products of the brush of famed and noted artists. Under such happy and refining influences the hours of Mr. Donnelly's home life are spent, and his children reared and educated.

George Whitten Jackson (deceased), for many years one of Pittsburg's most active, prominent and successful business men, was born in Ireland in the year 1801, and died in the city of Pittsburg in September, 1862. His father was John Jackson, a manufacturer of soap and candles, who came to America with his family in 1806, and in the same year settled in Pittsburg, which, even at that early day, was a thriving and busy place, already practically controlling the trade of the vast region west and southwest. Though not as yet a center of population—its inhabitants numbering scarcely more than four thousand—Pittsburg was growing rapidly, and intelligent traders and mechanics readily found within its precincts cheap homes and abundant employment for their energy and skill. It isn't likely that John Jackson had any competition in business in those early days, as statistics show that down to 1808 there was but one other person of his calling in the place. He prospered in his useful occupation, brought up his family in comfort, and gave his children all the educational advantages the custom of the day demanded. George, the subject of this article, finished his studies under the skillful tutorship of a Mr. Moody, who was generally recognized as the most thorough and accomplished instructor in the town. An old French grammar bearing his signature attests that he had studied that language. His father witnessed his improvement with a parent's satisfaction and looked forward to the time when his manly and intelligent son would assist him in his business. But it happened that George greatly disliked this branch of manufacture, and to avoid being compelled to work at it, ran away from home, going to Wheeling. Yielding to the importunities of his mother, conveyed in a fond letter, brought to him by Mr. John Albree, a friend of the family, who followed him for the purpose of delivering it, and affected also by the persuasion of that gentleman, he returned to Pittsburg and was immediately provided with a situation in a grocery store owned by Mr. Albree, at the corner of Market Street and the "Diamond." In this concern, in which he became a partner, he remained until 1826, when his father died and left him the business he had founded and successfully carried on for many years. To protect the interest of the estate for his mother, he assumed the management of the business, but as his talents were not in that direction he disposed of it at the first opportunity. He then embarked his little fortune in the pork-packing business, in Pittsburg, but speedily extended his operations to Cincinnati and Columbus. He remained in this business until his death—a period of thirty-five years—having as partner in the latter years of his life his nephew, Mr. George Jackson Townsend. As his wealth increased, Mr. Jackson broadened his field of enterprise. In 1845 he associated himself with Mr. R. W. Cunningham of New Castle, Pennsylvania, with whom he remained connected till 1852. New Castle was a place of considerable importance at that time through its canal interests, and the point was a good one for the sale of all heavy goods. Messrs. Cunningham and Jackson did an extensive business as dealers in grain, iron, steel and glass. They also acted as general forwarders of merchandise, and in addition to their other enterprises, conducted a foundry. The business relations between the two gentlemen were founded in mutual respect and esteem. Among the earlier manufacturers of



Pittsburg that of cotton spinning was quite generally regarded with high favor, and as affording a most promising outlook for investment. Mr. Jackson shared the belief in common with other wealthy citizens of Pittsburg, and in 1849 he bought a fourth interest in the Anchor Cotton Mills. Great improvements were subsequently made in these mills, much valuable machinery added, and for a score of years it prospered and paid satisfactory dividends. At length the competition of the mills in other parts of the country, notably in New England, diverted and diminished the trade to such an extent that this property greatly diminished in value, and in 1872 it was sold as it stood for \$100,000, about its original cost. In the financial circle of Pittsburg, Mr. Jackson was well known as a gentleman whose sense of duty and honesty was of the most uncompromising character. He was associated in important monetary trusts with the ablest and best of his fellow citizens, and his judgment was held in the profoundest esteem by his colleagues. As far back as the great financial crisis of 1837, he was a member of the board of directors of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Bank. Although the institution was an exceptionally strong one, and perfectly prepared to redeem its circulation, the majority of the board voted to suspend. This step led Mr. Jackson to resign his directorship, he holding that it was wrong for the bank to evade the fulfillment of its promises when able to keep them. With the Bank of Pittsburg, the oldest banking institution of Pennsylvania, Mr. Jackson was also connected for many years, serving at different times as a member of its board of directors. His judgment early convinced him of the feasibility of constructing a railroad through the Valley of the Allegheny, to connect Pittsburg with the East, thus avoiding the steep grades of the mountains. He was one of the original party to examine the route, and upon the organization of the road, the Allegheny Valley Railroad, in 1852, he was elected a director, and as such took a prominent part in the management of its affairs until 1859, when, owing to failing health, he was obliged to decline reelection. In 1836 Mr. Jackson became a member of the Smithfield Street bridge board, and remained connected with it until his death, consequently during the building of the suspension bridge, which replaced the barn bridge destroyed by fire in 1845, and which in turn has given place to the present handsome structure.

He was an intimate friend of Mr. John A. Roebling, the engineer in charge, who afterward became so widely known by the building of the railroad bridge over the Niagara River, and the Brooklyn Bridge. When the disastrous lesson of the fire of 1845 stimulated renewed interest in insurance, Mr. Jackson took an active part in organizing the Western Insurance Company, the original capital of which, \$225,000, has since been increased to \$300,000. He was an incorporator of this company, and was always zealous in promoting its interests. He was public-spirited to the last degree, and all his life entered heart and soul into whatever promised helpfulness and usefulness to the city of Pittsburg or its people. When the best class of citizens looked upon it as a sacred duty to man the fire-engines of the town, he was a member of the "Eagle," now known as "Engine No. 1," and for a time was captain of the company. When a young man he took considerable interest in local politics, and represented the Fourth Ward in the council. In 1845, the year in which a fearful conflagration "destroyed the best half of the city of Pittsburg," he was president of the Select branch of the Council, and after the fire he was one of a committee of three, in whose hands was placed the pecuniary aid, amounting to more than \$160,000, which was contributed from all sources for the relief of the suffering people of the desolated city. A Democrat in early life, Mr. Jackson passed in time from that party into the ranks of the Republicans. Previous to the election of Buchanan, he had identified himself prominently with the colonization movement, taking an active part in sending



settlers to Kansas, and giving freely of his time, influence and means to promote the cause. In 1856 he was sent as a delegate to the convention held in Buffalo, at which John C. Fremont was nominated for the Presidency. "His loyalty to the Union and the Constitution was unswerving and unqualified" to the time of his death. He was an uncompromising foe to all jobbery, and utterly incapable of descending to meanness or trickery to increase his fortune. His kindness of heart was not the least distinguishing of his many excellent characteristics and was well exemplified by his active interest in the House of Refuge of Western Pennsylvania, the Western Pennsylvania Hospital, and other eleemosynary institutions. The care of the insane was a subject near his heart, and he was one of the most outspoken advocates of the erection of the hospital for the insane, now known as "Dixmont," and a firm supporter of the late Dr. Reed. His religious connections attached him to the Episcopal Church, and in early life he attended Trinity Church, but afterwards St. Andrews. He was married in 1836 to Mary, daughter of the later Peter Beard; she is described as a tall, handsome woman, noted for her natural goodness and kindness of heart.

Mr. Jackson was not in good health during the last years of his life. He died at the comparatively early age of sixty-one, being taken in the midst of his activities and usefulness. His death was widely regarded as a public loss. In a lengthy and admirably conceived obituary notice in the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, under date September 23, 1862, this worthy man's character and deeds are exhaustively reviewed. The notice concludes with the following summary: "He was in the truest sense a good citizen. Possessing large means, he employed them with judicious enterprise and liberality to advance the material prosperity of the community. We have often heard him spoken of as a kind landlord, suffering many losses from the dishonest and unworthy rather than cause distress to unfortunate tenants. He was indeed in all his relations to his fellow men not merely just, but merciful and charitable. He conducted an extensive private business successfully and honorably. \* \* \* In short, George W. Jackson was an unassuming, humane, fearless, enterprising, sincerely honest man, and his death is a most serious calamity."

Henry John Heinz. The subject of this sketch was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, October 11, 1844. He can trace his ancestry back along the paternal line directly to Lorenz Heinz, who was born in the latter part of the seventeenth century, in Kallstadt, Province of Rheinfalz, Bavaria, Germany, and who was a prosperous wine producer, a State official and a church trustee, which latter office is regarded an honorable distinction in Germany as the Church is under the control of the State. The father of the subject of this sketch, Henry Heinz, was born at Kallstadt, and came to the United States in 1840, locating in Birmingham, now South Side, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Early in 1843 there came to America a young woman, Anna Margareta Schmitt, a native of Cruspis, Kurfuerstentum Hessen, near Hershfeld, Germany, and a daughter of Johann Jacob Schmitt, burgermeister of that place. She also settled in Birmingham, met Henry Heinz and was married to him on December 4, 1843. They lived happily together, and became the parents of nine children, of whom the subject of this sketch was the eldest. They were members of the Lutheran Church, of singularly devout and Christian lives, of strictest integrity, and the highest sense of honor. Mr. Heinz attributes his success in later life largely to their precepts and example, and especially to the moral principles imparted by his mother, to whom he has always been attached by a devotion as beautiful as it is steadfast. Her wise counsel in matters of a purely business character as well as in questions involving right and wrong, has been of great assistance to him, and although she is now quite advanced in years, he still highly appreciates and often seeks her

advice, and guards with fidelity and care her interest in the business of which he is the head. In 1850 his parents moved to Sharpsburg, a suburb of Pittsburg, where the father embarked in the business of brickmaking, and later added building and contracting. With characteristic German thrift, a flourishing private garden was cultivated for home use, in which Henry lent a hand, being early trained to the duty of assisting his parents. As it yielded more bountifully than the needs of the family required, Henry engaged in the business of disposing of the surplus products among the residents of the village, first carrying them around in a basket, until his increasing list of customers required the use of a wheelbarrow. His education was not being neglected in the meantime, as he was attending private and public schools, and his religious training was also carefully looked after. It was about this time, when twelve years of age, that Henry earned his first money for himself, it being the first and only time he ever worked away from home, and at the same time gained a success that perhaps gave him as much satisfaction as any of his later and greater achievements. A neighboring farmer hired about twenty hands to dig potatoes in a field that is now a part of Aspinwall, the very same land at this time being owned by the Aspinwall Land Company, of which Mr. Heinz is president, and which he helped to organize. The usual wages for boys was 25 cents a day and board. As an inducement to greater work, he offered one day three prizes of 25, 12½ and 6½ cents. The result was that the foreman took first prize, an older boy the second, and young Heinz the third. He was a proud boy that day as he claimed his prize, won in a contest with grown men as well as boys. His parents had intended him for the ministry, but observing his business sagacity in disposing of their garden products to advantage, they allowed him to follow his natural bent, and further encouraged him by sending him to Duff's Business College in Pittsburg. At about the age of sixteen he became his father's bookkeeper and practical assistant, and also began to put up horseradish in bottles, which he sold in connection with the garden products. The garden had by this time grown to four acres, requiring the keeping of a horse and wagon to market its products. When he was seventeen years of age, he sold in one summer produce to the value of \$2,400 from the four-acre garden, so richly had he fertilized and kept it. It was one of his sayings that one must be willing to put gold into the ground in order to take diamonds out. Upon reaching his majority his father gave him an interest in the business. He soon evinced his ability by introducing methods by means of which the brick-yards, heretofore idle in winter, were enabled to run the entire year. Not satisfied with being restricted by the limitations which a small place put upon the business, he obtained his father's consent to a dissolution of the firm, and, in 1869, formed a partnership to engage in the brick business at Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. Later in the same year he engaged in the pickling business at Sharpsburg. This business has continued to the present time, first under the firm name of Heinz & Noble, then Heinz, Noble & Co., and finally H. J. Heinz Co., the present style of the firm name. On September 23, 1869, Mr. Heinz was united in marriage with Sallie Sloan Young, a daughter of Robert Young and Mary Sloan Young, who were representatives of highly esteemed and prosperous families of County Down, Ireland, and were members of the Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Heinz was a woman of buoyant spirits, cheerful, of remarkable energy and charitable disposition. She was not only a member but an active leader in many charitable institutions established in the interest of the young. To her buoyancy and happy disposition in the hour of severe trial Mr. Heinz attributes a large measure of his success. To them were born five children, as follows: Irene Edwilda, Clarence Noble, Howard Covode, Robert Eugene (who died in infancy), and Clifford Stanton. Mrs. Heinz was a faithful companion and a true mother, the light and life of her home,

and the heaviest blow with which her devoted husband and family were ever inflicted was her death, on November 29th, 1894.

No sketch of Mr. Heinz would be complete without some reference to his religious work. There is as much need of consecrated men in the busy marts of trade as in the pulpit. He has been a member of the Methodist Protestant Church for more than twenty-five years, and has been very active in all forms of church work. Mr. Heinz has often been a delegate to the annual conference of his church, and in 1888 was a delegate to the General Conference. He is a member of the Board of Foreign Missions, and also of the Board of Trustees of Adrian College, Michigan, one of the leading schools of that denomination. Kansas City University, recently founded under the auspices of the Methodist Protestant Church at Kansas City, Kansas, is an institution in which he has taken great interest for the past five years. Dr. D. S. Stephens, its present chancellor, and Mr. Heinz were its original promoters. He is the president of its Board of Trustees, and has given liberally of his time and means, donating funds for the erection of a Memorial Hall in memory of his wife, besides other munificent gifts. For more than twenty years he has been a progressive Sunday School superintendent, and, during these busy years, scarcely has a Sunday passed, whether he was at home or abroad, that did not find him at his own school or a visitor at another. He is now a director of the State Sunday School Association, and vice-president of the County Association, and he has been a delegate to the last three International and World's Conventions. He has been active in Y. M. C. A. work, and is also connected with many charitable and benevolent organizations. He has been prominently identified with several public measures and enterprises in this community. One of the founders of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, he has always been a director in the same, and in 1897 was elected its president, which honor he declined because of the many other responsibilities resting upon him: he is a member of the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, and was one of the leading spirits in the Greater Pittsburg movement, which led to the passage of the Greater Pittsburg bill. He was one of the promoters of the Central Accident Insurance Company, and is its vice-president. We cannot pass over some of the business methods and rules that have always characterized his life and work. He has always aimed to be fair and frank in all his business transactions, as well as in everyday life, and his motto is "Make all you can honestly, save all you can prudently, give all you can wisely. He that enjoys the two former and deprives himself of the latter privilege denies himself the greatest enjoyments of life." Every employé is made to feel that in his employer he has a friend. He keeps closely in touch with the younger men of the firm, to give them encouragement and enthusiasm, impressing upon them and all heads of departments the important truth that it is only by the development of the men in their charge that they themselves will develop, and that this spirit be made to permeate every department of the business. He always seeks to win the hearts of his men, one of his favorite remarks being that "Our business is run by heart power." He takes pride in the fact that they have never had a strike at their factory or at any of their branches. He attributes this largely to the principle of keeping close to the hearts of his men. Every head of department has instilled into his mind the need of keeping in touch and sympathy with those under his control: they in turn are taught the same lesson, and this same spirit passes in an unbroken line from superior to subordinate, permeating every department of the business and unifying every interest. He firmly believes that by keeping in touch and sympathy with the men, any differences between employé and employer can be settled before sun-down on the day they arise. He appreciates the suggestions of others, and believes that "in a multitude of counsel there is wisdom." In ac-

cordance with this idea he has instituted a system of daily meetings, held by the younger members of the firm and the heads of departments. At this meeting questions of importance that arise from day to day are received, discussed and acted upon. Mr. Heinz is a pioneer in the industrial convention movement, regarding it as an efficient means to the great end of keeping in close touch to the hearts of the men, and has accordingly for a number of years past arranged annual conventions of branch house managers and of salesmen to discuss matters pertaining to their respective departments. The esteem in which he is held by his employes is further increased by the adoption of all practicable means which contribute to their comfort and happiness, such as lecture hall, library, bath-rooms and lunch rooms, adorned with over one hundred pictures of historical scenes and landscape views, which lend a cheerful and refining influence to the surroundings. His fine artistic taste has been employed in the origination of attractive bottles and labels that have done so much to popularize their goods, and which have helped to justify their claim of being originators and not imitators. He resided in Sharpsburg until 1890, when he removed to Pittsburg, and is now living in the East End. For many years he has traveled extensively, not only in the United States, but also in Mexico, Bermuda, The West Indies, Europe, Egypt and Palestine. In his travels he has gathered together a large and valuable collection of antiquities and relics, in which he takes great pride. The collection is scientifically arranged and catalogued, and is the largest private collection in Western Pennsylvania, occupying one entire story of his residence. Every age of the world's history and almost every inhabited part of the globe have contributed to it. Like every self-made man, Mr. Heinz has devoted himself intently to the details of his business, but has not permitted this to narrow his sympathies. He is broad, liberal and public-spirited. While taking no active part in politics, yet any movement, private or public, having as its object the betterment of his native city, has always met his hearty approval and support, and the same energy which has characterized his business career has been as freely expended in the cause of philanthropy, education and religion.

H. J. Heinz Company. Several of the great manufacturing enterprises of Pittsburg present such unique and distinguishing features, and are such perfect models of system and organization, that they require something more than mere mention. One of these worthy of special mention is H. J. Heinz Company, the well-known manufacturers of pickles and pure food products. This business was established by Mr. H. J. Heinz in 1869. One room of a small two-story building in Sharpsburg, Pennsylvania, constituted the entire plant. The same year he associated with himself in business Mr. L. C. Noble, and the firm name became Heinz & Noble. The first year three-fourths of an acre of horseradish was cultivated, grated, and sold in glass. In 1870 Mr. E. J. Noble, a brother of the above, was admitted into the firm, which then became Heinz, Noble & Co. In 1871 the firm commenced the manufacture of new articles, celery sauce, and pickles, both in glass and wood, which soon became the leading products of the business. By reason of these newly added food products, it soon became necessary to look for larger quarters, so that three rooms, and a small additional building were required, instead of one room. By 1872 the business had so grown and prospered that the firm concluded to remove to Pittsburg, in order to take advantage of the greater facilities afforded by the city, and leased a large four-story building on the south side of Second Avenue, between Grant and Smithfield streets. At this time they were using the product of 100 acres of the most fertile land located just above Sharpsburg, on the Allegheny River. The business continued to be conducted by the above named partners until 1875, when the partnership was dissolved, the Nobles retiring. The firm was then reorganized, Frederick Heinz, a



cousin, and John H. Heinz, a brother of H. J. Heinz, acquiring an interest. John H. Heinz continued in the firm until 1888, when he retired. The demand for the goods had so increased that it became necessary, in 1877, to rent an adjoining building on Second Avenue, extending through to First Avenue. Again becoming cramped for room, a vinegar factory on the site of their present plant, was purchased in 1882. The continued growth of the business made it again necessary to enlarge the manufacturing facilities, and, as no suitable grounds or building were to be obtained in the part of the city where they were then located, a large factory site on the North Side was purchased in 1890, adjoining their vinegar factory. Here they began the erection of a group of buildings that is being added to continually, and at the present time contains over nine acres of floor space. The acreage of vegetables has increased in a corresponding proportion, as they are now using the product of over 10,000 acres annually, cultivating through their own agencies large vegetable farms at Aspinwall and Harnmarville, Pennsylvania, La Porte, Indiana, and Muscatine, Iowa. One member of the firm devotes his entire time superintending these gardens. All vegetables not cultivated directly are grown under contract in various localities throughout the United States where the soil and climate are adapted to their perfect growth. Another reason for growing vegetables in various localities is, that the supply may not be affected by a crop failure in any one locality. The necessity of curing vegetables when fresh has led to the establishment of salting houses in the districts where the vegetables are grown, as follows: At La Porte, Indiana, 1880; Walkerton, Indiana, 1882; Plymouth, Indiana, 1890; Hicksville, Long Island, New York, 1892; Muscatine, Iowa, and Benton Harbor, Michigan, 1893; Kewanee, Indiana, and Cutchogue, Long Island, New York, 1894; Wooster, Ohio, 1895; Holly and Saginaw, Michigan, and Grovertown, Indiana, 1896; and at Holland, Michigan, Monterey and La Paz, Indiana, 1897. One member of the firm is constantly engaged in superintending these salting houses, and in overseeing the planting, raising and harvesting of crops, grown under contract, from seed furnished by the firm. This latter precaution is taken to insure only the choicest varieties. In addition to what is produced in this country, this house is a large importer of the best cauliflower from Holland, raisins and olives from Spain, currants from Greece, fresh fruits from the West Indies, and the best quality of mustard seed from England, France and Italy. To partially relieve the main plant in preparing these food products for the market, branch factories have been established at La Porte, Indiana; Hicksville, New York, and Muscatine, Iowa, which are operated in connection with salting houses at those points, while kraut factories have been located at Aspinwall, Pennsylvania; Hicksville, New York; Saginaw, Michigan, and Muscatine, Iowa. A horseradish factory has been operated at Sharpsburg ever since the removal of the firm to Pittsburg, occupying for this purpose the same building in which the business was commenced, to which additions have been made from time to time. These branches, with the main plant and the salting houses, constitute the largest concern of the kind in the world, and have a combined floor area of over nineteen acres.

The company uses enormous quantities of bottles, mostly of their own design, and which have been patented. To better meet the requirements in this particular, a glass factory with a ten-pot furnace has been established, where about one-third of the glass supply is made. To facilitate a thorough canvass of all parts of the country, as well as to insure the prompt delivery of goods, branch houses have been established in most of the large cities of the United States, as follows: New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Albany, Baltimore, St. Paul, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Louisville, Kansas City, Chattanooga, Buffalo, St. Louis, Cleveland, Columbus, Jersey City, Denver and San Francisco, and within the



last year a branch house has been established in London, England. Over 275 traveling salesmen are employed by the firm at the various branches, and traveling from these points in all directions have made familiar the name of "Heinz's pickles" the world over. In addition to the branch houses, the distribution of goods is further increased by means of agencies located at Toronto, and Montreal in Canada; Bluefields, Nicaragua; Buenos Ayres, South America; Liverpool, England, and in the Bermuda Islands. Some few figures may give a conception of the magnitude to which this business has grown. During the year 1896 they used 7,000,000 bottles, 300,000 oak barrels, 20,000,000 labels, 500,000 bushels of tomatoes, 100,000 bushels of beans, 600,000 bushels of apples, mostly for cider vinegar, 500 carloads of cabbage for kraut, 200 carloads of salt and 6,000 barrels of granulated sugar to preserve the various products. The pickles used, 500,000,000, if placed in a row, would make a line 20,000 miles long, almost enough to girdle the globe. H. J. Heinz Company employ from 1,500 to 2,000 people, but during the summer season the labor of 20,000 people is required to care for the crops grown especially for their use. The buildings of this firm at the home plant are equipped with every device of a mechanical or scientific character that may be used to advantage. To illustrate this, in the vinegar department the ordinary process of nature in making vinegar is assisted by ingenious mechanical devices of their own invention, consisting of large rotary cylinders which expose the liquid to the oxygen of the air, thereby making acetification more speedy and complete, and the product more perfect. This process is carried one step further than that of nature, in that the vinegar is sterilized and every barrel is tested to insure its purity and required strength before reaching the market. The pickle bottling department is one of the most interesting. Here are long rows of bright, active girls, all neatly uniformed, seated at tile-covered tables, skillfully arranging in bottles, by means of a curved stick, the pickles that have been previously prepared. A recently added department of great importance is that one in which baked beans with tomato sauce are put up. The beans are first baked in large ovens, and are then filled into the cans dry. Each can is weighed separately so that the proportion of beans and sauce will be uniform. After weighing, the sauce is added. Not only is this factory equipped with an idea of utility, but the health, comfort and convenience, and even enjoyment of the employes have been considered. A restaurant is operated in the building where employes can get a meal or lunch at actual cost. The sanitary arrangements are modern and perfect. For the use of the girls a commodious dressing-room has been provided, which is a model for cleanliness, convenience and comfort. Each girl is provided with an individual locker for her clothes, and connected with the dressing rooms are bathrooms and a temporary hospital. They also enjoy the privilege of a special dining-room, decorated with over one hundred etchings, photo-gravures and water colors of historical and landscape scenes, which tend to increase the attractiveness and cheerfulness of the surroundings. A large orphenion, imported from Germany, furnishes music during the lunch hour. Other features are a circulating library, lecture hall, and a roof garden with a fountain. The power house is pronounced one of the finest in the country. It has a floor of Alhambra tile, marble wainscoting and pillars, and doors and interior woodwork of mahogany. The entire plant is operated by electricity. All visitors are most forcibly impressed with the extreme cleanliness everywhere apparent; no house-keeper is more exacting in this respect in her own kitchen. Every department of this establishment is open to inspection by the public. The stable is one of the buildings recently completed, and consists of three stories and a basement, 80 by 100 feet. It is constructed of vitrified, mottled, pressed brick, with Ohio sandstone trimmings, and provides accommodations for 100 horses. The interior

framework is of structural steel, the space between the floor beams is filled with concrete and cement, and all the fixtures are made of iron and steel, making it an absolutely fireproof building. A light, cheerful interior is secured by windows on the four sides, those in front being plate glass. It is heated by steam, lighted by electricity, and supplied with modern ventilators. The stalls which are upon the second floor, are partitioned off by pipe-iron gratings. A bath-room and a hospital are provided for the horses; the harness is conveyed to the harness room by an overhead carrier; the horses cleaned by electrical appliances, and food and water supplied by automatic mechanism. It is said that the horses actually exhibit a sense of pride in their elaborate home.

Another special feature is the care the company exercises in shipping its goods. They operate a refrigerator car line to obviate any inconvenience in shipping arising from extremes of heat or cold. The raw stock is transferred from the salting houses and storage rooms in specially designed tank cars. Similar cars are used for shipping cider and vinegar. The North Side factories have ample shipping facilities, being connected by four sidings with the Pennsylvania Railroad system, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and Pittsburg and Western Railroad. The exhibits of this firm at various international and food expositions have been conspicuous and noteworthy. In 1889 they received at Paris the gold medal, it being the first medal ever awarded an American pickler in Europe. Medals were also received at Antwerp, and at the World's Fair in 1893 they received three medals and awards on eighteen articles of their production. One medal was received for the uniqueness of the entire display as a special feature of the Fair. Altogether thirty-two highest medals have been awarded to them. At present the firm consists of the following named gentlemen: H. J. Heinz and Frederick Heinz, who were members of the firm at the reorganization in 1875; G. H. Prager, who became a member in 1880, and Sebastian Mueller, H. F. Dunham and W. H. Robinson, who were admitted in June, 1891. The business is very thoroughly organized, and great efficiency is thereby attained. Mr. Fred Heinz has charge of the farms; Mr. Prager directs the extensive correspondence of the firm; Mr. Mueller is the very efficient head of the manufacturing department; Mr. Dunham has charge of the salting houses and the growing of vegetables under contracts, and Mr. Robinson has the management of the finances and the details of office work, while Mr. H. J. Heinz exercises a general supervision.

Captain James Rees (deceased). In searching for material from which to prepare a sketch of the life of this notable pioneer, we fortunately found a copy of "American Working People," published in 1872. The editor had been an intimate friend and fellow-workman of Captain Rees for years, so, as we may positively conclude that the matter is true and just, we take the liberty of quoting freely from it. "In 1827 a family of Welsh immigrants, consisting of father, mother and nine children, arrived in America from their native land. James Rees was then in his seventh year, having been born December 25, 1821. They settled in a small town near Wheeling, Virginia, where the father died within a week. James soon after went to work to learn the trade of shoemaking, but left this to work on a farm. The family, however, removed to Pittsburg, and it was there the subject of our sketch conceived the importance of making himself useful in the world. The busy workers developed within him thoughts and hopes which he thought for a while vainly to realize. His first effort was in the coal mines of Samuel Roberts, where he was employed to push cars out of the pit. Six months' work there gave him more muscle and more ambition, and next he found employment in Bakewell's glasshouse, where Colonel William Phillips was foreman. They worked together six months, and there formed those habits of industry, and gathered together their first dollars, which were the basis of their

present wealth and popularity. One dollar and a half per week was his pay then, and it was placed in his mother's hands every Saturday night, with the pride of a young mechanic. But his natural inclination led him to mechanical work, and he obtained employment in the machine shops of Smith & Irwin, where he worked for fifteen months for \$3 per week. Here among steamboat engines, the latent faculty within him developed rapidly, and he acquired, as if by magic, a practical knowledge and a scientific conception of the operation of steam in connection with machinery. He never stopped to think of long or short hours or high or low wages, but every hour, and every thought, was devoted to the mastery of the science of machinery and engines. During this time he was the only support of his mother. But our young mechanic was not contented with working hard all day at his lathe, with hands and head. At evening he became a man of business on a small scale in this fashion: He would be on hand at the old canal depot when the travelers arrived, and would contract with them for the delivery of their trunks at the hotels for twenty-five cents apiece, and would then find a drayman to deliver the entire load, perhaps a half dozen or more, for fifty cents, and he have the balance as profits. There are few boys who possess equal enterprise, and it is only such energy as this that makes our leading men. While others were lounging in idleness, after a listless day's work, young Rees was making his dollar or two, and initiating himself in the ways of business. 'Excelsior' was the motto of our young mechanic, and he was, after awhile, engaged in the works of Snowden & Co., at Brownsville, as foreman. He never spent a cent needlessly, and saved every dollar for use. One who knew him during these days well, remarked to the editor, 'I don't believe James Rees spent a ten-cent piece for three years needlessly.' He added dollar to dollar slowly, and after a year or two returned to Pittsburg—now a young man—where he was employed by the firm of Stackhouse & Thompson, to oversee the construction of the engines of a new revenue cutter, the first ever built here by the General Government for lake service. It was called the Michigan, and was launched in the year 1843. Mr. Rees had now fought through ten years' of hard work, and had during this time been the main support of his mother. He had thoroughly acquired a good trade, and had also acquired a reputation for thoroughness as a mechanic which few might claim. After finishing the steamboat Michigan he took charge of the shop of Rowe & Davis. Mr. Rees subsequently became the lessee for six months of these works, and took in with him William Hutchinson and John Morrow. On the termination of the lease, the works were rented over his head, and he was left with twenty-five thousand dollars worth of work on his hands, with no shop to finish it in. He at once purchased the shop of Robert White & Bro., and formed the partnership of Rees, Hartupe & Co., which continued three years, and was dissolved in 1851. We should have remarked that while at Brownsville, Mr. Rees accomplished a change for which the thanks of every workingman in the land is due him. He established the ten-hour system of labor, and brought about its general adoption. Hitherto men had been working eleven, and in some cases, twelve hours per day, but Mr. Rees believed this to be an imposition on workingmen, and resolved upon a change. He made it, and the result was, that he turned out one-half more work at less cost in money. The benefits of the change were so apparent that it soon was universally adopted. For a while he filled the position as engineer on the river boats during the winter months. After disposing of his other interests, he bought the establishment of Robert Whiteman, at the Point. He was now in the position towards which he had been striving. It was the dream of his boyhood, and every stroke he made was one stroke nearer the realization of his hope.

"The most prominent trait of Mr. Rees' character is incorruptible integrity.

His reputation as a man on whose word the utmost reliance can be placed, brought work in upon him faster than he possessed facilities to execute it. It became necessary for him to increase his facilities, and in 1854 he purchased his present site, corner Duquesne Way and Fourth Street, where he continued up to his death, yearly increasing in business and wealth, and in popularity among his workmen. His establishment is a model shop. Every available space is filled with busy workmen, who seem to be infused with their employer's spirit. Go where you will, you see Mr. Rees among his workingmen, personally supervising the work entrusted to him. He is a 'square dealing man,' to use the language of one who knows him since boyhood, and this accounts largely for his success. Mr. Rees is about five feet eight inches tall, stout, of ruddy complexion, of a courteous and affable disposition. He is respected by all, and his modesty has kept him out of public view. It is such men who make our cities."

In the early fifties Captain Rees originated the line of freight and passenger packets on the Allegheny River. This venture was a marvelous success, especially regarding the oil-carrying trade, which lasted until about 1865, when it was abandoned to the railroad. His entire attention was then turned to engine and boat-building, and the history of his success in this respect is closely identified with the industrial growth and progress of Pittsburg. Many of the most famous boats which have navigated the Western and Southern rivers, from 1860 to the time of his death, September 12, 1889, were constructed under the guidance of his master-hand and brain. Among them may be mentioned Silver Cloud, Silver Cloud No. 2, the Silver Spray, Juanita, Nora, Lorena, Paragon, Will S. Hays, Exporter, Hattie Nowland, Kate Adams, Joe Peters, etc. To James Rees & Sons, of Pittsburg, belong the honor of constructing the first steel-plate steamboat built in the United States. In 1878 they extended their trade outside the limits of our own country, and constructed the Francesco Montoya, for the Magdalena Steam Navigation Company, of South America. Such excellent satisfaction did the Francesco give that the same company ordered, in 1879, another boat of similar dimensions named the Victoria. In 1880 the Venezuela was built for the same trade, and in 1881 the Columbia for the Irma San Juan River, Nicaragua. The fame of these "stern-wheelers," built by Captain Rees, attracted the attention of the Russian Government, and from the shops of this Pittsburg shipyard went the drafts and specifications and the mechanics which inaugurated upon the Volga and the Dneiper and other rivers of Russia, the building of those stern-wheel steamboats, which now navigate those and other streams of that empire. Captain Rees was of a naturally retiring and modest disposition, but he always took an active and interested part in city affairs. He was a well-known member of the old volunteer fire department, and was for many years a prominent member of the City Council. In that office, as a member of the water and fire committees, he rendered most excellent service for the interest of the city. He also served several terms as a member of the board of fire commissioners. Among many highly eulogistic articles relating to Captain Rees' life, the Commercial Gazette, of September 13, says: "In his business relations James Rees was known as a man of sterling integrity and high honor. Socially he was genial, affable and companionable. His conversation was ever enlivened with a fund of anecdotes and recollections of men and events, which gave an added charm. In his spacious home, 5045 Fifth Avenue, he dispensed a pleasing and most acceptable hospitality. In manner he was thoroughly democratic. To the men in his employ he was ever popular, and held in the highest esteem for his generous treatment and many unsolicited acts of kindness. He knew all the old employes by name, and would talk to them familiarly, inquiring about their own and their families' well-fare. To this community he was a useful member, being always one of the



pioneers in any public enterprise or movement looking to the advance of the city." At his death he was identified with two firms—James Rees & Sons, boiler manufacturers, and James Rees Duquesne Engine Works. These interests were incorporated July 1, 1895, under the name of James Rees & Sons Company. The present officers are: James H. Rees, president; Thomas M. Rees, vice-president; William M. Rees, treasurer; David A. Rees, secretary; and the business is controlled by his sons, and is being yearly expanded, so that the name of this firm is known throughout the shipping world. They have built the almost incredible number of over 600 steamboats, which ply the rivers of three continents.

Henry Clay Frick, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, manufacturer of coke and steel, whose masterful business acumen has contributed in a large measure to place Western Pennsylvania in the position of first importance in manufacturing in a country which begins the twentieth century as the industrial leader of the world, was born on the 19th of December, 1849, in the village of West Overton, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. He is a son of John W. and Elizabeth Overholt Frick. His father was a farmer and of Swiss ancestry; his mother was of German ancestry, and the daughter of Abraham Overholt, one of the largest land owners and the leading miller and distiller of his time in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Like many who have attained conspicuous places in the commercial and professional life of America, Mr. Frick was reared in the wholesome environment of the country. His early education was the best the schools of the vicinity afforded, but with a precocious bent toward business affairs, he gave up part of his school days to gratify a desire for practical training, to the work of a clerk in a dry-goods store in Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania. In 1869 he sought a permanent business occupation, but taking that which was offered, entered the office of his grandfather as bookkeeper, at Broad Ford, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Thus one of the principal factors in the industrial development of Pennsylvania, to whom Pittsburg owes much for her place among the leading cities of America and who has done much to make the United States one of the foremost commercial nations of the world, modestly commenced his business life. While in the office of his grandfather, young Mr. Frick had his attention called to the value of the coking coal deposits in the vicinity of Broad Ford. Coke making, then in its infancy as an industry, was a business with which he was not familiar, but he made a thorough investigation of it, and entered into a partnership with a number of men in the locality, bought a tract of coal land and built about fifty ovens for the manufacture of coke. This was his first business venture, and he undertook its management with much enthusiasm. The business expanded rapidly, as a ready sale was found for the product at the foundries and furnaces operating all over the country. The capacity of the plant was enlarged as the demand for coke increased, and in 1873 the firm had two hundred ovens. The panic of that year embarrassed many of the customers, and the sale of coke was curtailed considerably. Some of Mr. Frick's partners fell into financial straits, and the enterprise received a setback. In this emergency he appealed to several friends who had faith in his ability, among others Hon. Thomas Mellon, of Pittsburg, securing from them the means to enable him to purchase the interests of his partners, obtaining control of the business. Coal lands ranged low in price at this time and until the country recovered from the prostration of 1873. Mr. Frick took advantage of the depression and acquired several good properties which had been put on the market. When business revived, his superior judgment in these purchases was demonstrated by the fact that, for a time, the annual profits more than equaled the purchase price. In 1878 he sold an interest in his business to E. M. Ferguson, of Pittsburg. Afterwards Walton Ferguson was admitted to the firm of H. C. Frick & Co. In 1882 that firm was merged into the H. C. Frick Coke



Company, and Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited, were large purchasers of the stock. The company is now the largest coke producer in the world, owning in the Connellsville Coke Region in Fayette and Westmoreland counties, nearly 40,000 acres of coal and 12,000 coke ovens, with a daily capacity of about twenty-five thousand tons of coke, employing upwards of 11,000 miners and coke operatives, and furnishing an enormous traffic for the railroads running into the iron-producing districts.

The remarkable qualifications as an organizer and director of vast business interests shown by Mr. Frick in the development of the coke industry, brought him an offer, in 1889, of an interest and official connection with the Carnegie concerns. He was admitted to the firm of Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited, as its chairman, and continued as chairman of that association and its successor, the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, since the reorganization in 1892. In 1895, at the request of Mr. Frick, the duties of the chairman were divided, most of the executive details being transferred to the newly created office of president, Mr. Frick retaining the official title of chairman of the board of managers. In 1897 he also relinquished the management of the minor affairs of the H. C. Frick Coke Company, becoming chairman of its board of directors, enabling him to give more time to his large and varied interests apart from the coke and steel business, and to gain some of the leisure which a life of incessant activity previously precluded. By reason of his position for years as the head of several large employing interests, Mr. Frick has necessarily been brought into public prominence occasionally through the labor disturbances incident to the operation of such great industrial enterprises, notably during the disturbance at the Homestead Works of the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, in 1892. Because of additions to the mills and the introduction of improved machinery designed to lighten labor and at the same time increase the product, a number of men in many departments, paid certain fixed rates per ton of product, known as "tonnage men," were enabled to earn wages in some cases 100 per cent higher than was contemplated by themselves or the company when the wage scale was made three years previously—wages unreasonably high, entirely out of proportion when compared with those of other men in the same mill, and very much in excess of the wages paid for similar work by the competitors of the company. In the negotiations between the officials of the company and the officials of the labor organizations for a new wage scale to take effect at the expiration of the then existing one, the labor officials refused to make or permit any reduction to be made in the rates paid to these "tonnage men." Mr. Frick took a firm stand for the correction of this manifest injustice, and prepared a scale eliminating all the inequalities of the old one, and presented it to the workmen without the approval of the labor officials. A strike involving all the men employed at the mill ensued, attended with extreme disorder and rioting. Time demonstrated the wisdom and justice of Mr. Frick's stand in the matter. With less than a year's trial of the new scale, the workmen and others intimately connected with the trouble, freely admitted its fairness and liberality, and that the strike was a mistake and wholly unjustifiable. After trying every means and exhausting every possible resource, including arbitration of differences by disinterested persons, and failing to insure the operation of the works through the agency of labor organizations, against interruptions on account of labor disputes, he finally discontinued contract arrangements with the employes through organizations, contracting instead with the workmen direct. As a result of this policy, suspensions of operations have become infrequent, the causes of discord minimized, and the condition of the workmen immeasurably improved.

In business Mr. Frick is wonderfully quick of comprehension and accurate

in his judgment of men and affairs. It appears easy for him to select the best man for a particular duty. He never lacks courage to vigorously carry out his decisions. He is equally firm and courageous in opposing any measure of which his judgment or strong sense of right disapproves. Personally Mr. Frick is extremely modest, sympathetic, kind and unassuming in his intercourse with others. At home he is sociable, happy, domestic and affectionate. His charities are great but are quietly and modestly bestowed. December 15, 1881, Mr. Frick married Adelaide Howard, daughter of the late Asa P. Childs, of Pittsburg. To them have been born four children, two boys and two girls, one son and one daughter being deceased.

Philip Reymer (deceased). This government of the people is no discriminator of persons, and its doors are opened wide for entrance into the business or professional arena of all such as possess the requisite qualifications to success. This may be said to be the only country on the globe where a man must win his own way, either by the exercise of brain, to positions of honor and trust, without the aid of adventitious circumstances, or the accident of birth. The paternal grandfather of the subject of this sketch came to realize that many opportunities were offered to those who wished to rise in the world, under the shadow of the "stars and stripes," and thither he came from his native land of Germany when a small boy, and afterward aided the land of his adoption in her struggle for independence. He reared a family in this country—his son Peter becoming the father of the subject of this sketch, and a well-known and substantial citizen of Greencastle, Pennsylvania. Philip Reymer's early business training was thorough; he was a bookkeeper in early manhood until he became associated with Joshua Rhodes, and became interested in a mercantile establishment of his own, establishing the firm of Reymer & Anderson in 1852, which became the firm of Reymer & Bros. in 1861—wholesale fruit and confectionery—to the successful management and conduct of which his attention was devoted throughout the remainder of his life. Incidentally, he was connected in an official capacity with the Mechanics National Bank, the Western Insurance Company, as well as other enterprises of importance. He was a keen and successful financier, born on Third Avenue in Pittsburg, June 27, 1824. He was educated in the public schools of his native city, but throughout his life was a deep reader, becoming thoroughly familiar with all useful and important topics of the times. He married Miss Hannah Riter, of Chester County, Pennsylvania. He affiliated with the Republican party in politics, and with the Presbyterian Church in religion, being a member of the North Presbyterian Church, and for many years one of its trustees.

Thomas Morrison Carnegie (deceased). The name of Thomas Morrison Carnegie was regarded by the people of Pittsburg as synonymous with good citizenship and unselfish devotion to the public weal. There was no cloud upon it, and it was brighter by use like rare gold. In all the positions in which its owner was called to labor he acted with wisdom and in the most shining good faith. He attracted all with whom he came in contact by his sterling worth and unusual gifts, and stood in the front ranks of men noted for their skill, force, intellect and great ability. In few words, he was a man to be depended on at all times. Mr. Carnegie was a native of Scotland, born at Dunfermline, October 2, 1844, but as he came to America when a lad of four years, all his recollections were of his adopted country. Upon reaching this country his parents settled in the city of Pittsburg, and there young Carnegie found employment a few years later as telegraph operator in the employ of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. In the year 1860, when only sixteen years old, he entered into a partnership with Messrs. Andrew Carnegie, his brother, Andrew Kloman and Henry Phipps, Jr., in

the operation of a small ironmill which was erected on the site of the present Twenty-ninth Street works. In the year 1865 the firm consolidated with the Cyclops Iron Company, of which Andrew Carnegie and Thomas N. Miller were principal owners, under the firm name of the Union Iron Mills. Subsequently the firm was enlarged and changed at various times, and finally became one of the staunchest concerns in the entire country. On April 1, 1881, it was merged into Carnegie Brothers & Co., Limited, with Thomas M. Carnegie as chairman, a position he filled most creditably until his death. Aside from this Mr. Carnegie was connected with many other business enterprises, among them being that of Carnegie, Phipps & Co., Limited, H. C. Frick Coke Company, and the New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Company. He was also a director of the Keystone Bridge Company, and a director in the Lawrence and Third National Banks. His knowledge of the chemical requirements of steel making had much to do with the success of the firms with which he was identified, and his genial, unassuming manner won the kindest feelings from his associates and employes. A conservative man, retiring in disposition, Mr. Carnegie was a liberal contributor to various enterprises although unobtrusive in his gifts. He was also a lover of good literature, and was particularly fond of the works of Shakespeare. Owing to his finely balanced mind, excellent judgment and keen insight into character and motives, he would have made his mark in the legal profession, particularly so on the judicial bench, but being physically delicate he was obliged to turn his attention to other spheres of usefulness. In the month of June, 1866, Mr. Carnegie wedded Miss Lucy Coleman, daughter of William Coleman, and to this marriage were born six sons and three daughters. While in the prime of life and while best prepared to enjoy the fruits of his genius, he contracted a severe cold which rapidly developed into pneumonia. From this he died at noon on October 19, 1886.

Andrew Fleming, M. D. The ordinary life of a physician of extended practice in a large city, while not usually marked by startling events attracting the attention of the public, is nevertheless one taking a most important place in the lives of most men, for there are often times when the happiness, the means of livelihood, indeed, the entire future of the families, depend upon the ability and devotion of the physician. It is not surprising that the faithful physician justly claims, and ordinarily receives from those patients who have any true appreciation of the great responsibility devolving upon him, their respect, confidence and affection. While the main events of the life of Dr. Andrew Fleming can be stated in a few lines, it would be very difficult to record and give any correct idea of the great number of homes he brightened and cheered, or of the many valuable lives lengthened by his assiduous care during a laborious practice of over forty years. There are but few families in this vicinity that he attended, the members of which, do not gratefully recall instances where the lives of dear ones were saved by his ministrations. Andrew Fleming was born in Pittsburg, July 3, 1830. After reading medicine with Dr. Joseph P. Gazzam, he continued his medical studies at the Jefferson Medical School in Philadelphia in 1853, and was graduated there with honor in 1855. Immediately on receiving his degree, he was elected resident physician of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, where he served a term of eighteen months. Very soon after his entrance on the duties, he was appointed to the responsible position of druggist in place of one who had served in that capacity for twenty-five years. In the spring of 1857 he began to practice in Pittsburg, associating himself with Dr. Joseph P. Gazzam, his old preceptor, on Sixth Avenue, a partnership which was very soon terminated by the retirement and death of Dr. Gazzam. Dr. Fleming remained in the same location until 1888, when he built a beautiful, convenient residence on Western Avenue in Allegheny.

He was married November 24, 1874, to Eliza Thaw Lyon, who survives him. He died at Magnolia, Massachusetts, on August 18, 1896, of a sudden severe attack of intestinal obstruction. His body was brought home and interred in the Allegheny Cemetery, August 22, 1896. It was sad that his death should have occurred just at the beginning of the summer vacation, when he hoped for the rest and recreation that would the better prepare him for his arduous duties. Few men have passed into the other life with a fuller record of daily good deeds done than Dr. Andrew Fleming. Starting in his profession well prepared for the duties involved, he was unusually successful in gaining rapidly an extensive and lucrative practice, and in taking a place among the first physicians of the State. His practice soon reached a point where he was obliged to restrict it territorially, and to refuse to go beyond certain limits. Always exceedingly regular in his habits of life, and paying the strictest attention to his own health, the continued labor and constant strain resulted in a dangerous illness of some months' duration in 1881. Absolute rest and a sojourn in Europe restored perfect health, and he learned, before it was too late, that there is a limit to human exertion, even in a good cause. As a student he was remarkable for two traits that characterized him during his entire life—thoroughness and accuracy. His systematic habits of study and his patient persistence, not only enabled him to grasp the main principles of medical science, but to so make himself master of all the details that he could apply them practically. Heartily and enthusiastically devoted to his profession, he was above all things a physician. Naturally endowed with a power of quick observation, accuracy of eye and dexterity of hand, he diagnosed correctly and operated rapidly and neatly. Until the day of his death he was an earnest and laborious student of medicine. Keeping himself fully informed of all that was being discovered anywhere in the great medical world, carefully investigating for himself any newly suggested remedies and improved modes of surgery; reading and speaking the modern continental languages almost as readily as his own, nothing that transpired in the medical centers of Europe escaped his attention. Holding steadfastly to the fundamental principles of medical science, intolerant only of ignorance and quackery, he heartily greeted, and after most searching examination, adopted, any discovery that would relieve pain or cure disease. He was always prepared for emergencies and fertile in resources. If the most perfect appliance for any special purpose was not to be had at the moment, his mechanical dexterity and ready hands immediately provided a useful substitute from materials at hand. None but his patients can tell how suffering was relieved and comfort increased by his attention to the little things, so essential to the rest of the nervous, wearied invalid. He was anxious not only to make his patient well, but to make him as comfortable as possible. His bright, cheery face, was like sunlight in the sick-room. His personal presence, his gentle touch and musical voice were as efficacious as medicine. Regarding him intellectually, Dr. Fleming was strong and broad. He not only knew what he knew, but he knew for a definite purpose, for a practical end. Outside of the domain of social gossip, for which he had no taste, he seemed to follow the injunction of the Son of Sirach: "Be not ignorant of anything in a great matter or a small." His love of his profession and the enthusiasm with which he pursued it, were apparent to everyone who enjoyed his acquaintance; and whatever books or experience could teach him, he was always eager to learn and to store up for use. As his mind was of a notably scientific cast, he was highly interested in all scientific subjects, and no discovery in the range of science, no novel, or ingenious speculation of a scientific character, escaped his notice.

In referring to Dr. Fleming's literary work, the cause for regret is, that his professional duties allowed him but little leisure for what he did so well. Among



his published papers may be mentioned the monograph "Blood Stains," prepared at the request of, and dedicated to Lincoln's Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton—a clear exposition of a most difficult and intensely practical subject—a paper which is still regarded as authoritative. Another most exhaustive paper on "Antero-lateral Sclerosis," read before the Pennsylvania Medical Society, and extensively published, was valuable to the profession not only as the result of his own observation and practice, but as a complete summary of all that had been discovered by the most eminent physicians in France and Germany, whose original notes and papers, Dr. Fleming, by great personal exertion and at considerable pecuniary cost, had secured. In his brochure on "Emotional Fever" (1879) the clinical description was so clear and precise that it could be readily recognized although the manifestation of the fever was in the narrow borderland separating purely physical disease from mental alienation. To the Bedford Club—composed of the best physicians of Pittsburg and Allegheny—he contributed about forty papers highly esteemed by his associates. They were prepared with the utmost care, always conveyed original information with a precision of statement and an accuracy of detail that indicated a complete knowledge and mastery of his subject. His fellow members of that club say that his remarks and criticisms on the papers of others were characterized by a gentle, courteous spirit of generous commendation where deserved but marked by a correctness of statement and a clearing away of the difficulties of the question under discussion, while at the same time avoiding any disputation or any remarks having the slightest tinge of acrimony or personal feeling. One of the oldest members thus writes: "I think every member was indebted to Dr. Fleming, not a little, for the light and wider field that his predilections secured for us, by their accurate survey and observation." A marked trait in his conduct, not only with his confrères, but patients, and everyone with whom he came in contact, was his unfailing and uniform courtesy. In his intercourse with the members of the medical profession he manifested a delicate sense of the relations existing between those whose sole aim was the good of humanity. His quick perception and cordial recognition of ability and merit in those, younger in years and not so skillful or experienced as himself, was prompt and genuine. Such expressions of approval were the more valued, because he was naturally reserved and reticent, never speaking a word of praise unless he felt that it was deserved.

Early in the war, in 1861, a soldiers' home was opened near the Union Station in Pittsburg, by the Subsistence Committee, to care especially for the multitudes of sick and wounded soldiers on their homeward journey. Dr. Fleming was at this home, on the arrival of the trains, every noon and every midnight, dressing the wounds of the sufferers and prescribing medicine for the sick. As the number of soldiers needing attention was from twenty-five to one hundred each noon and midnight, these merciful ministrations took from one to three hours of his valuable time, but during the four years of the war, he rarely failed to make the two daily visits. Aside and apart from all that made Dr. Fleming an ideal physician, there was the other phase of life and character more difficult to portray, because it was so personal and distinctive in all its traits. Indeed his own conception of what was required for the profession was so high, broad and all-embracing, that he was constantly striving to attain a complete knowledge of all related science. In every department of scientific research—be it archæology, astronomy, biology, botany, zoölogy, any branch of physics, the main principles, the latest discoveries and the present status of each were so accurately stored in his wonderful memory, that they were immediately available. Eminently practical as he was, he cultivated a love of the beautiful in art, and had a thorough acquaintance with the best pictures and statues in the European collections. A



perfect rendition of the masterpieces of music, was to him a source of the keenest pleasure. Few, even of his intimate friends, had any true idea of the lavish generosity that marked his daily life. Not only did he give freely of his rich stores of medical skill, but his open purse provided for the wants of those in need. Often his benefactions were so secretly and delicately conveyed, that the recipients knew not the source of the gifts. His reticence and reserve regarding anything relating to himself were so great—his repugnance to the mere mention of his name in the public prints was so strong—his hatred of anything that he considered an intrusion upon the privacy of his personal life was so marked—that the rich, rare and varied qualities so constantly manifested in his daily life, are matters too sacred for public record. So suddenly came his death, that the many who knew and loved him could not realize that the kind friend, and “the beloved physician” had passed from his labors and entered upon that blessed rest which follows a life of beneficence and love.

Cyrus B. King, M. D., of Allegheny, one of the most prominent among the physicians and surgeons of “Greater Pittsburg,” was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1839, the youngest but one in a family of twelve children born to Dr. Samuel M. and Maria (Black) King. The parents were both natives of Western Pennsylvania. His paternal grandfather, Samuel, was a native of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish descent, and the advent of the family in the State antedates the Revolutionary War. Samuel King was a merchant of Carlisle. He moved to Uniontown, Fayette County, near the close of the last century, becoming one of the first merchants of that place. Samuel Black, his maternal grandfather, came from Ireland to America, shortly after the Colonies had declared their independence from the mother country, and was engaged in farming and glass manufacturing. He became a large holder of realty in Pittsburg, was very active in public matters, was prosperous, established the first ferry from Pittsburg to Birmingham, and died in 1845. Dr. Samuel M. King was educated at Jefferson College, and graduated from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. He immediately thereafter began the practice of his profession at Monongahela City, and continued the same there and elsewhere in Washington County for about fifty years. He won eminence in his profession by his intelligence, industry and high character. He and wife were members of the Presbyterian Church. Cyrus Black King was educated at Columbia College, Washington, D. C., and at the age of about twenty years began reading medicine with an older brother at Monongahela City. In 1861 he entered Jefferson Medical College, and two years later graduated with distinction. On the 9th of March, 1863, the day succeeding his graduation, he entered the Union Army as assistant surgeon, and was at once assigned to duty in the army hospital at Philadelphia, where he continued to serve until the close of the war. He was then appointed superintendent of the West Penn Hospital and the Pittsburg Soldiers’ Home, Pittsburg, and served in that capacity for four years, when he removed to Allegheny and began private practice, still continuing in charge of the medical department of the hospital for two years longer. Since that date he has held a position on the medical staff of the hospital as attending physician. He now has a large practice among the better families. In 1863 he married Miss E. G. Kerr, daughter of Rev. John Kerr. She died in 1881, leaving three children: Anna, wife of Thomas W. Blackwell, Nina D. and Samuel V. April 30, 1897, he married Mrs. Frances K. Brown, daughter of Josiah King. Dr. King is a member of the following medical associations: American, Centennial, State and Allegheny County, and has been president of the latter. He is on the staff of the Allegheny General Hospital, the Children’s Memorial Hospital of Allegheny, Pittsburg Hospital for Children, and is consulting surgeon for the McKeesport Hospital.

Dr. James Aubrey Lippincott, who has been actively engaged in the practice of his profession in Pittsburg during the past twenty years, was born in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, May 31, 1847. He is descended from the eldest son of Richard Lippincott, who settled in New Jersey towards the middle of the seventeenth century. His father, William Lippincott, a native of the State of Maine, was a highly respected business man of vigorous and cultivated mind, deep religious convictions and natural nobility of character; and was an influential advocate, on the platform, in the press and in his daily life of movements for the elevation of the community. His mother, Jessie Mackenzie Lippincott, was the daughter of a highland Scotchman who retained the full use of his faculties, mental and physical, until the very hour of his death at the age of ninety-seven. In 1863, some months after the death of his father, the subject of this sketch, then 16 years of age, having been prepared for college in the public schools of his native town, entered Dalhousie University, Halifax, and four years later received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During his collegiate course he stood first in his class in a considerable number of branches, and in his final year took the prize for an essay open for competition to all the students of the university. After graduation he was invited to take charge of the Pictou Academy (one of the most noted institutions of the kind in the province) where he was mainly occupied in preparing young men for college. In 1869 he began his medical studies in the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, from which he graduated in 1873. He was at once elected resident surgeon in the Will's Eye Hospital and after a service of twelve months received the honor—unusual for a non-resident of the Quaker City—of election as resident physician in the Pennsylvania Hospital. At the expiration of his term of eighteen months he began private practice, but continued his hospital work, having been appointed dispensary surgeon to the Presbyterian Hospital and assistant surgeon in the eye and ear department of the Children's Hospital. In 1877 he removed to Pittsburg where he has confined his attention to diseases of the eye and ear. Soon after coming here the department for these affections at the free dispensary was placed in his charge, and later he was elected ophthalmic and aural surgeon to the Mercy Hospital and still later to the Allegheny General Hospital. He has also devoted much time to professional work in a number of our public institutions for children, such as the Home for the Friendless, the Protestant Orphan Asylum, St. Paul's Orphan Asylum and the Reform School at Morganza.

In addition to the work incident to these positions and the care of an exceptionally large private practice Dr. Lippincott has given a good deal of attention to the management of several of our charitable institutions. His contributions to medical literature have been quite numerous and have made him well known as an original thinker both in this country and in Europe. Among the articles from his pen may be mentioned the following: "On the traumatic elongation of bone" (*American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, 1875); "A gaseous tumor on the anterior surface of the chest and communicating with a pulmonary vomica" (*Philadelphia Medical Times*, 1876); "Atrophy of the optic nerve" (*Medical and Surgical Reporter*, 1878); "Two cases of orbital abscess" (*Transactions American Ophthalmological Society*, 1883); "Trephining in sclerosis mastoiditis" (*Transactions American Otological Society*, 1884); "A new syringe for effecting intraocular irrigation" (*Transactions American Ophthalmological Society*, 1889); "On the binocular metamorphosis produced by correcting glasses" (*Archives of Ophthalmology*, 1889); "New test for binocular vision" (*New York Medical Journal*, 1890); "Intraocular syringing in cataract extraction, illustrated by 100 cases" (*Transactions American Ophthalmological Society*, 1891); "Our public institutions as sources of impaired vision" (Address delivered before the Penn-

sylvania State Medical Society, 1891); "On the direct application of very hot water to corneal ulcers" (London Ophthalmic Review, 1892). He has recently been invited to contribute a chapter on an important subject for an encyclopedic work on diseases of the eye and ear, shortly to be published in Philadelphia. In 1892 he married Miss Mary S. T. Bush, second daughter of the late John T. Bush and Mary Ford Bush of Clifton Place, Niagara Falls, Ont. He has one brother living, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lippincott, United States Army.

Dr. Herman W. Hechelman. One of the most worthy exponents of the medical profession in the city of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, is Dr. Herman W. Hechelman, who owes his nativity to Lindau, Kingdom of Bavaria, where he was born August 10, 1848. His parents, Martin Hechelman, was born in Lindau, Bavaria, and Katharine (Kachel), in Wurtemberg, continuing their home at the former place until the German revolution of 1848, when the father, for political reasons, was compelled to leave his native land, and chose America as his refuge. He arrived in the United States in 1853 and joined a brother-in-law at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, who, like himself, was a political refugee. Upon his arrival they formed a partnership and embarked in the brewing business, to which occupation his attention was devoted for many years with financial success. He died in 1887, but his widow survives him and makes her home in Germany. When a lad of twelve years, or in 1860, Herman W. Hechelman left his native land and joined his father in this country, and for five years thereafter attended the public schools of Allegheny, Pennsylvania. He was then sent back to Germany to complete his literary education at Stuttgart, but returned to this country late in 1866 and the following year was spent as a general clerk in a drug store. While there he acquired a taste for and no inconsiderable knowledge of medicine, and he soon after entered Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, from which he was graduated in 1869. Immediately after this he returned to Europe for the purpose of still further increasing his knowledge of the healing art and a post graduate course was taken in the famous medical schools of Munich and Vienna, from the former of which he was graduated in 1870. While in Vienna the Franco-Prussian war broke out and Dr. Hechelman tendered his services to Bavaria, although he was a naturalized citizen of the United States, and being accepted was assigned to the position of surgeon and served as such until the war terminated. For services rendered during this struggle, he received the decoration of the Iron Cross. The following six months were spent in attending clinics at Berlin, after which he once more returned to the land of his adoption, and has ever since been one of the active medical practitioners of Allegheny, Pennsylvania. Upon the establishment of the Allegheny General Hospital he was elected surgeon and in 1886 was elected professor of anatomy in West Pennsylvania Medical College, which he later resigned to accept the professorship of the chair of diseases of the eye and ear, a position he has ever since retained. In 1887 he resigned from his position in the Allegheny General Hospital and was made assistant surgeon of the West Penn Hospital, which position he held until 1896. He was elected ophthalmic and aural surgeon for West Pennsylvania Hospital. Aside from this he is ophthalmic and aural surgeon in the Home of the Friendless, consulting surgeon to the Guskey Home and United States examining surgeon. He is a member of the board of trustees of the West Pennsylvania Medical College, of which he is also the present treasurer. Dr. Hechelman was married May 1, 1873, to Miss Emma E., daughter of Adam Reineman, of Allegheny, and to their union a family of four children have been given, only the following two of whom are living: Lucy O. and Esta H. Mrs. Hechelman is a consistent member of the Presbyterian Church.

Dr. James C. Dunn, one of the faculty of the West Penn Medical College,

was born in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, December 9, 1847. William and Catharine Crerar (McIntosh) Dunn, his parents, were of Scottish ancestry and had born to them a family of eight children, all yet living but one. Dr. Dunn was educated in the grammar schools of his native locality and at Pictou Academy. Both before and after his academical course he had taught school, his pedagogical career ending while he was principal of the graded schools of Stellarton. In September, 1869, he entered Jefferson Medical College, at Philadelphia, from which he was graduated in 1871. During this time he spent one year in the Northern Dispensary doing practical work there as well as outside. In 1871 he came to Pittsburg and at once entered into an active practice at which he has ever since continued. In the early organization of the Pittsburg Free Dispensary he became a member of the general staff of that institution. In 1886 he organized and was placed in charge of the department of diseases of the skin, continuing in charge until 1896 when he severed active connection with the dispensary and was made consulting dermatologist. For ten years he was one of the staff of physicians and surgeons to St. Francis Hospital; was assistant on the staff of the West Penn Hospital for about eight years, and for the past two years has been dermatologist of that institution. In 1886 he organized the department for diseases of the skin in the dispensary of the West Penn Medical College and has ever since continuously conducted that department. From the establishment of the West Penn Medical College in 1886 to the present time, Dr. Dunn has been professor of clinical dermatology. In 1893 he was elected to the chair of materia medica and therapeutics and has since filled these positions. From the organization of the college to the present, Dr. Dunn has been a member of the board of trustees. In 1893 he was elected to represent the Medical Department on the board of trustees of the Western University of Pennsylvania. For the past twelve years Dr. Dunn has largely devoted his practice to diseases of the skin. He is a member of the County, State and National medical associations, and was, for six years, a member of the local board of health. In 1877 Miss Juliette Thalia DuBarry became his wife, and by her he is the father of six children, only two, John Sidney and George DuBarry, now living. The doctor and wife belong to the Fourth Presbyterian Church.

The McConway and Torley Company, manufacturers of Janney car couplers, buffers and malleable iron castings, was organized January 1, 1869. It was then known as Lewis & Co., composed of Samuel Lewis, William McConway and John J. Torley, and their business was the manufacture of saddlery, hardware and malleable iron castings. After a short time Mr. Lewis withdrew from the firm and was succeeded by John Heath and William Dilworth, Jr., the firm name then becoming McConway, Torley & Co. Upon the withdrawal of Mr. Dilworth the firm continued without change until the death of Mr. Torley, shortly after which Mr. Heath disposed of his interest to Mr. McConway, and the business was then conducted under the title of McConway & Torley, composed of William McConway and Frances B. Torley, the widow of John J. Torley. In 1887 the McConway and Torley Company was incorporated, succeeding the firm of McConway & Torley. The growth of this concern is shown in the following comparisons: In 1869 thirty-five men were employed; at the present time one thousand are on the pay-rolls. The plant covers four acres under roof with eight acres adjoining for yard and storage purposes. In 1873 the manufacture of saddlery hardware was abandoned and since then their attention has been confined to the railway supply trade. The present annual tonnage of the concern amounts to 25,000 tons of malleable iron castings and wrought iron and steel forgings. Much of the success of this corporation is attributable to the president, William McConway. Mr. McConway was born February 14, 1842, in the parish of Desermartin,



County Derry, Ireland. He came with his parents, John and Isabella (Kissick) McConway, to the United States in 1849, and until twelve years of age, attended the public schools of Pittsburg. In 1854 he entered the employ of the old Novelty Works, but six months later found service with Olnhausen & Crawford, who, with the Novelty Works above named, were the pioneer manufacturers of malleable iron castings west of the Alleghany Mountains. He enlisted as a private, in September, 1861, in Company M, One Hundred and Second Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, for the suppression of the rebellion, and participated in all the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac up to and including the battle of Petersburg. In 1863 he was commissioned second lieutenant, and in September, 1864, was honorably discharged by reason of expiration of his term of service. With the exception of the time while in the service, Mr. McConway continued with Olnhausen & Crawford, which later was succeeded by John Crawford & Co., of which firm Mr. McConway was the junior partner, until he became identified with the house of which he is now president. He is sometimes classed as Scotch-Irish, but never so without incurring his displeasure. He is Irish, "pure and undefiled," and very properly declares there can be no such person as Scotch-Irish.

John J. Torley, who for many years was connected with the enterprise conducted under the title of McConway & Torley Company, was a product of Rochester, New York, born April 14, 1831; son of Michael and Catherine Torley. When a lad of nine years he accompanied his parents to Pittsburg, and in the public schools of that city received the principal part of his education, attending Old South Ward School. He learned the trade of molding at the Pittsburg Novelty Works, about 1845, and later was engaged as surveyor on the Connellsville Railroad. Following this he was engaged as traveling salesman for Reynolds & Co.'s Malleable Iron Works where he got a thorough insight into the business, and then filled the same position for Weldon & Kelly for some time. Still later he became connected with the malleable iron firm of Lewis & Co., and when Mr. Lewis retired a new firm was organized about 1868, composed of William McConway, John J. Torley and John Heath, as above mentioned. Mr. Torley was also interested in the Kloman Steel Works. His success in life was the result of his own industry and good management for he commenced life at the foot of the ladder. Many a young man, struggling onward and upward, found in Mr. Torley a true friend whose counsel and advice led them to renewed exertions. Not only did he assist them with advice but often in a more substantial manner. His pleasant, genial disposition won him friends on every side and he held them with "hooks of steel." His unusual energy led him early to take part in all enterprises that had the interests of the city at heart and whether as volunteer fireman, fire commissioner, city councilman, and finally as one of the most successful iron manufacturers in Pittsburg, or as plain citizen, John J. Torley, he left the impress of his character and individuality on everything with which he came in contact. He was in the City Councils—both common and select branches—for many years and for two terms, or six years, was a member of the Board of Fire Commissioners. At the time of his death he was a member of Select Council from the First Ward. Mr. Torley was one of the members of the first Board of Fire Commissioners and was one of the organizers of the paid fire department. He was also an old member of the Vigilant Fire Company, and in the early days of the volunteer system he was an active fireman. In politics Mr. Torley was a Democrat, but was never a bitter partisan and had many warm friends in the Republican ranks. When in the Common Council (from Third Ward) and also member of the police and fire alarm committee, he was presented with an elegant set of silverware, as a testimonial in behalf of his friends and fellow councilmen, for his services as councilman and for improvements made on various city offices.



He was a charter member of Torley Lodge (named in his honor), A. O. U. W. On the 19th of June, 1860, he married Miss Frances Zimmerman, at St. Paul's Cathedral, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. They became the parents of five children—Kate, Mary, Maggie, John, Jr., and Frank. His wife and two children (Mrs. B. F. O'Callaghan and John J. Torley) survive him. He was very domestic in his taste and was happiest and appeared at his best when at home. He and his daughter Kate were killed in a railroad disaster on the evening of November 10, 1880. His funeral was the largest ever seen in Pittsburg. Thus died an honorable and useful citizen.

Hon. Christopher L. Magee. This gentleman comes of a family that has been prominent in Western Pennsylvania for many years; in fact, the municipal and political history of Pittsburg cannot be written without frequent mention of this name. The proceedings of the City Councils and the scope and character of municipal improvement, have in a large degree been directed by some member of this well-known family. The gentleman who heads this sketch, even as a young man and without other aids than his own ability and the family renown, easily distinguished himself by his capacity for political leadership and his sagacity in gaining control of important public interests. As a matter of history, it must be stated, much to his credit, that he is the undoubted leader of the Republican party of Pittsburg and vicinity.

He was born in this city April 14, 1848, and was here reared and educated. His father died comparatively poor in 1863, and he was thus thrown upon his own resources. He accepted a clerkship in the office of the city controller, and here he first gained an insight into the wonderful shifts and manipulations of city politics. He enjoyed the battles for political control from the start, and an ambition in that direction took possession of him.

In 1869 he became cashier of the city treasury and in 1871, though but twenty-three years of age, was elected to the office of city treasurer by a majority of eleven hundred, the mayor on the same ticket being defeated by fifteen hundred majority: this election at once attested his popularity and indicated what the future had in store for him. He was wise enough to outwit his political enemies and make the most of his opportunities. In 1874 he was reelected to the same office, running eighteen hundred votes ahead of his ticket. He then turned more of his attention to business, though, for ten years, he was a member of the fire commission and part of the time its president. He was the author of the regulation that the city debt can be increased only by a vote of the people. To a remarkable degree he had the capacity of anticipating, preserving and enforcing the wishes of the people even at this early stage in his career. His strength and skill in the political arena would not permit his relinquishment of public service. His friends, knowing his power, repeatedly brought him forward, much to the advantage of municipal improvements. Through his persistent efforts the city debt was immensely decreased and qualifications for public service were greatly improved. He served as secretary of the Republican State committee, many times as delegate to the Republican State Convention and to the Republican National Convention. In the famous fight in the national convention at Chicago in 1880, under the leadership of Roscoe Conkling, he was one of the 306 who held out so long for General Grant. In 1884 he clung to General Arthur until the defeat of the latter, and in 1888 engineered the break of Pennsylvania from Sherman to Harrison, leading off with the five Allegheny votes. In 1896 he was nominated for the State Senate by his party, which act was ratified by the opposition, and was elected by an overwhelming majority. In the early use of natural gas, he became interested and gained much money and afterward made excellent investments in real estate which likewise yielded him large profits. He is still the

owner of valuable realty in this city. In 1884 he bought *The Times*, which he rescued from death, and made one of the strongest journals in this part of the State. He caused to be erected the fine building in which *The Times* is now published. He is interested, also, in several banking, insurance and electric companies. As a builder of city street railways and as manager thereof, he has been actively and prominently engaged for many years. In effecting the union of many lines in this vicinity recently into the Consolidated Traction Company, he performed valiant service in the interest of harmony and public comfort and in this new organization owns a large block of stock. From a life of unusual activity, care and responsibility, he finds time to enjoy his beautiful home and the society of his accomplished wife, formerly Miss Eleanor L. Gillespie, daughter of a prominent merchant, deceased. He loves art and books and welcomes all the light which society and wealth can cast upon life. In the struggle for success, whether in politics or business, he is broad and just enough to harbor no revenge toward a fallen foe; on the contrary he helps him to his feet, washes the blood from his face and assists him with means and influence.

William Latham Abbott was born April 29, 1852, at Columbus, Ohio. He is the youngest son of Timothy Dwight Abbott and Mary Cutler Crosby, whose families were prominently identified with the early settlement of Columbus. Mr. Abbott is a descendant of Robert Abbott who came to America from England in 1634, and who was one of the first settlers of Branford, Connecticut. His lineage connects him with the families of the Turners, Yales, Atwaters, and Ives, all prominently and honorably connected with the history of Connecticut from its earliest settlement. Mr. Abbott's parents removed to Illinois in 1859, subsequently locating at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His educational opportunities were limited to an academic school. In 1871 he came to accept a clerical position in the office of Carnegie, Kloman & Co., whose business then was limited to the Union Iron Mills. Mr. Abbott was made superintendent of those works in 1876. Later he became a partner, and on the organization of the firm of Carnegie, Phipps & Co., Limited, was elected one of the board of managers, and chosen vice-chairman. Upon the retirement in 1889 of John Walker as chairman, Mr. Abbott succeeded to that office. In that capacity he had the general supervision of the entire interests of the firm, which embraced the Homestead Steel Works, Upper and Lower Union Iron Mills, Lucy Furnaces, and Beaver Falls Steel Works. At the same time he was a member of the board of managers of the firm of Carnegie Bros. & Co., Limited, operating the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, and was also managing director of the Keystone Bridge Works. It was during this period that the Carnegie industries grew from a comparatively small iron manufacturing concern to one of the few great plants of the world. In 1892 Mr. Abbott, desiring to retire from active business, severed his connection with the firm with which his entire business career had been identified. The following five years were devoted to foreign travel and rest. While no longer actively connected with manufacturing, Mr. Abbott is largely interested in important business enterprises in Pittsburgh, being director of the Pittsburgh National Bank of Commerce, Lincoln Foundry Company, and Duquesne Manufacturing Company. He is also a director of the Chamber of Commerce, of the Art Society, of the Western Institution for the Blind, and other social and charitable organizations. In 1877 Mr. Abbott was married to Annie Wainwright, youngest daughter of the late Zachariah Wainwright of Pittsburgh.

Charles M. Schwab was born at Williamsburg, Blair County, Pennsylvania, on February 18th, 1862. His parents afterwards located at Loretta, Pennsylvania, where he was educated at St. Francis College, graduating with high honors at the age of nineteen. In 1880 he secured a position at the Edgar Thomson Steel

Works as assistant engineer and afterward was appointed chief engineer of these works. His first stepping stone to the success he subsequently attained, was the superintendence, designing and erection of the magnificent blast furnace plant at that works, and also the designing and erection of a new rail mill which has become famous for its tremendous output of steel rails. He is also the inventor of many valuable rolling mill devices which are now being used all over the world. In October, 1887, he was made general superintendent of the Homestead Steel Works. In October, 1889, he was appointed general superintendent of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works. In October, 1892 (in which year the Homestead Works became renowned owing to the great strike then in progress), he was appointed general superintendent of both Edgar Thomson and Homestead Steel Works with headquarters at Homestead. On April 1st, 1897, he was made president of the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited. He is a mathematical genius; a man of exceptionally strong character and possesses wonderful executive ability.

Benjamin Bakewell, who was born in Pittsburgh, December 25, 1833, and died March 19, 1897, was the son of the late John Palmer Bakewell, and grandson of Benjamin Bakewell, of Derby, England, who, in 1808, came with his family on the then arduous journey from New York to Pittsburgh, to establish here one of the first successful glass factories in the country. Benjamin Bakewell, Jr., was closely identified in every way with the early interests of his city. His life was spent here, save when as a young boy, he went to an Eastern college to receive his education. He was a member of the old firm of Bakewell, Pears & Co. from 1859 until its dissolution in 1877; and did much to promote not only the quantity but the artistic quality of the glassware produced in the factory. Mr. Bakewell was among the first in 1861 to answer his country's call for aid, enlisting immediately, in response to the first call for volunteers, as one of the "three-month volunteers," and after his term of service expired, giving of both his time and money to save the Union. At the time of his death he had been for twenty years a vestryman of old Trinity Church, where he had most faithfully labored to secure that which was best for church, rector and people. And for eighteen years he had been a director in the Dollar Savings Bank, where his high principles and clear judgment made him an invaluable co-worker. In politics Mr. Bakewell was always an ardent Republican and decided protectionist, retaining at the same time a deep strain of conservatism, inherited from his English ancestry. His circle of friends and acquaintances was very large, and he was perhaps one of the most familiar figures in the town with which he was always associated.

James Brown (deceased). It is a pleasure to chronicle the history of a man whose life was one of honor and usefulness, and whose strong individuality and mental powers have left their impress upon the community in which he so long resided. Such a man was James Brown, whose name was synonymous with the advancement morally, intellectually and financially of Pittsburgh, where he was one of the first settlers. Mr. Brown was born in the North of Ireland and was descended from Scotch and Irish Presbyterian ancestors. When a young man, in the year 1804, he came on a trip to America and, liking this country, determined to make it his future home. He located at Pittsburgh, then a small frontier town, and enjoyed a long and successful business career, being connected with the growing prospects of the city in various lines, including dry goods, real estate, manufacturing iron, and incidentally, banking. He founded the firm of Miltenberger & Brown, of the Wayne Iron Works, one of the earliest of Pittsburgh's mills, and which, down to the present day, has been in the hands of his direct descendants. Mr. Brown was also a member of the first board of directors of the Bank of Pittsburgh on receipt of its charter in 1814. His grandson, J. Stuart Brown, is a member of the board of directors at the present time. With the

knowledge gathered in nearly a century of useful observation, James Brown passed away in 1873, at the age of ninety-four. He married Mary Banton and they became the parents of five children who lived to years of maturity, and three of them sons: John H. Brown, afterwards of Philadelphia; Mansfield B. Brown, who originally owned the site and founded the town of Mansfield, Pennsylvania, which is now Carnegie, Pennsylvania; and Joseph S. Brown, who, at the time of his death in 1893, was president of the Carrie Furnace Company. John H. Brown, the eldest son, was born May 28, 1809, in Pittsburg. Early in life he went to Philadelphia and there founded the well-known dry goods house of John H. Brown & Co. The following years brought him nothing but success in his business, and he continued until 1865, when he dissolved the partnership and retired from the dry goods business. Subsequently he devoted much of his time to his inherited and acquired iron interest in Pittsburg. He married Anna, daughter of Townsend Sharpless, of Philadelphia. Mr. Brown died November 15, 1888, and left three children, as follows: Alice M., now the wife of Dr. Charles W. Fox, of Philadelphia; J. Stuart, and Henry Graham. J. Stuart and Henry Graham Brown moved to Pittsburg and devoted their time and attention to the Wayne Iron and Steel Works which passed to them after the death of their father. Their mother died when yet comparatively young in years. She was an exceptionally bright, charming woman and an authoress of repute. One of her works, a book of verses for children, entitled "Stories for Alice," obtained such favor with the public that the first edition was completely exhausted and a second edition was called for. In her family she was ever the loving wife and mother, the confidante and aid of husband and children. Her death occurred April 11, 1856, at the age of thirty-eight. The Wayne Iron and Steel Works was founded in 1825 and has passed through the firm names of Miltenberger & Brown, Bailey, Brown & Co., and Brown & Co. January 1, 1892, the firm was incorporated as Brown & Co., Incorporated, with J. Stuart Brown as president and Henry Graham Brown as vice-president. The Brown brothers were both born and educated in Philadelphia, but in 1874 they came to Pittsburg where they have since made their home. J. Stuart Brown was born May 18, 1850, and married Lily Shiras Forsyth. They have two sons and a daughter: McCleane, Stuart, Jr., and Lilian Forsyth. Henry Graham Brown was born June 20, 1852, and he married Nannie Pugsley. They have two daughters: Barbara Winston and Elizabeth Sharpless. The boys as they grow up are expected to carry on the business originally developed by their great-grandfather, James Brown, and will be the fourth generation in direct descent that has conducted this enterprise.

Adam M. Brown. This eminent lawyer, financier and citizen is a native of Pennsylvania, his birth having occurred August 3, 1830. He comes of a distinguished ancestry, his grandfather, Adam Brown, for whom he was named, having served faithfully and honorably in the Continental Army under General Washington. Adam Brown had previously lived in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, but about the close of the eighteenth century he removed to Butler County, where he erected the first grist mill in the neighborhood of what has since become Brownsdale. His ancestors were early settlers of Eastern Pennsylvania, having come there far back in Colonial times. His third son, Joseph Brown, upon reaching man's estate, was united in marriage with Miss Mary, daughter of James Marshall, who had come from Ireland to Pittsburg in 1822, and a few years later removed to Butler County. Both the families of Brown and Marshall were people of unusual intelligence and strength of character and purpose. James Marshall was the father, also, of Hon. Thomas M. Marshall and A. M. Marshall, of Pittsburg, and Judge Marshall, of Butler County, all of whom, by their ability and sterling qualities, have made a powerful impress on the public affairs of the

State. Joseph Brown followed the occupation of farming and after an uneventful though useful life passed away in 1883, his wife, Mary, having preceded him in 1877. They reared several children, of whom Jane, Esther, William, Sarah and Adam M. are yet living. The latter received the most liberal training afforded by the schools of his native county, and finished his education in private schools in Pittsburg. He read law with his uncle, Thomas M. Marshall, and was admitted to the bar in 1853. For twelve years he was a member of the firm of Marshall & Brown, but since 1865 has been in individual practice. During this long period he became one of the most adroit and successful lawyers in Western Pennsylvania. The firm of Marshall & Brown enjoyed a large and profitable practice which they gained by loyalty to clients, skill and high ability in the contentions of the courts and an almost invariable success. Mr. Brown is justly recognized as a leading member of the Allegheny County bar and has achieved many professional triumphs. Although his practice is almost wholly confined to civil cases, he has, for special causes, appeared in important criminal cases, in the trial of which he exhibits the same conspicuous energy and ability which have invariably characterized his professional work in all other courts and cases. Mr. Brown has been a lifelong supporter of the principles of the Republican party. He was a member of the Select Council of Pittsburg for three years; was a delegate to the national convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for President in 1864, and to the one that nominated Grant and Colfax in 1868. He has never sought or desired public office, evidently preferring to confine his attention exclusively to his large legal practice and to other matters of a business character. Energetic and efficient upon all occasions of public emergency; patriotic and public spirited, he enjoys the thorough respect and confidence of all who know him. He belongs to the United Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg. Upon the organization of the Anchor Savings Bank, one of the solid financial institutions of the city, Mr. Brown was elected president, and so acceptably did he fill the requirements of this position that he has been ever since retained in that capacity. He is also a director in the Cash Insurance Company and other corporations.

By the superiority of his talents, the strength of his mind, the rectitude of his intentions and his life and the wisdom of his judgment, he has, for many years, stood among the most honorable and conspicuous citizens of Pittsburg. In 1851 Mr. Brown married Lucetta, daughter of Adam Turney, of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, and to their union have been born four sons and two daughters: Marshall, William J., Thomas M., John D., Sarah M. and Carrie A. Adam Turney was of Scotch-Irish lineage, and his wife, Hannah, was a daughter of Rev. John William Weber, founder of G. R. M. E. Church, corner of Sixth Avenue and Smithfield Street, one of the pioneer churches of Pittsburg.

Robert Pitcairn. In the village of Johnstown, near Paisley, Scotland, Robert Pitcairn was born May 6, 1836. Early in their married life his parents, John and Agnes Pitcairn, crossed the ocean to America, but subsequently returned to their native country, where they remained for about fifteen years. With the sole purpose of giving their children a better chance they returned to America in 1846, and made their home in Pittsburg, where the father, who was a skilled mechanic, passed his last days. Up to the age of ten years Mr. Pitcairn remained in his native land and received the rudiments of his education there. After reaching the United States he attended the schools of Pittsburg, principally the night schools as he was employed during the day, and in 1848 he entered upon his duties in a variety store. This was his first regular position. Later, through the influence of a friend, he secured a position as messenger boy in the office of the Atlantic and Ohio Telegraph Company, at Pittsburg, where he took advantage of every



opportunity to perfect himself in telegraphy. Possessed of much ambition and urged to greater by his environments, he soon became an expert operator and was one of the first to read by sound. As quickly as he was found to be fitted he was promoted and was soon sent to Steubenville, Ohio, as assistant operator and telegraph line repairman, when the railroad west of Steubenville was started. Still later he was made operator at Pittsburg on the Cleveland Line, when the old Ohio and Pennsylvania (now the Pennsylvania, Fort Wayne and Chicago) Railway was started, and afterwards as operator at Pittsburg on the Atlantic and Ohio (a line from Pittsburg to Philadelphia) when the Pennsylvania Railroad was near completion. The railroad business had ever had an attraction for him and desiring to become connected with it in 1853, he secured a position with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as telegraph operator and assistant ticket-agent at the Mountain House, near Hollidaysburg, while the company was still using the old Portage road over the mountains. In 1854, after the company had completed its own track over the mountains, Mr. Pitcairn was transferred to the general superintendent's office at Altoona, where he remained, filling different positions, until 1861, with the exception of about a year, when he was sent by the Pennsylvania Railroad to the Western Division of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago, while the road was being completed between Plymouth and Chicago. Having acted as division superintendent in previous years, Mr. Pitcairn, in 1861, was regularly appointed superintendent of the middle division, embracing that part of the line between Conemaugh and Mifflin. Soon after his appointment the road was divided into three instead of four divisions, and Mr. Pitcairn, being the last appointed, was left without a division. A new department being created he was put in charge with the title of "superintendent of transportation," and while discharging the duties of this position he organized the car-record, a system of car mileage and other matters pertaining to that department as they are now conducted. During the Civil War, in addition to the extra labor necessitated by the transportation of large bodies of troops and supplies, particularly in 1862, he had charge as superintendent of the middle division between Harrisburg and Altoona, and as superintendent of the Pittsburg division, between Altoona and Pittsburg. So ably did he fill this position that in the spring of 1865 he was promoted to the superintendency of the Pittsburg division, a position he has since filled in a most satisfactory manner. In 1875 he was tendered the general agency of the road at Pittsburg in addition to the other position he was holding. His marriage to Miss Elizabeth E., daughter of John Rigg, a resident of Altoona, formerly of Lewistown, Pennsylvania, was celebrated July 26, 1856, and to this union have been born four children, three daughters and a son. Although not an active politician, Mr. Pitcairn has always advocated the principles of the Republican party, and was secretary of the first Republican convention held in Blair County, Pennsylvania. In religion he is a Presbyterian, and takes a deep interest in all good work. For many years he has been a member of the Masonic Order, and is now past grand commander of the Knights Templar of the Keystone State. However, his duties of late have prevented him from taking an active part in the order. Mr. Pitcairn has been a director of the Masonic Bank since its organization; is now a director of the Citizens' National Bank of Pittsburg, a director of the First National Bank of Greensburg, and resident vice-president and director of the American Surety Company at Pittsburg, and a director of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition. Many years ago he became acquainted with Mr. George Westinghouse, Jr., when that gentleman started his world-known and celebrated air-brake, and assisted in the organization and introduction of the same. He is now vice-president and director of the company. He is also a director in the Philadelphia Natural Gas Company, as well as other

companies known as the Westinghouse plants, and there has been no sphere in which he has been called to labor which has not been benefited by his exertions.

John Scott Ferguson. In the elements of strategy, without an intuition of which no lawyer can reach distinction, it is doubtful if any other lawyer of this city is the superior of the gentleman whose name forms the subject for this sketch. The characteristics which have made him successful in his profession were with him at the outset of his career. He had, as a young man, the tact, skill, energy and integrity to successfully meet most of his professional brethren in a fair fight. It is not to be wondered at, then, that he very soon established a large practice. He had the qualities to win and he succeeded. And yet his life has been uneventful, though it affords an interesting lesson. Mr. Ferguson was born in this city January 24, 1842, and is the son of Charles and Mary A. (Hamilton) Ferguson, the former a native of Washington County, this State, and the son of John Ferguson, of Londonderry, New Hampshire, who was one of the colonial defenders in the Revolutionary War. After that sanguinary conflict John Ferguson came west to Washington County, Pennsylvania, where he reared his family and passed away. His son, Charles, the father of John Scott Ferguson, upon reaching manhood, became a contractor and builder, and removed to Pittsburgh, where he pursued that vocation for many years. He died in 1875, followed by his widow two years later. They were the parents of three sons and three daughters, of whom one son and three daughters are yet living. John Scott Ferguson, since his birth, has made Pittsburgh his home. He received his early education in the city public schools and prepared for the university at the Allegheny City College, but, owing to the distraction of the Civil War, he was never able to take such a course. Instead he entered the employ of Hussey, Wells & Co., a large steel manufacturing firm, and while attending to the duties thus required of him, read law under the direction of Robert Woods. April 7, 1863, he passed the examination and was admitted to the bar, and immediately thereafter became a partner of Solomon Schoyer, Jr. This partnership continued with mutual profit and satisfaction for three years, after which Mr. Ferguson practiced alone until 1874, when James W. Murray became his partner, the firm name being Ferguson & Murray. After two years this firm was dissolved, whereupon Mr. Ferguson continued alone until 1880, when his son, Edwin G. Ferguson, became his partner, the firm name becoming J. S. & E. G. Ferguson. The son had previously read law in his father's office, and was admitted to practice the same year that he became his father's partner. Father and son have continued to practice together down to the present time. Having a natural aptitude and inclination for law, Mr. Ferguson had no difficulty in gaining prompt recognition. His practice has not been confined to any particular line, but has been of a general character. As a trial lawyer he has succeeded in a remarkable degree, but a growing clientage in the line of corporate law has kept him, to a considerable extent, confined to office practice. A Republican in politics, he has never aspired to any political preferment, preferring to confine his attention exclusively to his legal practice, in which he has achieved a degree of success far above the average. During the past thirty-three years he has been connected with some of the most important litigation in the State. Perhaps the largest case, from a monetary point of view, with which he has been connected, was that involving bonds of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company to the amount of \$10,000,000. A very important case in which Mr. Ferguson was retained was that of the builders' strike of 1892, where he was engaged on the side of the employers. The lower courts held in favor of the strikers, a conspiracy of the employers, contrary to the spirit of the law, being the grounds for the decision; but the Supreme Court reversed the finding of the inferior courts, thus sustain-

ing the position advocated by Mr. Ferguson. Another important and interesting case in which he was counsel, was that of the ejectment cases known as the Cu-ba-you quit cases some twelve years ago. This, briefly, serves to illustrate the importance of the cases upon which he has been retained. He was married September 10, 1863, to Miss Nancy A. Graham, the daughter of Hugh M. and Abigail (Cabbage) Graham. Five children have been born to this union—Edwin G., Mary H. (Mrs. H. Watts), Areta S., John S., Jr., and Anna L. Mrs. Ferguson is a native of Pittsburg and a member of the East Liberty Presbyterian Church.

George W. Guthrie descends from one of the oldest and best known families of Pittsburg, being a son of John B. Guthrie, a grandson of James V. Guthrie, and a great grandson of John Guthrie, who was an officer in the Revolutionary War. The family ancestry can be traced back to the time of Charles II., when members of it were living in Scotland. From there they went to the northern part of Ireland, and in 1744 immigrated to America, finding a home in Pennsylvania. James V. Guthrie was a boatbuilder. He was born in Carlisle, but came to Pittsburg early in the present century, and died August 4, 1827. He married Martha, daughter of John Brandon, who was a captain in the war between the colonies and Great Britain, and afterwards was sheriff of Westmoreland County, this State. John B. Guthrie was born at Kittanning, Armstrong County, July 26, 1807, but came to Pittsburg while yet a child. Possessing superior intelligence, he became one of its foremost citizens. Being strictly upright in his relations with his fellow man, it is natural that he was often called upon to fill positions of honor and trust, and for two terms was elected and served as mayor of the city. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1872-73. He chose a wife in the person of Miss Catharine S. Murray, who bore him a family of eight children, six living to years of maturity, and four (Alexander M., Robert W., George W. and Annie S.) of whom are yet alive. He died honored and respected by all who knew him, in August, 1885. Catharine S. Guthrie was a daughter of Magnus M. Murray, whose ancestors left Scotland during the troublous times of 1715. Commodore Alexander Murray, father of Magnus M., had an exceptionally fine record in the Revolutionary War. His father-in-law, General John Wilkins, was also a Revolutionary officer. Magnus M. studied law in Philadelphia, and was there admitted to practice; but in about the year 1807 he came to Pittsburg, where for a time he pursued the practice of his profession. Having the charge of quite a large estate belonging to his father, much of his time was taken up in managing this property, and he was also one of the promoters of one of the first rolling-mills to be established in Pittsburg. He was elected mayor of the city, and is yet well remembered by the older citizens of Pittsburg. He died March 3, 1838, when fifty-one years of age. George W. Guthrie, the immediate subject of this sketch, grew to man's estate in Pittsburg, where he was born September 5, 1848. After attending the public schools of the city he entered the University of Western Pennsylvania, from which he was graduated in 1866. Upon the advice of Judge Lowrie, he pursued a course of study pertaining to commerce, but a year later became a student in the office of Hon. Robert J. Walker, of Washington, D. C. Entering the law department of Columbian College he was graduated therefrom in 1869 and was admitted to the Washington bar, but came to Pittsburg, where he was admitted to practice November 5, 1869. Mr. Guthrie immediately took high rank among the lawyers of the city, a position he still maintains. In 1886 he was united in marriage with Miss Florence J. Howe, daughter of Hon. Thomas M. Howe. In addition to his professional duties he has found time in which not only to think of municipal affairs, but to take an active part in shaping and directing them. Being of an aggressive turn, and having the courage of his convictions, he has often been engaged in con-

tests involving the interests of the city, while as one of the Democratic leaders in the State, he has shown himself to be a practical politician of much ability, and a safe leader. He was one of the secretaries of the National Democratic Convention in 1884, and was nominated for elector-at-large on the ticket of 1896, but being unable to accept the platform adopted by the National Convention, he withdrew. He was nominated by the Citizens' Municipal League for mayor of the city in 1896, and made a most brilliant, creditable and effective campaign. Possessing the confidence of the people, and being heartily in favor of municipal reforms in the city government, he was a most formidable candidate. On the face of the returns he was declared defeated. The Municipal League was not satisfied with the return, and a contest was instituted which, at this date (June, 1897), is being vigorously prosecuted. It has already been shown that the League suffered greatly by reason of irregular and illegal voting, but the result has not yet been judicially determined.

Clarence Burleigh was born in Boston, Massachusetts, December 20, 1853, and at a suitable age, having removed here, commenced life on his own account as a pattern-maker on the South Side, and while thus engaged managed by persistence at odd times to improve his education. He saved his wages, and in due time entered Washington and Jefferson College, took a full course, and graduated with distinction at the end of his class term. Soon after this, or in 1875, he began the study of law and was admitted to the bar October 13, 1877. He pluckily passed through the starving period in a young lawyer's career, and began to attract attention by the persistence and ability he displayed in the management of his cases. He won prominence as a speaker, and was elected to the City Councils from the Thirtieth Ward, and served his constituents with fidelity one term. When the new charter went into effect he was chosen one of the assistant city solicitors and assigned to take charge of the Department of Public Safety. In this position he gained prominence by the vigor and ability with which he pursued all corruption in city offices. So strongly had he intrenched himself in the confidence of the bar and other citizens, that upon the death of Richard H. Johnson, district attorney, in June, 1891, he was appointed by the judges to succeed him. He again attracted wide and merited recognition by the vigor with which he prosecuted all wrong-doers. He served his term of appointment, and was elected to succeed himself. In one term he convicted thirteen men of murder in the first degree; whereas, previous to this time, a conviction for murder was almost a novelty. In prosecuting the Homestead strikers and rioters he showed the same determination to punish law-breakers as he had before, notwithstanding the unpopularity which such a course entailed upon him. He was told that such a proceeding meant his political death, but he declared he would do his duty without fear or favor. Afterward his prosecution of the manufacturers removed much or all of his unpopularity. It was seen that he did his duty to workman and aristocrat alike. Though solicited to do so, he declined a reelection. Soon after this his name was prominently mentioned in connection with a vacant judgeship, but he discouraged this movement on the part of his friends. In October, 1895, he was appointed to the office of city attorney, and still officiates in that capacity, greatly to his credit and honor.

William H. Graham is another example in this community of the possibilities of commercial success that lie within the grasp of a young man, however humble his birth, who possesses the necessary pluck and energy to make the fight, as the following brief sketch will show: Mr. Graham was born August 3, 1844, in Allegheny City. His father was Harrison Graham, a ropemaker in the employ of John Irwin, whose rope factory, or walk as it was called, faced the



West Commons, now West Park, Allegheny City, extending along what is now known as Lincoln Avenue, at present solidly built up with palatial mansions. The death of his father compelled him to leave school at the age of thirteen to aid the widowed mother in supporting a family of younger children. His first employment was with J. J. East, a bookseller in Allegheny City, as an errand boy and seller of newspapers, at a salary of \$2.00 per week. From there he went into the brass-foundry of Maffitt & Old, in Pittsburg. Before reaching the age of seventeen, the firing upon Fort Sumter, at the commencement of the late Civil War, had aroused his patriotic young spirit, and he enlisted for the war in a Pittsburg company. Pennsylvania's quota of troops under that first call being full, they were not accepted. But learning that there was difficulty in filling the quota required of Virginia, this company chartered a steamer and went to Wheeling, tendered their services, and were accepted, becoming Company A, Second Virginia Infantry. They were immediately sent out along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where the rebels were burning bridges, tearing up track and committing other depredations. At Glover's Gap, in the western part of Virginia, on May 28, 1861, a small detachment of the company had a skirmish with some rebel soldiers commanded by Captain Christian Roberts, during which Captain Roberts fell mortally wounded, being the first armed rebel soldier that fell in the war. Thus this company had the distinction of killing the first soldier of the Confederacy. Jackson, the slayer of the gallant Captain Ellsworth, killed a few days previous, was a civilian, while Captain Roberts was a regularly mustered officer of the Confederacy. Young Graham was one of the squad that buried the dead officer. After this the company went to Grafton, where it lay while the battle of Phillipi, the first battle of the war, was being fought sixteen miles away. After a service of two years under Generals McClellan, Fremont, Sigel and others, the regiment was mounted and became the Fifth West Virginia Cavalry, seeing very active service under Generals Averill, Crook and Sheridan. Mr. Graham participated in many battles, but was fortunate in escaping with only one wound, in the right arm, received in the battle of Rocky Gap, near White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. While carrying a message to General Sheridan, the eventful 9th day of April, 1865, he rode out between the two lines of battle to the little village of Appomattox, and there, in the house of Mr. McLain, had the rare good fortune to be one of the spectators of that memorable interview between Generals Grant and Lee that terminated in the surrender of General Lee's army. He was therefore literally "at the beginning and in at the death" of the Confederacy. After taking part in the grand review of the army at Washington, he returned to his home in Allegheny. He now had to face the battle of civil life with these disadvantages: He was twenty-one years of age, without a trade, profession, occupation or even a liberal education, and with but a paltry sum of \$150 saved from his four years' army service at \$13.00 a month. After a two months' course at a commercial school in Pittsburg, he took charge of a set of books for an oil firm. By frugal management he was enabled to save enough to enter business, forming a partnership with Mr. H. A. Spangler in the leather business under the firm name of Graham & Spangler. Later he became president of Mansfield & Co., Limited, brass manufacturers. He took an active interest in Republican politics, being elected to Common Council, Allegheny, in 1873, and Select Council in 1874; member of the House of Representatives, Pennsylvania, 1875, 1876, 1877 and 1878. He was elected recorder of deeds for Allegheny County in 1881, and was continued in that office for three successive terms—nine years in all. He developed a marvelous faculty for conducting successfully many business enterprises. During the time that he was an officer of the Pleasant Valley Street Railway, it was the pioneer in the street railway revolution, that road being among the first to change



from mule to electric power. He is president of the Mercantile Bank, the Mercantile Trust Company, Central Accident Insurance Company, and Eureka Coal Company; treasurer of the Pittsburg Terra Cotta Lumber Company and Lustre Mining Company, and secretary of two bridge companies. He is a member of the First Christian Church, Allegheny, and superintendent of the Sunday School. He is past commander of Post No. 88, G. A. R., and a member of several societies and patriotic orders. On the 30th day of September, 1869, he married Miss Sarah K. Shields, daughter of Samuel S. Shields, of Allegheny City, and they have five living children. His domestic life has been as pleasant and happy as his business career has been busy and successful. He has traveled extensively at home and abroad, and his incidents of travel, frequently recited on the rostrum and at the fireside, are interesting and instructive.

Charles Pfeifer, whose recent lamentable death deprived the cities of Allegheny and Pittsburg of one of their most promising business men, was especially deserving of praise for the success he had achieved, owing to the fact that he was of foreign birth and had begun for himself at the lowest rung of life's ladder. He was born at Dresden, in the Province of Saxony, Germany, December 20, 1850. When a child of three years old he was brought by his parents to America, and was reared to man's estate in Pennsylvania, acquiring a fair education from the public schools. When yet in his early manhood he came to Allegheny and was employed by his brother, who was then conducting a laundry business. Inheriting the thrift and economy for which the German people are proverbial, he soon had saved sufficient means with which to start in the business for himself. This was the foundation of the extensive business he afterwards built up. As his means would increase, he would reinvest the money in perfecting and enlarging his business. Branch houses were established; the latest and best improved machinery was introduced; dyeing and cleaning establishments were added, and the scope of his labors was so enlarged that his name became a familiar household word. In time he became a bank director and the holder of large realty interests. While business matters engrossed much of his attention, he found time to devote to the social and domestic duties of life. Companionable in disposition, he allied himself with charitable and other organizations, and was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Masonic fraternity. On the 14th of January, 1873, he was united in marriage with Miss Sarah J. McDowell, by whom he became the father of seven children, named Ora, Anna, Myrtle, Edward, Charles, Harry and Nellie. Fond of hunting, Mr. Pfeifer left home with a party of friends after Christmas, 1896, and while climbing over a fence on December 28th, the contents of his own gun was accidentally discharged into his body, from the effects of which he died very shortly thereafter. Thus, when in the midst of a most promising career, death deprived the community of an honorable and respected citizen, and a family of a loving husband and father.

James Verner. The life of James Verner, who was born August 30, 1818, at what is now Monongahela City, Pennsylvania, has been devoid of much of the turmoil and strife which characterizes the career of many men who have attained wealth and prominence. While this is true, a lesson may be learned while reading it; the more prominent features therein displayed being honesty, quiet industry, and a just observance of the rights of his fellow man. Mr. Verner is of Irish ancestry, and is a son of James and Elizabeth (Doyle) Verner, who came from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1806. In 1820 the family located permanently in the then small city of Pittsburg. It was in this city that he was reared, educated, and has passed almost his entire life. In 1831 he wedded Miss Anna Montgomery, daughter of General James Murry, of Murrysville, Pennsylvania, and, purchasing a farm of 400 acres, on which is now situated Verona

(formerly Verner's Station, Allegheny Valley Railroad), engaged in clearing and fencing it and raising farm produce. Upon the completion of the Allegheny Valley Railroad he, with others, laid out a village which now constitutes the First Ward of Verona borough, and secured for the place the shops of the railroad company. Later, Mr. Verner returned to Pittsburgh, and was, for a time, engaged in the brewing business, after which he, in connection with Thomas A. Scott and Nathaniel Holmes, operated a line of omnibuses, transferring passengers and baggage to and from the different railroad stations. In 1859 he obtained a charter for the Citizens' Passenger Railway Company, which was the first street railway in actual use west of the Alleghany Mountains. He organized the Pittsburgh Forge and Iron Company with J. H. McCullough, George W. Cass, Springer Harbaugh and William P. Porter as directors, and was president four years, and was for many years a director. In politics he was first a Whig, but upon the birth of the Republican party, in 1856, cast his influence toward the election of the "Pathfinder," and has ever since been an advocate of the principles of the party of Lincoln, Grant and McKinley. He has never sought office, preferring to look after his private business, and the quietude of his home to the turmoil and strife of a public career; but has served with credit as a member of the Fourth Ward in the City Council. A great lover of field sports, Mr. Verner, when yet a boy, became celebrated as a superior "wing shot," and his gamebag was invariably filled whenever he returned from a hunting trip in the woods. Mr. Verner is one of the few remaining of the pioneers of Pittsburgh. His life has been a temperate one, filled with many good deeds, and the quality of his mind, like wine, "improves with age." In April, 1881, he was called upon to mourn the death of his wife. Their union resulted in the birth of five sons and five daughters, of whom the following lived to maturity: Priscilla, Mrs. Charles C. Scaife, of Allegheny; Amelia, Mrs. Arthur Malcom, of Philadelphia; Murry A., and Morris Scott, of Pittsburgh; James K. died in 1891.

Edward H. Jennings, president of the Columbia National Bank, but better known as a member of the oil-producing firm of E. H. Jennings & Brothers, is a native of Brady's Bend, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, where he was born August 10, 1852. Richard Jennings, his father, was of English birth, was a mining engineer by occupation, and for a number of years was employed in the mines at Cornwall. Upon attaining his majority he came to this country, first locating at Brady's Bend, Pennsylvania, but later accepting a position with the late Dr. C. G. Hussey, for whom he went to the Lake Superior country, where he remained two years. Returning, then, to his former home in Armstrong County, remaining with the Brady's Bend Iron Company for many years, later he moved to Queenstown and entered into the oil-producing business, and continuing thus until his death in 1891. He married Catharine Evans, who yet survives him, and a family of four sons and five daughters were born to them. Edward H. Jennings, the eldest of this family, received a practical education in youth, and was engaged with his father in the oil-producing business. As time passed the firm found it necessary, with their increasing business, to establish offices at Petrolia, Bradford and Pittsburgh, but of late years the Pittsburgh office, established in 1888, has been the headquarters of all their business transactions. After the death of Richard Jennings, in 1891, the firm became E. H. Jennings & Brothers, comprising Edward H., Richard M. and John G. Jennings, and they are among the best known of the oil producers. Aside from his interest in this firm, Mr. Jennings, the immediate subject of this sketch, is president of the Columbia National Bank and the Pennsylvania Title and Trust Company; is a director in the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce; with his brothers is the principal stock owner of the Kanawha Oil Company, also a member

of M. Murphy & Co., and of the firm of Jennings, Guffey & Co. Mr. Jennings has confined his attention almost wholly to matters of business. He was married in 1879 to Miss Mary Colwell, daughter of John Colwell, of Kittanning, a most estimable lady, who bore him a family of six children, five of whom are yet living. Mrs. Jennings was a member of the Shadyside Presbyterian Church. She died on August 4, 1896.

George B. Hill. An excellent example of the self-made American citizen is found in the life of George B. Hill, who was born in Wheeling, West Virginia, August 1, 1874, the youngest of ten children born to the marriage of John Hill and Mrs. Elizabeth Rickards Burton, both of whom are now deceased. George B. Hill left Wheeling with his parents when but a small lad, and until seventeen years of age his life was spent on a farm in Monroe County, during which period he received such educational advantages as the common schools of his day afforded. At the above mentioned age he came to Pittsburg, where he had a sister living, and became a clerk in a produce and commission establishment, but after a time he borrowed enough capital to establish himself in the tobacco jobbing business, but owing to very close competition at that time and margins of profit being so small, he abandoned this after a few months and embarked in the real estate and brokerage business, which he continued until 1869, when he went to Memphis, Tennessee, to enter the cotton brokerage business. Upon his arrival there, however, the outlook was less favorable than he had expected, and he accordingly returned to Pittsburg and resumed his former occupation. In 1872 he added banking to his brokerage business, but after a trial of one year this occupation was given up, and since that time has devoted his entire attention to brokerage, confining his efforts largely to municipal bonds and railroad securities. The firm as it now stands is George B. Hill & Co., composed of George B. Hill, William I. Mustin and John D. Nicholson. Aside from this Mr. Hill is the president and a director of the Pittsburg, Allegheny and Manchester Traction Company, and the Allegheny Traction Company. He is a director of the Standard Underground Cable Company, of the Second National Bank of Allegheny, and is connected with various other institutions of less importance and magnitude. Mr. Hill has always been a Republican, is interested in various local benevolent organizations, and, with his wife, belongs to the United Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Hill was formerly Miss Maggie J. Nicholson, a daughter of Leonidas and Susan J. (Donaldson) Nicholson, and her marriage with Mr. Hill was celebrated November 1, 1870, and has resulted in the birth of two children—Charles K. and George B., the latter being deceased.

William Ferris Aull. The gentleman whose name heads this sketch is distinctively American, and so were his ancestors for generations. He comes of Revolutionary stock, for his paternal and maternal ancestors aided the colonists in their struggle for freedom. His great grandfather, John Aull, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and came to America when this country was still considered a possession of Great Britain, taking up his residence in Philadelphia. During the Revolutionary War he served in Captain Ashmead's Company, Second Pennsylvania Continental Line, under Colonel Walter Stewart. His son, William Aull, who was born in 1786, was one of the pioneers in Western Pennsylvania in the early part of the eighteenth century, was married in Westmoreland County in 1813 to Elizabeth Hunter, and spent the greater part of his married life in Western Pennsylvania and Northern Virginia. He kept a hostelry for many years at Frankfort, Virginia, was an extensive contractor on the construction of the old National pike, and in his day was one of the most prominent officials of the Masonic fraternity in the Old Dominion. His son, James Aull, father of the subject of this sketch, was born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.

February 27, 1817, is still living in the East End, Pittsburg, and is a prominent member of and one of the board of trustees in the Lincoln Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church. For fifty years he was in the livestock business, and is known and respected by that fraternity in every livestock market from Chicago to New York as "honest Jimmy Aull." During his entire life he has never used tobacco in any form, liquor for any purpose, or profanity under any pretext, and has the well-merited reputation of never committing or countenancing a dishonest act. This record and a long life of consistent Christian devotion he will leave to his children as a heritage more valuable than fame or wealth. He was married to Miss Phoebe Ferris, a school-teacher of Portage County, Ohio, May 27, 1846. She was a woman of brilliant intellectual attainment, and of strong Christian character. Her birth occurred at Eaton, Madison County, New York, April 10, 1821, and her death occurred in Pittsburg, April 26, 1889. Her father, John Ferris, came from a prominent New York ancestry, and her maternal grandfather, Colonel Black, was an officer in the Revolutionary War. From this ancestry the subject of this sketch inherits his military inclination.

The subject of this sketch was born in Charleston, Portage County, Ohio, April 9, 1848, and was educated in the common schools of Allegheny City and Philadelphia. In the latter city he resided during the early part of the War of the Rebellion, where he constantly tried to enlist in the Union service, but was repeatedly rejected on account of his youth. In 1863 he joined an emergency regiment from Philadelphia, and with it spent several weeks around Harrisburg, called there to assist in protecting the capital when Lee penetrated Pennsylvania and fought the battle of Gettysburg. During the following winter he ran away from school and enlisted in the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry for three years, but his father, with the assistance of Hon. William D. Kelly, member of Congress from Philadelphia, procured his discharge "by direction of the President of the United States" under special order No. 132 from the War Department, dated March 30, 1864. His parents then sent him to relatives in Ohio to get him away from the recruiting offices of Philadelphia, but they had not fully calculated the spirit of patriotism nor the depth of loyalty that inspired the boy; May 2, 1864, he again enlisted in the One Hundred and Seventy-first Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, with which regiment he served until it was mustered out of service. He was captured after a severe engagement at Keller's Bridge near Cynthiana, Kentucky, June 11th, 1864, and was subsequently paroled. After the war he returned to Pittsburg, where he first graduated from the Iron City Commercial College, after which he studied civil engineering under a private instructor.

In 1867 he became assistant city engineer of Pittsburg, and the following year entered the employ of the Denny estate, and has been associated continuously with the management of that estate ever since. He is now and has been for the past seven years its attorney, in fact, and general agent. Under his able management this vast estate has made rapid progress in improvement and prosperity, and under his immediate supervision several hundred buildings have been erected in Pittsburg and Allegheny. In 1870 Mr. Aull enlisted in the National Guard of Pennsylvania, and served continuously for fourteen years, during which time he held every commission in line of promotion from second lieutenant to lieutenant-colonel. In the riots of 1877 he commanded the Eighteenth Regiment, N. G. P., during its long service in the anthracite coal regions, and he also served nearly three years on Major-General John F. Hartranft's official staff when that officer was commander of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. In 1872 he was elected a member of the Pittsburg City Council, and served continuously for seven years. In 1883 he was elected from the Forty-fourth district and served



four years in the Pennsylvania State Senate. The *Pittsburg Dispatch* in its issue of March 19, 1885, speaking of the senators from Allegheny County, says: "Senator Aull is the orator of the Allegheny County delegation, he is a hustler—one of the few at Harrisburg this year. He does more work for the amount of health at his command than any man in the Senate." He is a member of the Engineers' Society of Western Pennsylvania, of the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce and of the Grand Army of the Republic. He is also a thirty-second degree Mason and a Knight Templar in the same order. In 1868 he married Anna Martin, daughter of C. R. and Eliza J. Martin, of Pittsburg. Her father is a grandson of Lieutenant Benjamin Miller, who served in the Second Pennsylvania Battalion in the Revolution, and her mother, Eliza J. McFarland, was a direct descendant of Lord De-La-Ware, first Governor of Virginia, in 1610; of Henry Cornish, Lord Mayor of London in 1680, and of John McFarland, who served in the Fourth Regiment Light Dragoons United States Cavalry during the War of the Revolution. Sterns' published genealogy of the McFarland ancestry traces back in an unbroken chain Mrs. Aull's maternal ancestors for six hundred years. Mr. Aull is recognized as one of the successful business men of Pittsburg, resides in the East End, belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and has an interesting family of two sons and two daughters.

William Reed Thompson, of the banking house of William R. Thompson & Co., was born in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, March 30, 1845, the eldest of a family of eight children born to the marriage of Andrew P. Thompson (of Covenanter descent, an Abolitionist, and "agent for the underground railroad,") who came to Pittsburg from York County, Pennsylvania, in 1835, and Elizabeth Donaldson, of Washington County, this State. His father and mother having been sent as missionaries to the Island of Trinidad, West Indies, he was taken there as a child, and on their return to this country he attended the public schools until twelve years of age, and for the five succeeding years was employed by the United Presbyterian Board of Publication under the immediate direction of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers. During this time the horrors of civil war had spread its somber shadow over the land, and the boy, with youthful ardor, had twice enlisted in the Army of the Union, but was reclaimed by his father, owing to the son's immature age. In 1864 he again enlisted, becoming a member of Knapp's Independent Battalion. Upon his return Mr. Thompson found employment in the banking house of Hart, Caughey & Co., where he remained four years, meanwhile pursuing a course of study after business hours in preparation for college; a hope that was defeated upon the threshold of entrance by a financial crisis at home which obliged him to go back again to work. Entering the Mechanics' National Bank as bookkeeper, he continued with this well-known institution for a period of fourteen years, being advanced, from time to time, until he was elected and served as its president. In 1881 he purchased the interest of John B. Jones in the banking firm of Semple & Jones, and shortly thereafter bought the interest of Mr. Semple, the firm then becoming William R. Thompson & Co. Mr. Thompson is not merely a first-class business man, as is determined by his success in life; he has been identified with many public enterprises and charities, and enjoys the esteem of the public generally. He was made chairman of the Charlestown earthquake relief fund, and came into national prominence as treasurer of the Johnstown relief fund, over one and one-half million dollars passing through his hands without loss or impairment. He also served as treasurer of the Russian famine fund, the Titusville and Oil City relief fund, and the fund for the relief of the unemployed in Pittsburg during the winter of 1893-4. He is a director of the Chamber of Commerce, a trustee of Washington and Jefferson College, the Western Theological Seminary, the Avery College and Industrial School (colored), is treasurer of the Western Pennsylvania Humane Society, the Western



Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Pittsburg Association for the Improvement of the Poor, and a number of others. All these treasurerships have been managed without remuneration, and in several instances the expense of the management has been paid by him to insure the application of every penny subscribed by the public. This was notably so in the case of the Johnstown relief fund, of which task he is reported as saying: "It required one entire year's devotion, and over \$1,000 in cash; the hardest and yet most satisfactory work I was ever permitted to engage in." He is quite an art connoisseur, one of the original members of the Art Society, and for many years its president. Mr. Thompson is known as a great reader, and a finished speaker, and, like many other business men with a hobby, is especially interested in old English literature and philology. He married Mary Thaw, a daughter of the late William Thaw, the well-known philanthropist, and they have five children. In creed he is a Presbyterian; in politics an Independent Republican.

James J. Donnell was born in Strabane, County Tyrone, Ireland, March 24, 1840, the youngest of four children of James and Mary (Rodgers) Donnell, who left the land of their birth in 1850, to seek a home in the United States. James Donnell died in 1873. His wife died in 1875. The subject of this sketch was ten years of age when he was brought to Pittsburg, and he was at once placed in the public schools of Allegheny, where he acquired his education. At the age of seventeen he secured employment as junior clerk in the banking house of Holmes & Sons, in which he rose step by step until admitted as a partner in 1872, and has since been very active in the direction of all its affairs. Although the bank has his first and best attention, he is interested in many other commercial and financial institutions of Pittsburg, among which may be mentioned the Fidelity Title and Trust Company, of which he is vice-president; the Mechanics' National Bank, of which he is a director, and the New York and Cleveland Gas-Coal Company, the largest shipper of coal from Pittsburg, of which he is a director. He is also director in the Allegheny General Hospital. Mr. Donnell was president of the Monongahela Navigation Company, which built and owned the dams and locks, and controlled the navigation of the Monongahela River. In 1897 this property was condemned and purchased by the Government. In payment, the largest check ever received in Pittsburg, was rendered. Mr. Donnell has had the settlement of many large estates, and is now trustee in the management of several. He was one of the organizers and builders of the Citizens' Traction Railroad, which has helped to give Pittsburg one of the best systems of street railway of any city in the United States. In 1892 Mr. Donnell was united in marriage with Miss Anne Warden, a daughter of William G. Warden, of Philadelphia, one of the organizers of the Standard Oil Company. To Mr. and Mrs. Donnell has been born one child—Elizabeth.

Edward Manning Bigelow was born November 6, 1850, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, one in a family of five children, all living, born to the marriage of Edward M. Bigelow and Mary Steel. His life has been passed in his native city. After attending the public schools he entered the Western University of Pennsylvania, but before it was time to graduate he withdrew from that institution to accept a position as civil engineer. He was later appointed engineer in charge of the surveys of the city, and in 1880 was made city engineer, a position he continued to fill until the revision of the form of the municipal government, eight years afterward. He was then elected director of the Department of Public Works, in which capacity he has ever since served, being unanimously reelected every four years. In these ten years, during which Mr. Bigelow has had absolute direction of all municipal improvements, he has accomplished so much for the benefit of the people as to have earned the title of public benefactor. Under his

administration, and largely by his initiative, a transformation has been wrought in Pittsburg such as Haussman wrought in Paris and Sheppard in Washington [without resorting to their objectionable methods]. Within his time of office all the important public works of the city which now exist, with the single exception of the City Hall, from the water and sewer systems to the street pavements, have been either created or rebuilt. His greatest work, however, has been the creation of the public parks. When he took office the public park ground of the people of Pittsburg was composed of one narrow strip of unimproved ground, a square long, in the middle of a street. Never having enjoyed parks, the community was not awake to their attractions, and he had to begin his work of park-making not only without public sentiment to support him, but rather in the face of it. From small beginnings, in the guise of improving and beautifying the ground about the reservoirs, Mr. Bigelow added one purchase of land after another, until out of a total of more than 60 purchases he has created a system of parks aggregating close to 900 acres, the largest being Schenley Park, of 419 acres. The nucleus of this was a gift of 300 acres, and the purchase of 100 acres more at a nominal price, from Mrs. Mary E. Schenley. His services in securing this gift, and in creating the park system have been so well appreciated by the citizens of Pittsburg that Mr. Bigelow has the rare distinction of being one of but two Americans to see a statute of himself erected during his lifetime, by public subscription. The movement to thus honor him was suggested by a member of the opposite political party, and in a few weeks over \$12,000 was contributed, rich and poor sharing in the enterprise, the result of which is a life-size bronze statue of the "Father of the Parks," which stands near the main entrance to Schenley Park. Mr. Bigelow is married, is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and is prominent in all movements designed to advance the welfare of his native city.

William Witherow. When the history of a century of progress of Pennsylvania comes to be written, the stories of those of its sons who have earned the distinction of being self-made men must appear among the brightest pages of all. The western portion of the great Commonwealth affords many striking instances of this in some of the most prominent men of the State. William Witherow, who has become identified during the past quarter of a century with the political history of Pennsylvania and who has demonstrated his capacity and enterprise in the business affairs of the State, is numbered among the most representative citizens of the Commonwealth. He is one of those men who, starting out in life with but little encouragement, have advanced step by step to the goal of their ambition, and won permanent prosperity and public recognition. William Witherow was born November 7, 1843, in the City of Londonderry, Ireland. He is the son of James and Esther P. Witherow, who were highly respected members of their community. After a preparatory home training, which tended greatly to shape the course of his conduct in later years, he was sent to the common schools of Allegheny, where he received the ordinary education. At the age of fourteen years he started out to earn his living, determined to take advantage of every opportunity which might be afforded him, and with both the ambition to rise in life and the necessary ability born in him to accomplish such progress, started out to attain the desired end. His first position was that of a clerk, from which, through various employments, public and private, he has risen, by his own efforts, to his present position of influence and wealth. In early life he was employed in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's office, from which he went to the United States Depository as bookkeeper, and from that place he was appointed to a clerkship in the sheriff's office of Allegheny County. Each of these he filled with a fidelity and force that brought him into

the favorable notice of many of the leading people of his community. His natural aptitude for the management of important affairs and his knowledge of business methods led him to early take an active interest in the affairs of his section of the State, and to participate therein in a manner which left no room for doubt as to his ability to figure in the political life of his city and county. In 1881, therefore, he became a candidate for the position of county treasurer of Allegheny County, and was nominated by the Republican party against great political odds, which were exerted for the benefit of the opposing candidates. In spite of the factional opposition which he found necessary to overcome, he was triumphantly elected by an overwhelming majority. He filled the office of treasurer with credit during the three successful years 1882, 1883 and 1884. Since that time Mr. Witherow has held many public offices of honor and trust, in all of which he has demonstrated the same capacity for earnest work, and has given to the trusts imposed in him the same careful and conscientious supervision. His interest in the affairs of his county by no means ceased when he had served his term as county treasurer, and he continued one of the most active men in the Republican party. In 1892 he was unanimously chosen as a representative to the Republican National Convention which met at Minneapolis, and in 1896 he was chosen an elector-at-large on the Republican ticket. When, in January, 1897, the Electoral College met, Mr. Witherow was honored with the position of messenger to deliver the vote at Washington, an office which, in the minds of the people of Western Pennsylvania, was one of much honor. In the public affairs of Allegheny, Mr. Witherow has always played an important part. He is at present a member of the board of managers of the Allegheny General Hospital, one of the most admirably managed institutions in the Keystone State. He is a director of the Pleasant Valley Railroad Company, and a director in the United States National Bank of Pittsburg. In these offices he has demonstrated rare capabilities and an acquaintance with the requirements of financial affairs which has greatly added to his reputation. Mr. Witherow's leading interests at present are found in his proprietorship and active management of what is generally known as the leading European Hotel in Western Pennsylvania, namely, the "Hotel Duquesne," and in the control of his various investments, particularly those in real estate, whereof he is a large holder. In view of this latter capacity, Mr. Witherow is very actively identified with the march of progress in Allegheny County and the contiguous districts, and his judgment is generally consulted in all great enterprises affecting the city of Allegheny and the surrounding county. On March 22, 1882, Mr. Witherow married Alice M. Douglass. They have three children, David M., Helen D., and William P. Witherow. Mr. Witherow's manner is genial and he is possessed of great force and character, which, added to his unbroken record of probity and honor, has given him in both public and business affairs a widespread influence.

Robert Christy. One of the leading drug establishments of Pittsburg is that owned and conducted by Robert Christy, whose birth occurred on February 27, 1844. He was the only son of James M. and Eleanor E. (Jones) Christy, the former of whom was born in Pennsylvania and the latter in Ireland. The paternal grandfather, who also bore the name of Robert, came to Pittsburg early in the present century. He was one of the early justices of the place, and held office by the Governor's appointment. In those early days he was a well-known figure, and for a long time held his office in the Diamond. His wife was Anna Gilchrist, a native of North Carolina. He died of cholera in 1852 or 1854. James M. Christy was a well-known man in Pittsburg for years. He served as city treasurer and advocated many reforms and improvements, being also a leading spirit in educational matters and in the political affairs of the day. He died in

1896, the death of his wife occurring the following year. Robert Christy, the subject of this sketch, was educated in the Second Ward public school of Pittsburgh and at the Western University of Pennsylvania. In 1858 he went to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where he was engaged in the drug business with Henry Fess, Jr., an uncle, and a former Pittsburgh man, and while there acquired a thorough knowledge of the business. In August, 1861, he returned to Pittsburgh, but soon after proceeded to the oil regions, where he remained for several years and was successful financially. The first drug store in Carnegie was established by him in 1870, is still in active operation, and is the leading establishment of the kind in the place. In 1885 he became the owner of the drug store at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Smithfield Street, which from year to year has been enlarged, improved and beautified until it has become one of the finest and most complete drug stores in the world. Its location is in the very heart of the business of the city, and his trade has grown to marvelous proportions. In 1896 he refitted and renovated the establishment at an expense of \$20,000. The first floor is now used exclusively as the salesroom for fancy goods and the usual drug store stock of sundries. The second floor is exclusively drug supplies and the prescription department, in which competent pharmacists, including one lady, are kept busy. The third floor is the physicians' supply department, while the laboratory occupies the fourth floor. The fifth floor is the cellar, but is a very important one, for there the engines and dynamos for the private electric plant are located, and every available square foot is devoted to the storage of goods. Every branch of this business is in operation night and day, with two sets of employes, and Mr. Christy's only trouble seems to be that neither day nor night is long enough to accommodate the customers which throng to this establishment. He is an extremely busy man, for besides his drug business he has other interests of importance. While residing at Carnegie he served as burgess of the borough and as director of the public schools. He was married in 1869 to Miss Lydia S. Brown, a daughter of Mansfield B. Brown, a native Pittsburger, and a member of a pioneer family of this section. He founded the town of Mansfield (now Carnegie). Mrs. Christy's maternal grandfather was William Hays, a pioneer of Pittsburgh, and her mother was born at the corner of Fifth and Liberty streets, and the property at that point is still in possession of the family. To Mr. and Mrs. Christy the following children have been given: Jane (Brown), Eleanor E., Lydia B., Mary (Hays), Mansfield Brown, Melzina M. and James Monroe. The family are attendants of the Presbyterian Church.

Harry David Williams English, manager of the Berkshire Life Insurance Company for Western Pennsylvania, claims Pennsylvania as his native State, having been born at Sabbath Rest, Blair County, on December 21, 1855. His parents, Rev. George W. and Lydia H. English, were natives of that State also. The study of theology occupied much of the attention of the father during the early part of his life, but later he became interested in commercial pursuits. He was an eloquent and forcible speaker, and enthusiastically espousing the anti-slavery cause, did effective work for it in the community in which he lived. He was noted far and wide for his integrity and kindly disposition, and was in every way fitted to guide and direct the footsteps of his youngest son, the subject of this sketch, who after a thorough training under the father's tuition spent four years at Milroy Academy, Hilroy, Pennsylvania. In 1871 he entered the office of the South Side Courier at Pittsburgh, and soon became familiar with the printer's trade, afterward spending three years with the Pittsburgh-Chronicle-Telegraph. In the fall of 1881 Mr. English became associated with his brother, George W. English, in the insurance business, representing the Berkshire Life Insurance Company, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, of which his brother was the



Pittsburg agent. In 1883 Mr. English became general agent and manager for Western Pennsylvania for the company. When he assumed this position the agency had a large business, but in the fourteen years he has been at its head its transactions have more than trebled. Although the company is not one of the largest, the agency at Pittsburg stands with the leading companies doing business in Western Pennsylvania, owing to the excellence of the Berkshire and the personnel of the management at the Pittsburg agency, and its patrons include the best business and professional intellect of the city and surrounding territory. Mr. English has never been identified with any other insurance company, having found in his work for this company a congenial occupation, and made an enviable record for it and for himself. He has always taken a decided interest in the advancement of Pittsburg and Western Pennsylvania and has given abundant service to that end. For years he has been an active member of the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, and was selected by that body as a member of the committee to advertise Pittsburg and Western Pennsylvania during the Columbian Exposition or World's Fair at Chicago, and was made secretary of the committee, a position which involved the expenditure of much time and labor. Later he was selected by the citizens of Pittsburg as a member of the executive council which provided for the entertainment of the great encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic held in September, 1894, and in 1896 was made a member of the executive board having in charge the Triennial Conclave of the Knights Templar of the United States to be held in Pittsburg in 1898. The national convention of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew was held in Pittsburg in October, 1896, and Mr. English was chairman of the executive committee having the arrangements in charge. At the national convention of that body in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1895, he was elected a member of the National Council, representing the Council District of Western Pennsylvania in the Council of the United States. In charitable and benevolent circles Mr. English is active. At the present time he is a member of the board of trustees, and secretary of the Kingley House Association, the Pittsburg College Settlement, and director of the Small Parks Association of Pittsburg, the object of which is to provide breathing spots for the poor of the city. Mr. English is a member of the Duquesne Club, and of the Americus Republican Club. He is a member of Lodge 45, F. and A. M., of Duquesne Chapter, Pittsburg Commandery No. 1, Knights Templar, and Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, thirty-second degree, and also of Syria Temple, A. O. N. M. S. Politically he is an ardent Republican, and is active in his support of that party. He was chairman of the executive committee of the Americus Republican Club from 1884 to 1890. Mr. English is a member of Calvary Protestant Church of Pittsburg. He is married, and lives with his family on Fifth Avenue, Shadyside. He is a man of most genial disposition in the best sense of the term, and has a host of friends who thoroughly respect him as a man and citizen. He has strong belief in the future greatness of Pittsburg, and will do all he can to make his belief a fact.

Francis Torrance, who died in 1886, and who was so well and favorably known throughout the two cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny, is justly deserving of more than a mere mention in a standard historical work. He was born in the town of Letterkenny, Ireland, in 1816, and is a brother of Finley Torrens, who is yet living in Pittsburg. Although brought up on a farm, he was enabled to secure a better education than usually fell to the lot of the average Irish lad. Being of an independent spirit he determined to cross the Atlantic and seek a home in America. At the age of twenty-two he bade adieu to the land of his birth and sailed for the United States, landing here an entire stranger, with only pluck and determination as his capital. His first location was in Pittsburg.



where, for a short time, he was employed at bookkeeping; he later went to Wells-ville, Ohio, and, in partnership with a Mr. Orr, embarked in the grocery trade. Faithful to an attachment formed in Ireland, he returned there after a few years' absence, wedded Miss Ann Jane McClure, and settled down to merchandising in his native town. His brief residence in America had, however, instilled into him the spirit of true democracy and rendered him restive under the more restricted rules of Great Britain. After about seven years, together with his family, he sailed for Philadelphia, and upon his arrival at that place opened a grocery store, which he conducted a number of years. He then located permanently in Pittsburg, which continued to be his residence until his death. Although he was here connected with mercantile pursuits, banking and various other business matters, he was, perhaps, better known as manager, for years, of the Schenley estate. Scrupulously honest and upright in all his dealings, he won the high opinion of the public. His first marriage was fruitful in the birth of three children, two of whom (Elizabeth, who lives in Ireland, and Mrs. C. A. Smiley, of Allegheny) are yet living. For his second wife Mr. Torrance married Miss Jane Waddell, who bore him one son, Francis J. Both Mr. and Mrs. Torrance were members of the Baptist Church.

Francis J. Torrance was born in Allegheny City, June 27, 1859, and is one of the brightest of Pittsburg's present business men. Educated in the public schools and in the Western University of Pennsylvania, he early connected (1875) himself with the Standard Manufacturing Company, of which he is now treasurer. He is also president of the Riverside Land Company and of the Pittsburg Natatorium; is president of the Western Pennsylvania Exposition Society, president of the Washington Traction Company, of Washington, Pennsylvania, was one of the original directors in the Mercantile National and United States National banks, is treasurer of the Western Sanitary Ware Company, of Tiltenville, Ohio, and is managing director of the T. H. Nevin Company, lead and color manufacturers of Allegheny. He was one of the incorporators of the Mercantile Trust Company, is a director in Mechanics' National Bank of Pittsburg, a member of the Board of Public Charities and Committee on Lunacy appointed by Governor Hastings in 1895. Was delegate-at-large for Pennsylvania to the St. Louis Republican Convention of 1896; was unanimously chosen chairman of the Republican City Exposition Committee of Allegheny to serve in 1896, 1897, 1898. He was married to Miss Mary R., daughter of David Dibert, of Johnstown, by whom he is the father of one child. Mr. Torrance, with Captain Murdock, of Wellsville, Ohio, and John Darragh, of Pittsburg, purchased the steamboat *Columbiana*, and in company with Mr. Murdock as captain, and Mr. Darragh as engineer, he engaged in the freight and passenger traffic between Pittsburg and Louisville. For several years he was the resident agent of Arbuckle & Avery's Cotton Mills at Louisville, Kentucky. In 1895, with James W. Arrott and John Fleming, he purchased the manufacturing concern now widely known as the Standard Manufacturing Company. Mr. Torrance was much interested in the public schools of Allegheny, and was for eighteen years director in the Third Ward School Board, and most of which time he was its president. Mr. Torrance was a member of the Sandusky Street Baptist Church. A trustee for over twenty years, the greater part of which he was president of the board.

Finley Torrens, now retired from active business pursuits, was born in Letterkenny, Ireland, September 27, 1818, and is a son of Francis and Elizabeth (McClure) Torrens. The father was a farmer by occupation, and a notable feature in the history of the family is that his father lived to the age of 106 years. Of the eight children of which Finley Torrens was one, five are yet living, three being over sixty years of age, and two over seventy. Finley Torrens remained

on the home farm in Ireland until 1842, when he came to America and located in Pittsburg, where, for the first few months, he was employed as clerk in a wholesale grocery house. In 1846 he was employed to superintend the building of the Maple Furnace, at Packer's Landing, on the Allegheny River, and after its completion served as superintendent for six years. With the exception of a short time spent at Johnstown, he next engaged in glass manufacturing in partnership with Captain J. O'Hara Denny. They erected and put in operation a plant at the intersection of Thirtieth Street and the Allegheny River, which is still in operation. This business they conducted about four years, when it was sold to other parties. During this time Captain Denny was managing the Denny estate, and Mr. Torrens was frequently called upon to aid in the work. After the sale of the glass factory, and owing to the ill health of Captain Denny, Mr. Torrens continued in the office of the Denny estate for a period of thirty-six years. Upon the death of Mr. McKnight he became sole agent; and after the death of Mrs. Denny he was employed as attorney for most of the heirs, and continuing as such until the final settlement was effected in 1895. Mr. Torrens served as school director for twelve years, and was also a member of the City Council. In 1851 he was united in marriage with Miss Catharine Huber, and to their union a family of three children has been born, named Frank H., Lizzie L. (now Mrs. Davison), and Finley H. Mr. and Mrs. Torrens are members of the Presbyterian Church.

Judge Thomas Mellon. It is doubtful whether Pittsburg can exhibit a better representative of the wonderful transitional state of American civilization from the pioneer to the modern, sagacious business man than Thomas Mellon, whom everybody here knows and so highly esteems and respects. The wonderful changes which have taken place in social affairs and business methods found no one in this city quicker to grasp, master and appreciate them than this venerable citizen who has passed his four score years and can look back with pride on his long and honorable life. Like many of the early citizens of Western Pennsylvania, he is a native of Ireland; his birth occurring in County Tyrone, February 3, 1813. His father was a farmer of Scottish descent, whose ancestors at the time of the Norman Conquest located in the north of Ireland and there resided generation after generation. His mother's ancestors were Hollanders, who also entered Ireland about the time of the Conquest and became identified with the development of the country under the subsequent political changes. The parents were intelligent and thrifty, and in 1818 left the old world for the new, settling on a farm near Murrys ville in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. His mother taught him to read in their humble home, and later, until nearly the age of thirteen years, he attended the nearest district school during the winter months, assisting his father at the hard work of the farm during the summers. When in his thirteenth year, so apt had he been in his studies and so anxious to learn, he was sent for one term to the Westmoreland County Academy, then conducted by Thomas Will, a fine classical scholar, and a teacher of more than ordinary skill and repute. This, to young Mellon, was a formative period, when the possibilities of life first dawned upon him in splendor and the future beckoned him to fields of greater usefulness and renown than the methodical routine of the farm. His father desired him to adopt the occupation of farming, but he felt capable of greater duties, of sterner activities, and, although he remained upon the farm until his seventeenth year, his determination to leave it finally was unshaken. In 1832 his father having moved to Allegheny County, he entered the select Latin school of Rev. Jonathan Gill, where he fitted himself for college, alternating his studies with work on adjacent farms; indeed many of his hardest lessons were learned between the handles of the plow. During this period

he grew to robust physical manhood and thoroughly tested the strength and capacity of his mind and measured the height of his ambition. In 1834 he entered the Western University of Pennsylvania, then under the eminent scholar, Robert Bruce, D. D., and after a highly successful and creditable collegiate career, graduated with honor in September, 1837. So quick was his capacity to learn that he found time from his college course to study law, and, continuing the same in the law office of Hon. Charles Shaler after his graduation, he was duly admitted to the bar in December, 1838. He was now ready for the active work of life. He immediately began the practice of his profession, and rose steadily to prominence, and soon had a large and profitable clientage. In 1843 he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah J. Negley, the accomplished daughter of a pioneer of Pittsburg, who had much to do with his subsequent success and happiness. By pure merit he acquired a practice so great that it became burdensome by 1859, at which date he was induced by his professional brethren to accept the nomination for Judge of Common Pleas Court No. 1. He was elected and continued to hold that responsible office to the entire satisfaction of the profession and to his own distinction for the period of ten years, when he declined a reelection. Upon his retirement from the bench he was tendered a farewell banquet by his associates, on which occasion they warmly expressed their appreciation of his talents and services, and announced their regret for his withdrawal from active and extensive practice. By this time himself and wife had acquired a large estate which demanded much of his time and attention. It was necessary also to devote great consideration to the literary and business education of their eight children—two sons having just returned from school and being eager for their first venture in the busy world. Accordingly, in 1870, he founded the banking house of T. Mellon & Sons, which ever since has had the unlimited confidence and patronage of the public. In recent years Judge Mellon, notwithstanding his vigorous constitution, has felt the hand of age pressing upon him, and has confided to his sons the establishment which he founded, and to the honorable maintenance of which he devoted his ripest experience and firmest principles of integrity. Under their care the prosperity of the bank has been constantly on the increase. In fact, their management of the institution has been noted for its conservatism and ability, and they now stand among the leading financiers of Western Pennsylvania. Judge Mellon possesses those broad qualities which would have made him successful in any walk of life. Had he entered politics he would have gone to the top. First a Whig, and then a Republican, with firm ideas of public duty, and an accurate insight into our principles of government, he has steadfastly supported the candidate he believed to be best suited for the office. He is a Presbyterian of liberal views, a great reader of general literature, and an honor to the city in which his busy life has been cast.

William McCully was one of the first to embark in glass manufacturing in Pittsburg, first as an employé, then as a proprietor. Born about the year 1800 in County Antrim, Ireland, he was brought to America by his parents when yet a mere child, and here, in the land of his adoption, the balance of his years were passed. He learned the trade of glassblower at the foot of Grant Street, on the Monongahela River, in the employ of Thomas Bakewell. In partnership with Captain John Hay, he erected a flint-glass factory on Railroad Street, at the foot of Nineteenth, which was destroyed by the flood of 1832. He was afterward actively identified with other glass factories, being latterly associated in partnership with his son, John F. McCully, and others. Not only in the glass industry was he conspicuous, but in various other enterprises as well, chief among which was his connection with the Farmers' Deposit and the Exchange Bank. He was possessed of keen business sagacity, was a man of indomitable perseverance and

energy, and was the soul of honor. For his life's helpmate he selected Miss Martha Zelle, their marriage resulting in the birth of eight children, some of whom are yet living in Pittsburg. He died honored and respected by all who knew him, in the year 1869.

Hon. John Dalzell is a man of national prominence, having achieved such distinction by reason of his long and excellent service as a member of Congress. Mr. Dalzell is a native of the city of New York, born April 19, 1845. His parents, Samuel and Mary (McDonnell) Dalzell, came from County Down, Ireland, to America about the year 1840, and moved from New York City to Pittsburg in 1847. He completed his literary schooling at the University of Western Pennsylvania and at Yale College, graduating from the last named institution in 1865. He began the study of the law, was admitted to the bar in 1867, and soon took rank with the ablest lawyers of Pittsburg. He began his public career in 1886, when he was elected a member of Congress. His recognized ability as a Congressman has kept him continuously in that position ever since. A pronounced Republican in his political views, a logician and orator of superior ability, Mr. Dalzell is one of the nation's best known public men.

Major Ebenezer Denny, whose history is contemporary with that of Pittsburg, was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, March 11, 1761, being the eldest son of William and Agnes (Parker) Denny. At the age of thirteen young Denny was intrusted with dispatches for the commandant at Fort Pitt, crossing the Alleghany Mountains alone and sleeping in the woods at night. Oftentimes during expeditions of this nature, he narrowly escaped death at the hands of wild beasts, or the more bloodthirsty Indians. When yet young in years he secured an appointment on board a vessel about to sail from Philadelphia carrying letters of marque, but after one voyage withdrew from such hazardous ventures, and was then commissioned ensign in the First Pennsylvania Regiment. He participated in many of the most important campaigns of the Revolutionary War, and towards its close was with General St. Clair in the Carolinas. In the subsequent campaigns against the Indians he bore a conspicuous part, serving at times as adjutant and aide-de-camp to Generals Harmer and St. Clair, respectively. In the disastrous defeat of the army under St. Clair on November 4, 1791, Mr. Denny was a participant, and at its conclusion was sent with dispatches to General Washington. In July, 1793, he wedded Nancy, daughter of Captain John Wilkins, Sr. Three years later he was elected one of the Commissioners of Allegheny County, and in 1803 was elected the first treasurer of the county, being reelected in 1808. In 1806 his wife died, leaving three sons and two daughters to mourn, with the bereaved husband, her loss. Upon the incorporation of the city of Pittsburg, in 1816, he was elected its first mayor. In religious belief he was an advocate of the Presbyterian faith. Major Denny was a giant morally and intellectually, and a credit to the city in every particular.

Hon. Harmer Denny was born in Pittsburg, May 13, 1794, and died January 29, 1852. He was educated at Dickinson College, graduating in 1813; subsequently read law and was, for a time, a partner of Henry Baldwin, who was afterwards a judge of the United States Supreme Court. As a lawyer, Mr. Denny excelled, and was identified with most of the great cases of his time. After serving in the State Legislature he was elected to Congress and served as such for a period of nearly eight years. In 1837 he was made a member of the convention to revise the Constitution of the State. In all measures of a progressive, enterprising character that had for an object the best interests of the people at large, he was a warm supporter. Particularly so was this the case in all educational and Christian matters. He declined a nomination to Congress in 1850. Ten years prior to this event he was a member of the Electoral College which

chose for President the hero of Tippecanoe. He was a consistent Christian throughout life, and died a member of the Presbyterian Church. November 25, 1817, he married Elizabeth F. O'Hara, daughter of General James and Mary (Carson) O'Hara. Mr. Denny was a son of Major Ebenezer Denny, appropriate mention of whom is made above in this work.

Nathaniel Holmes, founder of the banking house of N. Holmes & Son, was, like many other prominent men of Pittsburg, a native of County Antrim, Ireland. He was born in 1782, and in early manhood wedded Eleanor Kerr, the daughter of a near neighbor. Together they came to Pittsburg in 1807, Mr. Holmes engaging in mercantile pursuits, at which he was reasonably successful. In 1822 he commenced banking, and thus continued his employment until his career was closed by death, in 1849. His wife died in 1847. They were the parents of five children: Thomas R., Nathaniel, John K., Mary (Mrs. W. W. Wallace), and Jane, widow of W. B. Pusey. Mr. Holmes was a Whig in politics. In religion he belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church.

William Frew was born in Pittsburg, January 10, 1826, the only son of Samuel and Elizabeth (McCully) Frew. He attended the city schools in early youth, completing his education at the Western University of Pennsylvania. He began his career as a clerk in the grocery house of his uncle, James McCully, and later became a partner in the firm of James McCully & Co. Upon the discovery of petroleum in paying quantities, in 1859, he became interested with Charles Lockhart, and others, in the production of that oil, and as an oil-producer amassed a large fortune. As a citizen he was identified with many of the measures calculated for the benefit of the city; he was liberal, charitable, benevolent, and was justly considered an ideal citizen. His death, March 9, 1880, left a widow and one son—William N. Frew.





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